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THE
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL
SOCIETY

I

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION

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Archaeol. & Philol.
A

THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society

NEW SERIES, VOL. 29.

APRIL 9, 1919—OCTOBER 15, 1919



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NOTE

The twenty-ninth volume of the present series contains the records of the Proceedings of April 9, and October 15, 1919.

The reports of the Council have been presented by George Hubbard Blakeslee and Waldo Lincoln.

Papers have been received from Archer Butler Hulbert, Worthington Chauncey Ford, George Henry Haynes, Frederick Jackson Turner and Barrett Wendell.

The volume contains the eleventh installment of the Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, covering the States of Ohio, prepared by Clarence Saunders Brigham.

Obituary notices of the following deceased members appear in this volume: Samuel Abbott Green, Samuel Swett Green, William Roscoe Livermore, Henry Ainsworth Parker, Franklin Pierce Rice, Theodore Roosevelt, Andrew Dickson White, and Henry Ernest Woods.

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April, 1884.

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April, 1893

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XIII

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October, 1899.

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April, 1900.

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October, 1900.

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April, 1901.

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XIV

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October, 1902.

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April, 1904.

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 VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, New York, N. Y.

October, 1904.

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October, 1905.

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October, 1906.

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April, 1907.

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October, 1907.

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April, 1912.

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XVII

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April, 1910.

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October, 1917.

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April, 1908.

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April, 1910.

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April, 1909.

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April, 1919.

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October, 1896.

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October, 1917.

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April, 1919.

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GERMAN EMPIRE.

April, 1875.

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April, 1893.

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April, 1910.

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GREAT BRITAIN.

April, 1882.

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October, 1892.

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PAUL VINOGRADOFF, LL.D., . . . Oxford.

October, 1894.

HUBERT HALL, London.

October, 1901.

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Kew Gardens.

October, 1910.

ALFRED PERCIVAL MAUDSLAY, D.SC., London

October, 1913.

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October, 1915.

RT. HON. SIR GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, LL.D.,
London.

HOLLAND.

October, 1895.

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HONDURAS.

October, 1917.

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MEXICO.

October, 1890.

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April, 1907.

GENARO GARCÍA, Mexico City.

NORWAY.

October, 1906.

ROALD AMUNDSEN, Christiania.

PERU.

October, 1912.

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PORTUGAL.

October, 1906.

BERNARDINO MACHADO, Lisbon.

WEST INDIES.

April, 1912.

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CHARLES EVANS,	Chicago, Ill.
MAX FARRAND, PH.D.,*	New Haven, Conn.
JOHN WHITEMORE FARWELL, LITT.B.,*	Boston, Mass.
JESSE WALTER FEWKES, PH.D.,	Washington, D. C.
CARL RUSSELL FISH, PH.D.,	Madison, Wis.
WILLIAM TROWBRIDGE FORBES, A.B.	Worcester, Mass.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, LITT.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
WILLIAM EATON FOSTER, LITT.D.,*	Providence, R. I.
HOMER GAGE, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
THOMAS HOVEY GAGE, LL.B.,*	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE ANTHONY GASKILL, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
EDWARD HOOKER GILBERT, A.B.,	Ware, Mass.
RICHARD WARD GREENE,	Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH, LL.B.,	Brookline, Mass.

EDWIN AUGUSTUS GROSVENOR, LL.D.,	Amherst, Mass.
LEWIS WINTERS GUNCKEL, PH.B.,	Dayton, Ohio.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
PETER JOSEPH HAMILTON, A.M.,	San Juan, Porto Rico.
OTIS GRANT HAMMOND, A.M.,	Concord, N. H.
WILLIAM HARDEN,	Savannah, Ga.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, PH.D.,*	Worcester, Mass.
BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE,	New York, N. Y.
SAMUEL VERPLANCK HOFFMAN,*	New York, N. Y.
IRA NELSON HOLLIS, Sc.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES,	Washington, D. C.
JAMES KENDALL HOSMER, LL.D.,	Minneapolis, Minn.
ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.
GAILLARD HUNT, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
ARCHER MILTON HUNTINGTON, LITT.D.,	New York, N. Y.
HENRY EDWARDS HUNTINGTON	New York, N. Y.
JAMES ALTON JAMES, PH.D.,	Evanston, Ill.
JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS, A.B.,*	Salem, Mass.
REV. HENRY FITCH JENKS, A.M.	Canton, Mass.
CHARLES FRANCIS JENNEY, LL.B.,	Hyde Park, Mass.
HENRY PHELPS JOHNSTON, A.M.,	New York, N. Y.
JOHN WOOLF JORDAN, LL.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
ROBERT HENDRE KELBY	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER, B.A.S.,*	Milton, Mass.
LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT,*	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
REV. SHEPHERD KNAPP, D.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
ALFRED LOUIS KROEBER, PH.D.,	San Francisco, Cal.
WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, A.B.,	Cambridge, Mass.
JOHN HOLLADAY LATANE, PH.D.,	Baltimore, Md.
RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, LL.D.,*	Boston, Mass.
JOHN THOMAS LEE,	Madison, Wis.
FREDERICK WILLIAM LEHMANN, LL.D.,	St. Louis, Mo.
WALDO LINCOLN, A.B.,*	Worcester, Mass.

- HENRY CABOT LODGE, LL.D.,* . . . Nahant, Mass.
 REV. HERBERT EDWIN LOMBARD,* . Webster, Mass.
 ARTHUR LORD, A.B., Plymouth, Mass.
 JOSEPH FLORIMOND LOUBAT, LL.D.,* . Paris, France.
 ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, LL.D.,* . Cambridge, Mass.
 WILLIAM DENISON LYMAN, A.M., . Walla Walla, Wash.
 ALEXANDER GEORGE McADIE, A.M., . Milton, Mass.
 SAMUEL WALKER McCALL, LL.D., . Winchester, Mass.
 WILLIAM MACDONALD, LL.D., . . Berkeley, Cal.
 LEONARD LEOPOLD MACKALL, A.B., . New York, N. Y.
 ANDREW CUNNINGHAM McLAUGHLIN, A.M., Chicago, Ill.
 JOHN BACH McMASTER, LL.D., . Philadelphia, Pa.
 ALBERT MATTHEWS, A.B., . . . Boston, Mass.
 THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D., Ravenna, Ohio.
 JOHN MCKINSTRY MERRIAM, A.B., Framingham, Mass.
 ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, Ph.D.,* . Cambridge, Mass.
 CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD MOORE, A.B., Philadelphia, Pa.
 SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, Ph.D.* . Concord, Mass.
 EDWARD SYLVESTER MORSE, Sc.D., . Salem, Mass.
 WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO, L.H.D., . Providence, R. I.
 SAMUEL LYMAN MUNSON, . . . Albany, N. Y.
 CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., LITT.D.,* Worcester, Mass.
 GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS, LL.B.,* Boston, Mass.
 THOMAS McADORY OWEN, LL.D., . Montgomery, Ala.
 WILLIAM PENDLETON PALMER, . . Cleveland, Ohio.
 VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, New York, N. Y.
 REV. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK, D.D., Boston, Mass.
 LAWRENCE PARK,* Groton, Mass.
 GEORGE ARTHUR PLIMPTON, LL.D., . New York, N. Y.
 ALFRED CLAGHORN POTTER, A.B., . Cambridge, Mass.
 HERBERT PUTNAM, LL.D., . . . Washington, D. C.
 MILO MILTON QUAlFE, Ph.D., . . Madison, Wis.
 JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D.,* . . Boston, Mass.
 ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D.,* . Worcester, Mass.
 ALEXANDER SAMUEL SALLEY, JR., . Columbia, S. C.
 MARSHALL HOWARD SAVILLE, . . New York, N. Y.
 JAMES SCHOULER, LL.D., . . . Intervale, N. H.
 HAROLD MARSH SEWALL, LL.B., . Bath, Me.
 ALBERT SHAW, LL.D., New York, N. Y.

ROBERT KENDALL SHAW, A.B., . .	Worcester, Mass.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, LL.D.,	Princeton, N. J.
JUSTIN HARVEY SMITH, LL.D., . .	Boston, Mass.
REV. CALVIN STEBBINS, A.B.,* . .	Framingham, Mass.
BERNARD CHRISTIAN STEINER, PH.D.,	Baltimore, Md.
EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, PH.D.,	New York, N. Y.
ISAAC NEWTON PHELPS STOKES, A.B.,	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, LL.D., . .	New Haven, Conn.
CHARLES HENRY TAYLOR, JR.,* . .	Boston, Mass.
HANNIS TAYLOR, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL.D., .	Cambridge, Mass.
ALLEN CLAPP THOMAS, A.M., . . .	Haverford, Pa.
ISAAC RAND THOMAS,*	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM THOMAS, LL.B.,	San Francisco, Cal.
EDWARD HERBERT THOMPSON, . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
ROGERS CLARK BALLARD THRUSTON, PH.B,	Louisville, Ky.
ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER, PH.D., .	Cambridge, Mass.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE,*	Dedham, Mass.
LYON GARDINER TYLER, LL.D., . .	Williamsburg, Va.
DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE, A.M., .	Boston, Mass.
SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
REV. WILLISTON WALKER, LITT.D.	New Haven, Conn.
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
REV. HENRY BRADFORD WASHBURN, D.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
BARRETT WENDELL, LITT.D., . . .	Boston, Mass.
LEONARD WHEELER, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
ALBERT HENRY WHITIN	Whitinsville Mass.
WOODROW WILSON, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, LITT.D.,*	Dover, Mass.
THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP, . . .	Boston, Mass.
JOHN WOODBURY, A.B.,*	Boston, Mass.
SAMUEL BAYARD WOODWARD, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.

PROCEEDINGS

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 9, 1919, IN THE HOUSE OF
THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

The semi-annual meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, April 9, 1919, in the House of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, No. 28 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts. The meeting was called to order at half-past ten o'clock, President Lincoln in the chair.

There were present:

Reuben Colton, Henry Herbert Edes, William Eaton Foster, Francis Henshaw Dewey, Arthur Lord, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, Edward Sylvester Morse, George Parker Winship, Albert Matthews, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Daniel Berkeley Updike, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, Worthington Chauncey Ford, Frederick Jackson Turner, Edward Luther Stevenson, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Charles Grenfill Washburn, George Hubbard Blakeslee, Wilfred Harold Munro, Justin Harvey Smith, Henry Winchester Cunningham, Archer Butler Hulbert, Howard Millar Chapin, Grenville Howland Norcross, John Whittemore Farwell, Lawrence Waters Jenkins, Leonard Wheeler, Alexander George McAdie, William Crowninshield Endicott, Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, Richard Ward Greene, John Woodbury, Charles Knowles Bolton, John Henry Edmonds, Leonard Leopold Mackall, Samuel Lyman Munson.

The call for the meeting having been read, Mr. Norcross moved that the reading of the records of the last meeting be dispensed with.

The report of the Council, prepared by Mr. George H. Blakeslee and relating chiefly to the recent development of interests in Latin America, was read and approved.

In the discussion that followed, Mr. Winship referred to the collections of Spanish American literature and called attention to the distinction between the historical, the bibliographical, and the linguistic aspects of the subject. For the purposes of students of language, Mr. William E. Gates of Point Loma, California, possesses what is probably both the most extensive and the most intelligently selected collection of manuscript material illustrating the dialects in use by the native tribes occupying the territory of what is now the Mexican Republic. He has been able to secure a large proportion of the original manuscripts, as well as the printed works, that have come to market in the auction room or through private channels during the last two decades, and he has supplemented these by obtaining photographic-process copies of nearly all the important documents which are in public repositories. In a spirit of generous scholarly co-operation, Mr. Gates has made it possible for other collections to secure duplicates of his copies at the cost of production. Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, whose library is now at the University of Pennsylvania, anticipated Mr. Gates both in scheme and scope, but the hand-written copies upon which he had to rely are so frequently untrustworthy that they have already taken their place as historical illustrations of the handicaps against which science formerly struggled.

The two leading public institutions in this field are the Bureau of Ethnology, which is supplemented by the material in the Library of Congress, at Washing-

ton, and the Peabody Museum Library at Harvard. At the latter Dr. Charles P. Bowditch of this Society has rendered important service in securing reproductions of manuscripts throwing light upon Maya problems. The Peabody Museum also possesses the material collected by Bandelier while he was engaged on the work of the Hemenway Expeditions, seeking in old Mexico the clue to the story of the New Mexican ruins.

The John Carter Brown Library and the Lenox Library have long been rivals, so far as the earlier printed books are concerned, in this as in kindred fields. The former probably secured a lead when Mr. Brown purchased the linguistic library of Dr. Nicolas Leon, a corresponding member of this Society. The library collected by Prince Lucien Bonaparte, dealing with language in a broad sense, is said to be the nearest competitor abroad.

The student of Spanish American history will find the material he needs scattered among several institutions, each developing a particular aspect of the subject. The Bureau of American Republics presumably has most of the twentieth century publications, especially those dealing with social and economic phases. The John Carter Brown Library has a commanding position for those printed before 1800, having added largely to its collections since the check-list printed ten years ago. Harvard, Yale, and the John Carter Brown libraries had at one time a working agreement by which the two Universities left the older and more costly books to the Providence library, and divided the later field, Yale specializing on Peru and the northern countries of South America, and Harvard on Chili and the South. Mr. Coolidge's purchase of the Luis Montt library at Santiago de Chile and Mr. Bingham's personal collection on Bolivia and Peru established the strength of the two universities in these respective fields. Yale added Mexico when Mr.

Henry E. Wagner presented the books which he had collected during his residence in that country. The John Carter Brown Library has an important group of Peruvian publications dated between 1800 and 1840, which were made accessible by the hand-list printed in 1908. The Hispanic Society of America has not neglected the Spanish colonies, but these have not as yet received the comprehensive attention with which Mr. Huntington has devoted himself to the literature and art of the Peninsula. In Chicago the Newberry Library has Mr. Edward E. Ayer's collection of books on the American Indian, which contains many important early works. The H. H. Bancroft collection gave the University of California a good start in the way of Mexican books, and both at Berkeley and at Stanford efforts have been made to emphasize the importance of all the countries bordering on the Pacific.

The election of members, resident and foreign, being next in order, the President appointed Messrs. Cunningham, Norcross and Edmonds, as the committee to collect and count the ballots. The committee reported the following persons elected to membership:

RESIDENT MEMBERS

James Alton James, Evanston, Ill.
Frederick William Lehmann, St. Louis, Mo.
Alfred Claghorn Potter, Cambridge, Mass.
Harold Marsh Sewall, Bath, Me.
Robert Kendall Shaw, Worcester, Mass.
William Roscoe Thayer, Cambridge, Mass.
William Thomas, San Francisco, Calif.

FOREIGN MEMBERS

Anastasio Alfaro, San José, Costa Rica.
Manuel de Oliveira Lima, Rio de Janeiro. Brazil.
Seymour de Ricci, Paris, France.

The President stated that a fellowship in American History had been established at Clark University through the generosity of members of this Society and would continue for two years. He also called attention to the new bookplates of the Society, the gift of our associate Grenville H. Norcross.

The first paper was read by Archer B. Hulbert formerly of Marietta, Ohio, but now residing in Worcester, on "The Increasing Debt of History to Science."

In the discussion following, Mr. McAdie spoke of the value of science in proving and correlating the facts of history. Astronomy in particular, he said, is of importance in certifying the dates of events by eclipses and other observed phenomena—the character of the weather, the prevailing tides and winds have also been used for verification of the facts of history. He exhibited a chart of the life history of a Sequoia tree in the state of Washington, cut down in 1864, which showed the effects of varying weather and other natural phenomena—during its 1244 years of growth. He deduced from study of this chart that the amount of rainfall and sunshine since the Spanish conquest is about the same as at the present day.

Professor Turner remarked that a hyphen between history and the various sciences has a much more legitimate place than that used between nations. He then drew attention to the effect in our own country of the various geological formations and varying quality of soils upon the development of communities and even relation to the politics and the prosperity of such communities.

In the unavoidable absence of Mr. Lombard, whose paper was to have been presented at this meeting, the Librarian spoke briefly upon the bookplates of the Presidents of the United States in our collection. The President announced that the paper might be

presented at a subsequent meeting and called attention to a volume containing a genuine George Washington bookplate—belonging to Mr. John Woodbury—which he had been requested to exhibit at the meeting.

Mr. Ford then read an interesting paper with extracts, on "Some Papers of Aaron Burr."

The members of the Society were invited by Mr. William C. Endicott to luncheon at his residence, No. 163 Marlborough Street, at the close of the meeting.

No further business being presented, the meeting was then dissolved.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS,

Recording Secretary

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

In previous reports the Council has pointed out from time to time the importance of various special collections in our Library. It takes the present occasion to call attention to the number and the value of the books, pamphlets and newspapers on Latin American and Caribbean countries.

A striking increase of interest in Latin America has been taking place in this country during the past decade, which was particularly noticeable just before our thoughts and energies were absorbed in the world war. This interest has been shown in many ways, and may be measured in part by definite figures. The leading newspapers in the United States, for example, according to the reports of the statisticians in the Pan American Union, gave more news space to Latin America in a single month of 1915 than the same papers gave in the thirty-six months of 1907, 1908 and 1909; our magazines had more articles on Latin America in the first three months of 1916 than in the five years from 1907 to 1912; while more books dealing with Latin America were published in this country in 1914 than in the entire period from 1906 to 1910. In a bibliography, 1916, of the two hundred best volumes on South America, it appears that seven-eighths of them were published within the previous five years.

This increased interest appeared in many other ways. There were over seventeen hundred clubs in the United States, before the war, making a study of Latin America and Pan American relations; while three thousand moving picture theatres, it was estimated, were every week showing to American

audiences the people, the scenery, and the life of the republics of South America. At that time Director General John Barrett stated that the Pan American Union was then receiving on an average between two hundred and three hundred letters a day asking for information on Latin American affairs, and added that it was not unusual to have as many as twenty-five cablegrams a day from Latin America, making various inquiries concerning the United States. About the same time the United States Bureau of Commerce, according to statements in the press, was receiving a daily average of eight hundred letters from all parts of the country regarding trade openings and economic conditions throughout the Latin American world.

Now that the war is over, public attention is again being turned to the Republics to the south of us, as is evident from the newspaper space given to Latin America; for example, regular sections are being devoted to South America in such dailies as the *New York Sun* and the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. Our commercial and financial relations, too, are more intimate than ever before. During the war, and in part on account of it, the United States has secured almost a monopoly of Latin American exports and imports. While in 1914 there was not a single branch of a United States or North American bank in any city south of Panama, today every important South American city has at least one North American bank. In 1914 no South American newspaper received Associated Press news; now the most important South American dailies are supplied regularly and directly with our Associated Press despatches. A rapidly increasing number of periodicals in this country deal with Latin American affairs. Besides the official *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union may be mentioned the *South American*, the *Pan American Review*, *The Americas*, *Inter-America*, *El Estudiante Latino-Americano*, published for Latin American students in the United States, and the recently established *Hispanic*

American Historical Review, a scholarly quarterly, worthy to rank in its special field with the ablest publications in this country.

The appearance of the last two magazines shows that the marked increase of interest in Latin America, which is fundamentally due to economic and financial considerations, is not limited to these fields, nor to official Pan Americanism, but is extending to education and letters. This is seen most strikingly in the teaching of Spanish. Ten or twelve years ago very few colleges and almost no secondary schools taught Spanish; now nearly all universities, colleges and higher institutions in the United States as well as over two thousand secondary schools teach Spanish, while a few institutions teach Portuguese. But of greater significance is the remarkable increase in our colleges and universities, during the past half dozen years and a little more, of new courses on the history, commerce, culture and international relations of the States to the south of us. Exchanges of professors have been already carried out by a number of the larger institutions, including Harvard, Columbia and Pennsylvania, while plans are being made for extending these exchanges to the smaller colleges and universities which will arrange for short lecture courses from some distinguished Latin American scholar. Our colleges, universities and technical schools have also shown a genuine desire to attract Latin American students; some fifty of our higher institutions have offered one or more tuition scholarships for Latin Americans, while a few have established money fellowships, and one has founded a \$500 Latin American fellowship for graduate work.

Latin America, on its side, has shown a growing appreciation of educational Pan Americanism. There are a larger number of Latin American students in the United States than ever before; so many in fact that they have recently founded a Federation of Latin American students with branches in a number of our

colleges and universities. To attract and aid students from the lands to the south of us the Pan American Union has recently established a Section of Education. In its last report it states that a number of the foremost Latin American professors are willing to give occasional lecture courses in North American universities. Dr. Ernesto Nelson, Professor in La Plata University, and recently Minister of Education in Argentina, has pointed out that since Latin America has no educational or literary center, this can be best established in the United States, where Latin Americans may come to study the collected literature of all the Latin American countries. He makes a strong plea that some library in this country should collect all Latin American literary and scientific works. There is no such educational or literary center in Latin America, nor does one seem likely to develop. The only probable rival to the United States is France.

Of especial significance for those interested in collections of Hispanic Americana is the recent action of the Association of American University Professors in organizing a large committee, representing some sixteen of our Universities, to promote exchange professorships between the United States and Latin America; the establishment of exchange fellowships; and scientific co-operation between the professors and the universities of the United States and those of Latin America. Some of our professors have already begun co-operation with professors in Latin America, while others are planning to do so in the near future. It has been suggested that a history of all the American republics be written by the joint work of Spanish, Portuguese and American historians.

It is evident that the interest in Pan Americanism, which from merely popular, economic and diplomatic fields has now reached the domain of education and of genuine scholarship, will soon make a greatly increased demand for library material dealing with Latin America. In fact, this demand is already being felt.

To what extent American scholars in history, international relations and international politics are already turning to Latin American subjects, cannot be stated statistically, but it may be mentioned as a mere indication of this trend that during the past five years in Clark University, two Doctors' dissertations and seven Masters' theses have been written upon phases of Latin America and its relations to the United States.

It is very natural therefore that attention is now being directed to the value of special collections of Hispanic Americana.¹ There appeared in the last number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* an article upon the Latin American collection in the Library of Congress. The increase in this collection may be judged from the fact that the number of books and pamphlets in the strictly historical section alone, has grown from 3,893 in 1901, to 15,116 in 1918. But the Library of Congress arrived late in the field, and its collection, while excellent in material published during the past half century, and strong in European Americana dealing with the early period, is "not preeminent in primary sources, original and rare editions." The Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union has a large collection which contains 40,000 volumes and pamphlets, 21,000 photographs, 1500 maps, and 1300 Latin American newspapers, magazines and other publications. But the value of this Library is very largely in the material of the past few decades.

Among other libraries which are emphasizing their Latin American collections, should be mentioned that at Yale University which, under the guidance of Professor Hiram Bingham, has secured probably the best single collection of South American material in this country; the New York Public Library, with the

¹The April 1919 issue of the "Library Journal" is devoted chiefly to the subject of Latin American libraries. It describes, with illustrations, the national libraries at Buenos Aires, Mexico and Santiago de Chile, and gives sketches of the collections in eight American libraries.

largest manuscript material relating to the colonial times; the Harvard University Library, with an excellent general collection; the John Carter Brown Library, with many manuscripts and early printed books, particularly dealing with exploration and discovery; the important collections of the Hispanic Society, and of Mr. Wm. E. Gates in California; and the large private library of Dr. Manuel de Oliveira Lima, of Brazil, which is soon to be placed, under Dr. Lima's supervision, in the Catholic University of America at Washington.

It is a pleasure to know that the American Antiquarian Society has a collection on Latin America which ranks well with those in other important libraries. Our Librarian states that we have probably a larger collection of Hispanic American imprints for the early period than can be found elsewhere in this country. It comprises about 700 examples of printing from 1555 to 1800, chiefly of Mexico City and Puebla, but with many from Guatemala and a few from Lima and other South American towns.

While the printing press was introduced into Mexico about 1539, it was difficult to publish in the Spanish colonies, due especially to the strict enforcement of both civil and ecclesiastical censorship. Books printed in Latin America therefore, in the early period, aside from such works as catechisms and linguistic material, were few in number, and are now rare. Our collection is thus of especial value and should be particularly featured, since no other library has apparently covered this field so extensively, and since it is in line with our notable collection of early American imprints.

The foundation of the fund for Hispanic Americana was laid by Isaac Davis, who in 1868 gave to the Society \$500, the income of which was "to be applied to the purchase of books, maps, charts, and works of art, relating to that portion of North America lying south of the United States." With a subsequent gift

of \$1,000 from Isaac Davis, and gifts of \$5,000 in 1891, and \$5,000 in 1910 from Edward L. Davis, together with accrued income, the fund now amounts to \$23,000. The scope of the fund was later enlarged to admit of the purchases of works relating to South America, and, in 1910, at the suggestion of Edward L. Davis, the Society was allowed to spend the income for general purposes of the Society, if any part of it was not required for the original object of the fund.

Another source of additions to the collection of Hispanic Americana were the frequent gifts of books from Stephen Salisbury, Jr. From the days of his college friendship for David Casares, of Merida, Yucatan, Mr. Salisbury always evinced a decided interest in the archaeology and history of Central America and some of the rarest of our early works on this subject were presented by him.

Today the Hispanic American collection numbers over 4500 books and pamphlets, mostly of the early period. There has been little attempt to secure the material of the last fifty years except as it may throw light upon the older literature.

Of the bibliographical works the Society has a large collection including nearly all of the valuable monographs compiled by J. T. Medina of Santiago de Chile, and the bibliographies of Viñaza, Montt, Trelles, Leclerc, Leon, Beristain, Garraux, Andrade, Icazbalceta, and other workers in this field.

The narratives of the early voyagers, travellers and commentators are well represented, including original editions of Acosta, Benzoni, Las Casas, Dampier, Drake, Hakluyt, Herrera, Laet, Linschoten, Martyr, Oviedo and La Vega. In consideration of the greatly increased values of most of these editions, it is fortunate that they were obtained for the Library a number of years ago.

The source-books for the study of linguistics have been almost all obtained in the last ten years, chiefly through the aid of Miss Alice W. Kurtz, who has

travelled throughout Mexico and Guatemala acquiring these rare volumes from monastic and private libraries. The *artes*, *confesionarios*, and *vocabularios* published from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries include:

Molina, Vocabulario en la Lengua Castellana y Mexicana, Mexico, 1555.

Molina, Confessionario Mayor, Mexico, 1565.

Molina, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana y Castellana, Mexico, 1571.

Lorra Baquio, Manual Mexicano, Mexico, 1634.

Carochi, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana, Mexico, 1645.

Marban, Arte de la Lengua Moxa, Lima, 1702.

Perez, Farol Indiano, Mexico, 1713.

Avila, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana, Mexico, 1717.

Perez, Catecismo Romano, Mexico, 1723.

Gastelu, Arte de la Lengua Mexicana, Puebla, 1726.

Serra, Manual de administrar los Sacramentos, Mexico, 1731.

Quintana, Confessionario en Lengua Mixe, Puebla, 1733.

Rinaldini, Arte de la Lengua Tepeguana, Mexico, 1743.

Flores, Arte de la Lengua Metropolitana, Guatemala, 1753.

Torres, Arte de la Lengua Quichua, Lima, 1754.

Ripalda, Catecismo Mexicano, Mexico, 1758.

Paredes, Promptuario manual Mexicano, Mexico, 1759.

Aguirre, Doctrina Christiana en Lengua Opata, Mexico, 1765.

Febres, Arte de la Lengua Chileno, Lima, 1765.

Moreno, Vida del Vasco de Quiroga, Mexico, 1766.

Tapia Zenteno, Noticia de la Lengua Huasteca, Mexico, 1767.

Arenas, Vocabulario Manual de las Lenguas Castellana y Mexicana, Puebla, 1793.

The collection of Mexican, South American and West Indian newspapers has been given especial

attention, and most of the longer files have been noted in the Librarian's Reports of the past ten years. This has been chiefly strengthened by the purchase of a large number of South American newspapers in 1915, of numerous Mexican and Guatemalan files from Miss Kurtz, and by the acquisitions made by the President of the Society on a trip to the West Indies in 1913.

The value of this collection has inspired several gifts of importance. During the past winter Mrs. F. Spencer Wigley of St. Christopher visited the Library and as a result presented us with the rare "Laws of the Island of St. Christopher" printed in the Island in 1791, a valuable example of West Indian printing. Also within the past month the Society has purchased the London 1739 edition of the Acts of the Island of St. Christopher, and the 1740 edition of the Acts of the Charibbee Leeward Islands.

In closing its report the Council would call attention to the following somewhat unusually large number of deaths among the members:—

Andrew Dickson White (elected 1884) died November 4, 1918.

Samuel Abbott Green (elected 1865) died December 5, 1918.

Samuel Swett Green (elected 1880) died December 8, 1918.

Franklin Pierce Rice (elected 1906) died January 4, 1919.

Theodore Roosevelt (elected 1918) died January 6, 1919.

Henry Ainsworth Parker (elected 1910) died February 17, 1919.

Mr. Samuel Abbott Green and Mr. Samuel Swett Green were the senior members of the Society.

Biographical notices will be prepared to be published in the Proceedings.

GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE,

For the Council.

OBITUARIES

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN

Dr. Samuel Abbott Green died in Boston, on December 5, 1918, in the 89th year of his age. He was the son of Dr. Joshua Green and Eliza Lawrence Green. He was born in Groton on March 16, 1830, and always lived there for part of the year. He fitted for college at Groton Academy and was graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1851, of which he was the last surviving member. He was graduated from the Harvard Medical School in 1854. He continued his medical studies in Paris, and then returned to Boston to practice his profession.

On May 19, 1858, he was commissioned surgeon of the 2d Massachusetts militia regiment by Governor Banks. On the breaking out of the Civil war he entered the service as assistant surgeon of the 1st Massachusetts regiment and was the first medical officer of the state to be mustered into the three years' service. He was promoted to be surgeon of the 24th Massachusetts regiment, September 2, 1861, and had charge of the hospital ship *Recruit* in General Burnside's expedition to North Carolina, and later of the hospital steamer *Cosmopolitan* on the coast of South Carolina. He was chief medical officer at Morris Island during the siege of Fort Wagner in the summer of 1863, and was post surgeon at St. Augustine, Fla., in October, 1863, and at Jacksonville in March, 1864. He was with the army at the capture of Bermuda Hundred in May, 1864, and was acting staff surgeon in Richmond, for three months following the surrender of that city in April, 1865. In 1864 he was breveted lieutenant-colonel for "gallant and distinguished services in the field."

Upon his return to Boston in 1865, Doctor Green became superintendent of the Boston dispensary. In 1871 he was appointed city physician and filled that office until he was elected mayor in 1882. He had been a member of the school board, 1860-62 and 1866-72, trustee of the Boston Public Library 1868-78, and acting librarian from October, 1877, to October, 1878. He was a trustee of the Peabody Education Fund.

Doctor Green was overseer of Harvard University from 1869 to 1880. In 1870 he was appointed by Governor Claflin one of a commission to care for disabled soldiers. In 1878 he was a member of the board of experts authorized by Congress to investigate the causes and prevention of yellow fever, and a member of the board of commissioners to investigate the condition of the records, files, papers, and documents in the State department of Massachusetts. From 1871 to 1891 he was also one of the editors of the *American Journal of Numismatics*.

Doctor Green had written many books and pamphlets, among them: "My Campaign in America, a Journal kept by Count William de Deux-Ponts, 1780-81, translated from the French manuscript, with and introduction and notes;" "The story of a Famous Book;" an account of Dr. Benjamin Franklin's autobiography; "School Histories and Some Errors in Them;" "Epitaphs from the old Burying Ground in Groton;" "Early Records of Groton, 1662-1678;" "History of Medicine in Massachusetts;" "Groton during the Indians Wars;" "Groton During the Witchcraft Times;" "Boundary Lines of old Groton;" "The Geography of Groton," prepared for the use of the Appalachian mountain club; "Groton Historical Series," three volumes; "An Account of the Physicians and Dentists of Groton;" "An Account of the Lawyers of Groton;" "The Career of Benjamin Franklin," a paper read before the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, May 25, 1893, on the 150th anniversary of its foundation; "An Address

before the Old Residents' Historical Association of Lowell;" "An Account of the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society;" a "List of the Early American Imprints" in the library of that society; and "An Historical Sketch of Groton, 1655-1890."

In May, 1896, the University of Nashville conferred on Doctor Green the honorary degree of LL.D.

He was for nineteen years first vice-president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and librarian at the time of his death. He was a constant attendant at the meetings, even when his physical disability was so great that he was brought into the room in a wheel-chair, which was always placed on the left of the presiding officer. Doctor Green was elected a member of this Society in 1865, was a member of the council from 1874 until 1904, when he was elected vice-president. The last meeting of the council that he attended was in 1911.

Doctor Green's life was most unusual, exhibiting in a high degree great industry, a prodigious capacity for work, and conspicuous service in many varied fields of activity. He will long remain in the memory of his associates, who will miss the companionship, now ended, of so many years.

C. G. W.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN

Samuel Swett Green, son of James and Elizabeth (Swett) Green of Worcester, was descended in the eighth generation from Thomas Green, who settled in Malden about the middle of the seventeenth century. He was born in Worcester, February 20, 1837, and died there December 28, 1918. Entering Harvard College at the age of seventeen, he was graduated in the Class of 1858, and immediately entered the Harvard Divinity School, but his health failing he was obliged to give up study temporarily, and took a sea

voyage on a sailing vessel to the Levant, visiting Smyrna and Constantinople. Returning home he re-entered the Divinity School in September, 1861, and was graduated in 1864, intending to become a Unitarian minister. Partly by reason of his health and partly because he found that his religious views were too advanced for the times, he abandoned preaching and entered the Mechanics National Bank as bookkeeper in December, 1864. The following year he was made teller in the Worcester National Bank, which position he held until May, 1868, and in January, 1871, he was called to his life work as librarian of the Worcester Free Public Library, in which position he made for himself and the library a world wide reputation for progress and efficiency.

This was due largely to the simple application of the principle that books are made for the use of those desiring information and instruction, and that all such are to have every facility for study supplied to them. The old idea that a librarian's duties should be principally confined to the safe preservation of his books was no longer to rule. Students were welcomed, the whole working force of the library was at their service, and desired books, if not in the library were either purchased or borrowed. Particular attention was paid to the requirements of young people, and both the teachers and the students of the public and private schools of the city, were encouraged in their use of the library. The success accompanying this method of library work attracted general attention among educators as well as librarians, and the example set in Worcester was followed by most libraries in this country and by several in Europe.

In 1890 Mr. Green was appointed an original member of the Free Public Library Commission of this Commonwealth, and held the office by successive appointments until 1909. He was one of the founders of the American Library Association, of which he was vice-president 1887-1889 and 1892-1893, and president

in 1891; founder and first vice-president of the Massachusetts Library Club; member of the American Library Institute; and honorary fellow of the Library Association of the United Kingdom. He was delegate to the International Congress of Librarians at London in 1877 and a member of its council, vice-president of a similar congress in 1897, and in 1893 presided over the World's Congress of Librarians at Chicago.

He was a member of many historical societies and associations, the most important being the Royal Historical Society, the American Historical Association, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the American Social Science Association, and the Wisconsin Historical Society. He was trustee of Leicester Academy and belonged to several social clubs both in Boston and Worcester.

He was elected to membership in this society in April, 1880, and in 1883 was made a member of the Council of which he continued to be a member until a month before his death. During all of this long period he was, until the last few years when advancing age and failing eyesight impaired his activities, a constant attendant of the meetings of the Society, a frequent participant in its debates and contributor to its Proceedings, and a valued and useful member of the Council. He prepared several Council reports, many memoirs and obituary notices of deceased members, and eight papers for the Proceedings, the most important subjects treated by him being:—"Gleanings from the Sources of the History of the Second Parish, Worcester;" "The Use of the Voluntary System in the Maintenance of Ministers in the Colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay;" "The Scotch-Irish in America;" and "The Craigie House, Cambridge, during its Occupancy by Andrew Craigie and his Widow." In connection with his library work he published: "Libraries and Schools;"

“Library Aids;” and “The Public Library Movement in the United States, 1853-1893.”

In 1909, his eyesight failing he retired from active work at the library and was made librarian emeritus. He devoted the remainder of his life to study, especially interesting himself in British archæology, but continuing his interest in all the lines which had previously engaged his attention and making a daily visit to the library until a few months before his death.

W. L.

HENRY AINSWORTH PARKER

Henry Ainsworth Parker was born in Philadelphia, October, 19, 1841, the son of William Ainsworth and Mary (Iddings) Parker. He was graduated from Harvard with the Class of 1864 and then entered the General Theological Seminary in New York. After four years spent in preparing for the ministry and in tutoring private pupils, he took charge of the Parish of St. Luke at Philadelphia in 1871. In 1875 he became rector of Christ Church at North Conway, N. H., where he remained until 1886. He then removed to Cambridge, Mass., where he lived until his death, holding religious service in various places as his help was required, and pursuing studies in theology and history. He was married December 6, 1870, to Mary, daughter of Rev. Samuel Seabury of New York, and had five children. His death occurred February 17, 1919.

Rev. Mr. Parker was much interested in historical research and was an occasional contributor to the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, of which he was one of the earliest members. He was elected to the Antiquarian Society in 1910, and showed his interest by his frequent attendance at the meetings and by the gift of historical books and pamphlets to the Library.

C. S. B.

FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE

Franklin Pierce Rice was born in Marlborough, Mass., July 29, 1852. His family moved to Worcester in 1856 and he was educated in the public schools of this city. He did not enter college, but began soon after leaving the High School the study of the sciences and the elements of medicine in order to prepare for the medical profession which he had chosen as his life work. The long illness of his father and the consequent care of the home which devolved upon him prevented the fulfilment of this plan. After ten years of expectation and recurring hope, he relinquished this cherished object, but the training gained through these waiting years gave him the strong interest in the scientific and literary fields which governed his later life.

In 1871 he purchased a small press and a few pounds of type and without an hour's instruction from any member of the craft either at that time or later, he began printing as an avocation and accomplished during his life more than has been recorded of many who made a business of this art. A catalogue of his imprints issued in 1915 gives a list of 122 titles of books which came from his press as well as 50 others which he compiled or edited to be printed elsewhere.

His early life was influenced by a radical or liberal movement which started in Worcester in the year 1868, but he finally outgrew it and its evil effects were overcome by the influence of two friends, the Rev. George Allen, a refined literary character with strong antiquarian taste, and Hon. Eli Thayer, whose robust manhood and virile Americanism drew out of Mr. Rice all that was best in him. These men remained his firm friends during their lives and his obligation to them was shown in the memoirs prepared by him in later years.

He was one of the four founders of the Worcester Society of Antiquity and it is significant of his character that at the initial meeting he urged, in place of that

title, the name of The Worcester Historical Society, as it is now called, in order to avoid interference with the older society, a fact which has more than once caused embarrassment to each organization. For twenty years, not only was he active in that society as a member, but from 1879 to 1895 he printed its proceedings. His attention was early attracted to the desirability of taking some action for the preservation of the vital records of our New England towns and in 1879 he printed the first volume of the Town Records of Worcester, seven volumes of these records coming from his press before 1895. In order to carry on this important work more effectively he started in 1892 the Massachusetts Record Society and printed two volumes of the New England Town Series. This plan not proving efficient he formed in 1898 the Systematic History Fund and in the next four years he printed seven volumes of Massachusetts Town Records. In 1902 he was induced to transfer his energies in this line to the same work under the State Vital Records Act of that year and under which he worked for nine years. More than forty volumes have been published by him in this field but not printed on his press. This part of his life work will prove of increasing importance as these records are used, because his extreme accuracy and his broad historical knowledge were both employed to verify each one of the data collected.

In October, 1906, Mr. Riccè was elected a member of this Society and from that time until his decease on January 4, 1919, he was chairman of the Committee of Publication to which office he brought all of his personal interest and large experience as a printer and a man of letters. The debt of this Society to him is very great, not only because of the burden which he bore but because of the elevation of the standard of our publications in consequence of his unremitting labors. For many years it had been his custom to cut from the daily papers items of biographical and historical interest and obituary notices of national or local

importance. This material, consisting of more than 20,000 clippings and arranged in such form as to make it always accessible, he presented to the Society in 1917. The gift was a very valuable addition to our archives as it supplemented the collection of William Jennison along similar lines but of an earlier generation.

Quiet in manner and self-contained Mr. Rice was thought by some to be almost eccentric, although this was far from the truth. While the many vicissitudes of his life caused a sensitive nature to withdraw somewhat within himself, to his friends Mr. Rice showed a warm heart and a staunch loyalty, which appealed to them as strongly as his literary and historical ability attracted all others who came to know him.

C. L. N.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Theodore Roosevelt—born October 27, 1858, died January 6, 1919—was elected a member of this Society in April, 1918. What is said of him here will relate exclusively to his work as a writer of American history, although, as is well known, this forms but a small part of his contribution to literature, and great as his accomplishments have been in the broader field, they were only a part of his prodigious activities.

His first history was the first book he wrote, "The Naval War of 1812," in 1882, when he was twenty-four years old. In 1886 he wrote the "Life of Thomas H. Benton," in 1888, "Gouverneur Morris," and in 1889, "The Winning of the West." In November, 1890, he published "New York," a history of the City; and in April, 1895, in conjunction with Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, "Hero Tales from American History." While Governor of New York, he published "The Rough Riders, a history of the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, in the war with Spain," and in 1913 his Autobiography.

In the "Naval War of 1812", Roosevelt began to preach the doctrine of which he was the aggressive champion all his life:—

That a miserly economy in preparation (for war) may in the end involve a lavish outlay of men and money, which, after all, comes too late to more than partially offset the evils produced by the original short-sighted parsimony.

Roosevelt admired Benton as the man who stood by the nation against his own section and refused to abandon his principles.

"The Winning of the West" is by far his most important work, and the one which will determine his place as an historian. He was no doubt led to write it because of his experience on the frontier. He says in the preface:—

In conclusion, I would say that it has been to me emphatically a labor of love to write of the great deeds of the border people. I am not blind to their manifold shortcomings, nor yet am I ignorant of their many strong and good qualities. For a number of years I spent most of my time on the frontier, and lived and worked like any other frontiersman. The wild country in which we dwelt and across which we wandered was in the Far West; and there were, of course, many features in which the life of a cattleman on the great plains and among the Rockies differed from that led by a backwoodsman in the Alleghany forests a century before. Yet the points of resemblance were far more numerous and striking. We guarded our herds of branded cattle and shaggy horses, hunted bear, bison, elk, and deer, established civil government, and put down evildoers, white and red, on the banks of the Little Missouri, and among the wooded, precipitous foothills of the Bighorn, exactly as did the pioneers who a hundred years previously built their log cabins beside the Kentucky or in the valleys of the Great Smokies. The men who have shared in the fast vanishing frontier life of the present feel a peculiar sympathy with the already long vanished frontier life of the past.

In the history of the City of New York, appears the same intense Americanism which he constantly preached so vigorously to the very end of his life. In this book, written nearly thirty years ago, he said:

Above all, the one essential for success in every political movement which is to do lasting good, is that our citizens should act as Americans; not as Americans with a prefix and qualification—not as Irish-Americans, German-Americans, Native-Americans—but as Americans pure and simple.

To "Hero Tales from American History," written in conjunction with Senator Lodge, Roosevelt contributed: Daniel Boone and the Founding of Kentucky; George Rogers Clark and the Conquest of the Northwest; King's Mountain; The Storming of Stony Point; The Cruise of the *Wasp*; The *General Armstrong* Privateer; The Battle of New Orleans; "Remember the Alamo;" Hampton Roads; The Flag Bearer; Death of Stonewall Jackson; The Charge of Gettysburg; Lieutenant Cushing and the Ram *Albatross*; Farragut at Mobile Bay.

I once asked Mr. Roosevelt what he considered the best things he had ever written, and the following are the references he gave me to the books here mentioned: The Foreword in his Autobiography. Page 103 2nd paragraph. Pages 342, 343, to the middle of page 345. Page 355, last paragraph. Page 364, last paragraph, and to its end on the next page. Page 377, last paragraph to end. Page 575. He said of Chapter 9, including pages 342-347: "This chapter is the best I ever wrote." In "The Winning of the West" the references were: Vol. I, pages 1-10. Vol. 111, pages 51-53. The editions referred to are those existing in 1915.

When Roosevelt graduated from College it seemed probable that he would devote his life either to science or literature; later the choice appeared to be between politics and letters, for in 1900 he said, speaking of continuing in politics:

I am by no means sure that I ought to go into public life at all, provided some remunerative work offered itself. The only reason I would like to go on is that as I have not been a money maker, I feel rather in honor bound to leave my children the equivalent in a way of a substantial sum of actual achievement in politics or letters.

He was an omnivorous reader and a most voluminous writer. I was a good deal surprised when he said to me about six years ago: "I am not a very ready writer. No one knows how much time I put into my articles for the *Outlook*." He then pulled a typewritten manuscript from his pocket and said—"Here is an article that I am going over, as I have opportunity, correcting and recasting it," and then he added, "but my work is done three months ahead."

This was one reason why he was able to accomplish so much; he was always doing the work of tomorrow, of next week, or of next year. During the winter of 1909, Roosevelt was at work on the addresses he was to deliver after his African trip and while in Europe. This characteristic of always being ahead of his work, coupled with untiring industry was what enabled him to accomplish so much.

He was a scientific naturalist and famous hunter. He has a place among the explorers of the world. His military career, while brief, was highly honorable and effective. As a statesman, patriot and leader of men, he stood preëminent, while the number of his books and their quality would satisfy the ambition of one who wished only to be distinguished as an historian and in letters.

C. G. W.

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE

Andrew Dickson White was born at Homer, N. Y., November 7, 1832, and died at Ithaca, November 4, 1918. He was the son of Horace and Clara Dickson White, and his father was a pioneer in Western railroad building. He was graduated from Yale in 1853, receiving the degree of A. M. in 1856. In 1857 he became Professor of history and English literature at the University of Michigan, but in 1863 he returned to New York, where he became prominent in Republican politics and was elected to the New York legislature.

He became associated with Ezra Cornell and assisted in the founding of Cornell University in 1867. Doctor White became the first President, personally contributed \$300,000 to the establishment of the University, and in 1887 presented to it his library of 40,000 volumes. He retained his interest in political and diplomatic life, being President of the State Republican convention in 1871, Commissioner to Santo Domingo in 1871, Commissioner to the Paris Exposition in 1878, Minister to Germany 1879-1881, Minister to Russia 1892-1894, member of the Venezuela Commission in 1896, Ambassador to Germany, 1897-1902, and member of the International Peace Commission at the Hague in 1899. He received many honors from this and other countries, and was given honorary degrees by a dozen colleges. He retained the Presidency of Cornell until 1885.

Doctor White was the writer of many books, the most famous of which were "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology" and his own "Autobiography." He was elected to this Society in 1884, and although because of distance he did not attend the Society's meetings, yet he sent to the Library many of his books and kept in frequent touch through correspondence.

C. S. B

THE INCREASING DEBT OF HISTORY TO SCIENCE

BY ARCHER B. HULBERT

A generation ago Professor Macy said "The scientist wrecks his high ideal, truth-loving and truth-telling, the instant he enters politics and history, where beliefs and not external phenomena are the dominant factors."

Since those words were uttered the natural sciences have been putting historical theories under the magnifying-glass and in the test tube to a degree that is worthy of remark; from what has been accomplished and is on the eve of accomplishment, it seems plain that on several sides American history is undergoing a scientific clarification that will tend toward an accuracy not hitherto attained. A glance over this field of activity is reassuring and provokes interesting speculation as to the future.

In the generation mentioned we have seen a marked advance in the science of geography and geographical interpretations of history. This phase of activity may well be mentioned first because of the lesson it carries.

The Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain was formed in the middle of the Nineteenth Century as the result of colonial trade expansion and the new problems which that expansion brought forward. At about the same time came the formation of our American Geographical and Statistical Society, of which George Bancroft was elected first president in 1851. The original purpose of these organizations, as indicated, was the study of geography and its application to the development of commerce, the distribution of animal and vegetable productions and of the human race. The first paper read before our

American society was on "The Productions and Trade of Paraguay." The importance of such studies as these from a commercial standpoint was soon recognized, and the societies mentioned became clearing-houses too important in their relationship to national growth to remain the monopoly of scientific bodies. Government departments took up the work and official bulletins and consular reports became the mediums of information. This first service of the geographer was a notable one.

At the beginning of the present century we find geologist and geographer combining to give us geographical interpretations of history, and the appearance of studies on "Geographic Conditions" and "Geographic Influences." The Humes of American history were being enlightened by the Mahaffys. Perhaps these enthusiasts proved too much; in any event the reaction came in academic circles, led informally by Professor Burr, that master of winning and polite, but no less caustic analysis, and resulted in a number of valuable conferences in the American Historical Association. The conference on the relation of geography to history presided over by Professor Turner in 1907 was constructive and of especial clarifying value. Here Professor Burr and Professor George B. Adams pointed out that geography was but one factor in explaining history, and that no more in history than in mathematics can the outcome be inferred from one factor alone. Emphasis was laid on the fact that geographers were using ambiguous and inexact phraseology—as in the word "location," which might denote either an act, or the result of an act. "To impute action or causation, influence or control," Professor Burr was quoted, "to things which are inert is a figure of speech which gives vigor to style but which always involves a fallacy; and when to Nature is imputed what is planned and achieved by man, the sufferer from the fallacy is history." Most of the matters, said Professor Adams, which the geographers

call upon us to include in history are conditions not causes; he warned all and sundry not to be deceived into thinking that it was the waterfall which ground the wheat.

Two results from these discussions may be noted; one, an immediate result, was the common recognition of the lack of cartographical material for the teaching of history and the undertaking on the part of the American Historical Association of the preparation of an historical atlas; the other result, of more fundamental importance, was the recognition of the fact that when dealing in generalities, and embracing too wide a scope, geographical interpretations quite failed to elicit confidence. In illustration may be cited a chapter of a book which treats of a certain river valley as the gateway to the continent. Geologically the thesis is sound; historically it gives a most erroneous impression. Commonwealths beyond the Alleghenies were admitted to the Union almost, if not quite, a decade before the route mentioned began to resemble a thoroughfare of migration, and Lewis and Clark had gone to the Pacific before it became well-known; in the canal and railway era the passage-way rose to first importance and still maintains its prestige; but for the fifty crucial years of expansion into the West (1750-1800) it was, historically, the most effectually barred door in the eastern half of the country.

At the present time we find the study of geographical influences, refined in the fire of criticism, making enormous strides as applied locally to specific problems; types of such studies of great value are represented by such papers as Professor Posey's, "The Influence of Geographic Factors in the Development of Minnesota"¹ and Professor Sioussat's "Memphis as a Gateway to the West."² One needs but to scan the bibliography in Vol. III of the *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* to be impressed with the

¹Minnesota History Bulletin. II. Aug. 1918.

²Tennessee Historical Magazine, III. Mar., June 1917.

value to historians of the work being done by such men as Brigham, Tarr, Tower, and others. From this brief review of the influence of the study of physiographic factors on the teaching and understanding of history we see clearly the debt we owe to scientists who adhere closely to the fine art of truth-loving and truth-telling; their factors are of genuine importance so long as they are treated as factors; the conditions they present greatly enrich our understanding until they are confounded with causes. Historians of the Parkman type, who can command the insight of the geologist and topographer, may rewrite many sections of American history; the study of the relationship of the navigability of our rivers with reference to the inland advance of agriculture; the relationship of such barriers as the Berkshires to New England expansion; the rivalry of Memphis, St. Louis and Chicago as trans-continental railway termini, suggest types of study of local conditions which are being made on truly scientific lines. It is only when the historian turns tyro topographer, climatologist, botanist or hydrographer and becomes "possessed with the devil of one idea," as Professor Parks of Andover once said of the abolitionists, that we are in danger of believing that the multiplicand, by some sudden art of necromancy, has become the product.

In the triple alliance of the climatologist, botanist, and geologist we have a combination that will go far in clarifying our understanding of American expansion and the distribution of population. The stock example of settling a long-disputed historical problem with a magnifying-glass is, perhaps, too well known to bear repetition. Its value as a type of scientific checking of historical interpretation is too great, however, to be overlooked here. Dr. Fernald of the Gray Herbarium was too ardent a lover of truth-loving and truth-telling to swallow the story, perpetuated by a long line of historians, of Norsemen filling their ships with grapes on the New England

coast in springtime. Unawed by the array of Norse "towers" and other monuments, this scientist took back to Iceland the words of the Norse sagas and found that "vinber" meant mountain cranberries, not grapes; that "hveiti" meant strand wheat, not Indian corn; and that "mosurr" meant canoe-birch, not maple.³ In such a way was Bancroft's ancient contempt and James P. Dexter's earnest groping in his etymological laboratory made honourable by a scientist who located "Wineland the Good" between Labrador and the lower St. Lawrence. It is interesting to note, as a matter of professional gossip, that Dr. Fernald, so far from becoming "possessed with the devil of one idea" and continuing the ravages of his historical research, has rather made light of his valuable contribution to history and refused election to a very prominent historical society on the plea that he was a scientist and not in the least an historian.

The fact remains, however, that climatic conditions, plant life and agriculture are being taken into account today as never before, and to these we may well look, if not for such brilliant checking as was afforded by Dr. Fernald, at least for many fresh and reliable explanations for the distribution of pioneer populations.

The work of Ellsworth Huntington has commanded wide attention despite the criticism which it has attracted. In his *Civilization and Climate* he shows, for instance, how the advancement of the American Indians was checked by the fact that the regions which were otherwise best for them were also best for grass. This seemingly slight climatic coincidence, joined with the fact that the Indians had no tools of iron and no beasts of burden, prevented the growth of a stable civilization in the northern United States. Another set of climatic conditions, which today, strangely enough, are far from the most favorable, caused the vegetation of regions farther south to be much more

³M. L. Fernald, "Notes on the Plants of Wineland the Good." *Rhodora*, XII (Feb. 1910) 17-38.

tractable, for no tough sod could grow. Hence agriculture was possible in southern regions, and our forerunners in America were able to have a much more noteworthy flowering of civilization in the southern United States than in the northern, and a still greater in Mexico.

In the same author's *Civilization and Climate* and *The Red Man's Continent* he shows how the Indians reached their highest pitch of advancement in three highly diverse ways corresponding to three equally diverse types of environment. The first was the irrigation civilization of the Southwest and Mexico. The second found its chief exponent in the Haidas of the Pacific coast near Vancouver Islands, where there grew up a type of culture dependent upon an abundant supply of fish for food and the easy lines of communication furnished by safe and easy waterways among the islands. The third was the cruel, but highly vigorous culture of the Iroquois, centering in a region which stimulates intense activity, but which at the same time had the great handicap of having a climate which made permanent agriculture almost impossible for the Indians because the growth of grass in their fields compelled them to move at frequent intervals.

The second instance to which he refers is in *World Power and Evolution* where he shows the remarkable agreement between the curve of climatic pulsations as worked out in Asia, the Mediterranean regions, and California on the one hand, and the rise and fall of prosperity and activity in Rome on the other. In his opinion this parallelism is one of the most interesting features of the investigation of climatic changes.

Another coincidence of this same kind is that the Mohammedan outburst, as Professor Huntington has shown in "Palestine and its Transformation," came just at the driest time known to history, while the outpouring from Central Asia under Ghengis Khan came at another extremely dry time. Doubtless other causes would have led to a stirring of the nations under

the impulse of Mohammed and Ghengis, but the extreme dryness and consequent hunger seem to have played an important part in making these particular outbursts from the desert so much more serious than any other.

Enthusiasms, such as shown by Professor Huntington, must be excused because they are explorations into new fields and hold a modicum of plausibility. It is easy to say that he builds too great an edifice on a small array of foundation facts. But many of his leads are valuable, and from them we may come to profit to a degree unguessed by those who minimize the net results to date.

While too much attention should not be given to the atmospheric pressure in the halls of political conventions, not even the Constitutional Convention of 1787, climatic and soil conditions which favored the growth of certain trees, plants, and grasses will give us clearer explanations of westward American migration than we now have. When the Watauga Region in the Southern Alleghenies was found to be a second New York State as a butter and cream region, but removed so far southward that cattle would winter unharmed in the open, it became a magnet of migration; the strong argument in building the Ohio canals (which benefited all the Great Lake States equally with Ohio) was that they gave a northward outlet for grains which frequently turned sour in the long voyage to semi-tropic New Orleans; the position of the most northerly ice-free port on the Mississippi River was a dominant factor in railway building in the Middle West in much the way Port Arthur dominated Russian advance upon Manchuria.

Professor Turner, a generation ago, called attention to the limestone pathways leading southward from the old granary of America, Pennsylvania, to the limestone oases of Tennessee and Kentucky. The plant life of these limestone districts exerted far-reaching influences. In the wheat-fields of Pennsylvania the

English hunter was crossed with the "dog-horses" (as one of General Braddock's officers described them) of Virginia, giving us first the sturdy packhorse of the Indian traders and then the strong wagon-and-coach-horse. These animals arose from out these wheat fields as naturally as did the McCormick reaper. Here, too, was first seen that lumbering vehicle of American migration, the Conestoga wagon, as different from the Concord coach as the civilizations which lay back of them. The place of this limestone zone in the history of American transportation is worthy of emphasis; here was built the first American canal; here plied Fitch's first steamboat; here was built the first steam engine to run on a highway; here was built the first American stone road.

Migration westward followed unconsciously vegetative zones, soils producing nut-bearing trees and mast, the pea-vine valleys and blue grass meadows and balds; the Shenandoah Valley in turn became the granary of Virginia and the pathway of migration on its centripetal route by Cumberland Gap to the Kentucky blue grass zone. When this movement reached Staunton and the blue grass regions of the New and Greenbriar valleys it would naturally have struck straight to its evident goal the Ohio Valley. But the coal measures of the Great Kanawha and Big Sandy blocked the road, sending the movement on the line of greatest vegetative attraction across both the James and New rivers to the five limestone valley tributaries of the Tennessee and thus to Nashville and Boonesboro. Kephart has cited the razorback hog as a pilot of this migrating army which made possible the timely occupation of Kentucky on the eve of the Revolution. He gives good proof that you could not drive that dogmatic, four-legged Calvinist out of his vegetative zone of least resistance and emphasizes that his flesh was the mainstay of the migratory horde.

In proof of the domination of these influences of plant life one needs only to turn to the formal and

informal propaganda of promoters and land companies of the era of expansion into the trans-Allegheny wilderness. Weather conditions, length of seasons, soils, and kinds and dimensions of shrubs and trees were uniformly cited in proof of the excellence of one region over another. Washington's measurement of the giant sycamore on the Ohio in 1770 (done at the risk of his reputation for truth-telling) was intended to indicate merely that such was the fertility of the soil (which he desired to rent for 999 years at a good rental) that it could produce trees forty-five feet in circumference.

The fact that land companies rivalled each other in pointing out the pharmaceutical superiority of the growths on lands offered for sale reminds us that the relationship of migration to disease and choice of settlements has not been scientifically developed. The effects of malaria, miasma, and kindred diseases to settlement making and pioneering is practically an untouched field; the failure of many a prospector and colonizing enterprise, the rise and decay of numerous towns in unhealthy environments, and possibly much of the so-called *wanderlust* of the rovers who led the pioneer advance, might be explained more fully by the student of bacteria than by the historian. These insidious influences had farther reaching effects than have been recognized, influencing mind as well as body, religion as well as diet, politics as well as complexion.

The hysteria, for instance, which accompanied periods of religious excitement along our frontiers was part and parcel with the fanaticism which led the Indian "medicine men" to exert such ghoulish control upon their morbid, distraught proselytes, attaining a terrible success that, in one instance, at least, affected a stolid representative of the white race. The monotony of life in the half-lights of the forests, with its perpetual tendency to provoke the ailments universal to the Indian, pulmonary disorder, together

with the inroads of malarial germs, gave to the pioneer race sallowness of complexion and, together with a limited diet, a gauntness of frame, which characterized them so commonly that the highlander of today in Appalachia feels disgraced by a fat son. The oppressiveness of the monotonous silence of forest life affected mind and, without doubt, body; this was particularly true of women, the mothers of the children of the wilderness, and their sons were the weaker for it; this, perhaps as much as the toil of wilderness existence, may account for the lessened longevity on the part of the pioneer crusaders of our young West.

The lack of zoölogical maps of the west likewise hinders our understanding of the distribution of earliest populations. Maps showing clear lines marking the habitat of the valuable fur-bearing animals will measurably add to our understanding of fur company and international rivalries and the retardations in occupation of zones which did not exert that magnetic influence. Such maps will make much clearer the explanation of the artificial tangents on which numerous migrations struck out and the curiosities of the haphazard occupation of our northwest; the mapping of these zones with reference to the fertile agricultural regions on the one hand, and of the gold and silver areas on the other, will clear up much of the haziness in our understanding of the social movements from the former to the latter.

In the realm of hydrography and aerography the progress made in the past decade is instinct with promise. Those of us who have scripturally believed the winds fitting symbols of fickleness are a little confused to hear them classed among stable and dependable natural phenomena. Certain trade winds we have known are as regular as the seasons, but to be told that the great air currents can be relied upon generally to aid in explaining the seemingly whimsical routes of early explorers and help us to understand

their landfalls and omissions as well as commissions is altogether new.

This work, begun by Professor George Davidson of the University of California, is being continued by Director Alexander McAdie of the Blue Hill Observatory. The work of these men has already made much clearer the facts concerning the discoveries of Vancouver, Drake, and Cooke on the Pacific Coast. By a careful comparison of the original logs kept by these explorers with our present knowledge of air currents, tides, fogs, sea-floor, and coast-lines, these scientists have proven that the "Golden Hinde," for instance, could not have reached the latitude of 48° North as has been uniformly stated and repeated in as late an authority as the last edition of the *Britannica*. They give us certain proof of scientific accuracy that the farthest point reached was 43° North; that Drake could not have discovered San Francisco Bay but, rather, found his anchorage behind Point Reyes, which region he christened "Nova Albion."⁴

It is not unlikely that many of the voyages of the old explorers will be examined in the light of our growing knowledge of air and ocean currents, tides, fogs, and sea-floor, and that many old-time puzzles, such as Cartier's missing the mouth of the St. Lawrence in his first voyage, will be scientifically explained.

As factors in this recasting of opinions the progress in study of marine life will not be without its value; we know vaguely that forms of life frequenting the Gulf Stream differ entirely from those which are found in the submerged Arctic Current on the one hand or in the Sargasso Sea, on the other. The proof that Columbus and other explorers were dependent, or the reverse, on the Gulf Stream for finding the Caribbeans, lies largely with the biologists and ornithologists as well as with the hydrographers.

⁴"An examination of the Early Voyages . . . 1539 to 1603," U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Appendix No. 7; "Nova Albion—1579," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, v. 28. 1918.

More than a decade ago Professor Bassett showed clearly how the study of the coast of the Carolinas could be made to clarify historical interpretation. Probably it will not be long before the science of hydrography will establish a comparison, for instance, between our two great gulfs, the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of St. Lawrence with reference to tides, currents and sea-floor. No history with which I am acquainted compares those two great waterway avenues into the heart of America; we know in general that the ocean tides sweep a thousand miles up one river and only about a dozen miles up the other; that one river flows clear from a rocky archæan highland leaving no deposit at its mouth, while the other brings down its alluvial valley four hundred million tons of silt and clay annually to block and metamorphose its innumerable mouths. These vague outstanding facts when scientifically developed by men fitted to speak with accuracy, will make plain why the St. Lawrence became the key to the interior and would have done so had there been no Great Lakes at its head; also why the Mississippi was such an enigma to explorers and was never ascended by Europeans even in small craft until thirty years after the Great Lakes were comparatively well known.

In this connection the soil-carrying power of water has produced sociological results in the way of town and city planting that are worthy of study in numerous instances. The more rapid a stream's current the larger are the soil particles which can be carried in suspension. If the current is moving three inches per second, fine clay and silt will be deposited; at eight inches a second, sand the size of linseed will be deposited. At a rate of sixteen inches a second pebbles an inch in diameter will be transported, while water flowing two feet per second will carry stones the size of a hen's egg.

This study of the relation of soil to velocity of streams explains why alluvial lands have varied

stratified deposits as the currents have varied, and why the richest of soils are likely to be deposited in the backwaters and the coarser near river banks; thus the draining of inland lagoons and swamps discovers exceedingly rich soil. Deltas are usually most productive. If streams at flood tide, bearing much deposit, are blocked from entering other streams to which they are tributary, they become still water and deposit their soil-burden in their channel or upon the surrounding bottom lands. These channel deposits are washed into the main river when the blockade is removed, and, sinking, form bars.

Excellent soils at all deltas had a direct bearing on making such spots choice land for the squatter or prospector. The bars in the main river added to the strategic character of the mouths of streams as sites of settlements and, often, of towns. The bars in the main stream lessened its depth and made fording safer. The main fords were located by the larger game animals at such points, and men, following their well-laid paths, found and used these fords. Frequently high water rendered the ford impassable especially after vehicles came into use. Thus the ferry-boat was needed and the business of ferrying was a profitable one. Ownership of land at such points was, therefore, doubly advantageous, giving the owner a lucrative employment at odd hours. As vehicle travel became common, the ferry was usually moved to a point above the shifting bars where there was a steady depth of water. Railways came later, following streams with monotonous regularity, and bridged streams on the site of the ancient ford. Hundreds of farms in these strategic locations became hamlets in the era of the stage and wagon, and blossomed into cities on the advent of the railways. Behind this interesting evolution we see its secret—the soil-transporting power of water. Studies of this type founded on sound scientific reasoning, give a

basis frequently for the explanation of facts never otherwise understood.

Before closing, the very recent and important development of aerial photography which will be invaluable to the writers of the histories of the late war, should be mentioned. When one considers the endless discussion of the past over positions of lines held and advances made it is not without a feeling of gratitude to these faithful men of daring that we recognize the basis they have laid for correct physiographical studies of the war, sector by sector.

As no one factor explains a result, so no result is understood without the proper recognition of all factors which exert a control over it. The spirit of the day—our admiration for, and devotion to, truth-loving and truth-telling—demands a catholicity of temperament and a loathing of bias on the part of our historical writers. As never before the natural sciences have become the handmaidens of history, and every clarifying influence they exert, or suggestion they offer, must be hailed with attention and gratitude.

SOME PAPERS OF AARON BURR

BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCY FORD

The history of this collection of some ninety letters is this. Matthew L. Davis, for many years the friend and trusted adviser of Burr, to whom he left his papers in order that a memoir—a euphemism for a defence—might be prepared, in 1839 gave to Mrs. John Davis of Massachusetts, at her request, some “autographs” selected from the Burr papers. An autograph may be an historical paper, but usually it is not. The autograph hunter is contented to possess a signature, a legal document with seal and signature, or a portion of a letter cut or torn from its context, although in the process the ruin of a fine historical paper might be caused. What the Grangerizer is to books the autograph hunter is to manuscripts—a pest to be educated out of his destructive courses or to be restrained from access to collections of papers. Davis, judging by his compilation, had no just idea of the value or relation of what had been entrusted to him. The name at the foot of the writing he judged according to the popular conception of individuals in history entertained in 1839, and that conception was wholly wrong. There were as many collectors of hair, last words, buttons, and buckles as of historical papers, and a letter of Washington had no more value than a letter of one of his generals or aides—which was no value at all. So limited was the market for such objects, so easily satisfied, and so little the discrimination of so-called collectors that the best of family records suffered by attrition, and years after Davis so light-heartedly drew on the Burr bequest to gratify the caprice of a namesake, Jared Sparks could distribute on request a state paper of Washington leaf by leaf. It was as

intelligent and praiseworthy as a mutual distribution of photographs—a later fancy which somewhat relieved the growing pressure for autographs.

If it is assumed that Davis had no true idea of what a manuscript should be, valuable for its content—and nowhere has he given evidence of possessing such an idea—then the righteous indignation of every student of the Burr period is fittingly directed against him. To dip casually into a collection and select almost accidentally a few papers would be a procedure to shame a modern investigator. Like the *haruspex* of old he must most carefully examine the entrails of the victim to determine the course of fate. Only on a careful search can the best of a collection be found. What must have been the Burr papers if any judgment can be based on the haphazard selection of these autographs! Name some of these pieces: the letter of Roger Sherman announcing the appointment by Congress of general officers in the Continental army in 1775, with the reasons; an important letter from General Schuyler to General Montgomery (1775), letters from Charles Lee, Chase and Carroll, Lincoln, Hull and Duer to General Wooster; an address in French to the inhabitants of Quebec signed by Benedict Arnold, enjoining them to accept the paper bills of credit of the Continental Congress; a holograph letter of Israel Putnam to Margaret Moncrieffe, and Putnam's letters are so few in number as to be a most sought acquisition, and in them the spelling is according to Putnam not to Johnson—or anywhere near it; a long letter on military matters from Alexander Macdougall and a short note from James Rivington—was he a tory or a good rebel, or both? another from James Wilkinson—is there any doubt as to what he was or deserved? a letter from Gallatin and a few lines from Hamilton; political sheets from Caesar A. Rodney, Thomas Jefferson, Jonathan Russell, Isaiah Bloomfield, Alexander J. Dallas, Willett, Thomas Truxtun, John Taylor of Caroline; a fine letter from

Luther Martin to Joseph Alston on Burr's imprisonment in Richmond, and examples of Theodosia and her husband, of the Prevosts and of Burr himself. If such are sample pieces, what must the whole Burr collection have been? Did it contain the papers of the unfortunate—yet fortunate General Wooster, who did not live to meet certain defeat? Did it contain the records of that rash and ill-considered expedition of 1775-76 to Canada? The sense of indignation against Davis increases as each piece is noted. How account for his criminal carelessness in permitting such a collection to be lost? It was a crime against Burr, his friend and benefactor, and it was a crime against posterity. The incident gives a proper measure of Matthew L. Davis.¹ Fortunately the Ms. of Burr's Journal, when in Europe, 1808-1810, escaped destruction and has been adequately printed by the generous interest of Mr. William K. Bixby, of St. Louis. The Burr papers as they were can only be fancied from the few samples that have survived. This volume made up for Mrs. John Davis thus becomes precious, for it is more characteristic of Burr than any I have met, yet, I insist, the selection must have been accidental.

In another way these letters form an indictment against Davis and all his kind. He took unpardonable liberties with the text of some which he did print. I have in another place² tried to show the gradual development of the editorial function, so largely a matter of conscience, and free speech, and need not again specify the various sins which were in favor when Davis too successfully edited his trust into nothingness. He was guilty of all of them. Whatever was thought of Burr in his public and in his private relations—and the opinion held of him in the nine-

¹In none of the biographical dictionaries is his middle name spelled out and he is invariably referred to as Matthew L. Davis. Mr. A. J. Wall of the N. Y. Historical Society, in answering a letter of inquiry on the subject, finds that his name was Matthew Livingston Davis, that he was born Oct. 28, 1773, the son of Matthew Davis and Phebe Wells, and that he was buried in Trinity Church cemetery.

²American Historical Review, XXIII, 273.

teenth century was quite impressively unanimous—was due to Davis, described as his sole friend for a almost a generation. The worst breach of trust is that which involves the reputation of a benefactor, of one who has bestowed favors and consideration with or without selfish purpose. Burr did not live or die in the odor of sanctity—he could not, in spite of the accumulated credit of his ancestry, in spite of much in extenuation he could himself have supplied. But the bad odor which contemporary conditions aggravated might have been partially deodorized by a judicious statement of truth, for which, from his point of view, the papers left by Burr would have been ample.

Of this responsibility Davis had not the slightest consciousness. With his friend's repute solemnly entrusted to him he went out of his way to destroy it. The deliberate stab which was as needless as it was fatal, is contained in Davis' introduction and again in the text of the *Memoirs*,³ where the morals of Burr were blackened beyond recovery. The opening given to explain or even to excuse his public career was as deliberately neglected. Burr, the man, was stripped naked for public exposure, and this was done by the one person whom he had long known, favored and looked upon as his defender to be. Even royalty cannot stand such a test. "The generality of princes," says Gibbon, and it is as true now as 1600 years ago, "if they were stripped of their purple and cast naked into the world, would immediately sink to the lowest rank of society, without a hope of emerging from their obscurity."⁴ We are asked to believe that Davis was a creditable correspondent of the New York "*Courier and Enquirer*" and of the London "*Times*." Such an experience should have developed a journalistic habit useful in biography, a sense of what is important, or striking, or informing. In fact he took a diamond

³*Memoirs*, I. 91, 181.

⁴Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (Milman ed.), III. 133.

and reduced it to paste. He blabbed and destroyed the evidence. Could there be greater or more cowardly disloyalty?

If this journalist, of whose merits so low an opinion must be formed, was responsible for the quite uncalled for exposure of Burr's personal weaknesses, another journalist sought to remedy the fault. James Parton, was, in my early days, somewhat unjustly described as the "great American romancer." Imagination is a desirable quality in biography, especially where the writer is "short" of knowledge or material and a little "long" on temperament. The most successful bit of biographical writing in America was Weems' Washington, which savors of qualities to be found in a mediæval romance of knighthood or of sainthood. What Weems was in little Parton was in large, and his relations are picturesque, highly colored and keenly journalistic—still not unreadable and quite misleading. He was incapable of sounding the depths of character, of analyzing motives and following the turnings of that self-deception which so largely constitutes political life. His Burr is a more winning personality and a more important actor in the drama of history than the Burr of Davis; but in seeking to accomplish this result he so disposed the lights and shadows as to produce a picture which was not a portrait. Even his industry could not manufacture the necessary material, and his use of what he had is often open to question. It should also be remembered that the Burr was Parton's second attempt at biography and his first on a national scale. For Horace Greeley before 1855 was not a figure to be evoked from its partial obscurity except by an aspiring journalist.⁵ Generally speaking for a newspaper man to write of a living master journalist smacks of the biography condemned by the description of a "campaign biography." Parton's Burr was a great improvement on

⁵Parton's *Life of Greeley* appeared in 1855; his *Burr* in 1858.

that of Davis, but yet much was required before proper estimation could be had. What could he have turned out had he been in the possession of the wealth thrown away upon Davis!

The historian who discovered Aaron Burr was Henry Adams. Alone, Burr had been studied chiefly in the shadows of the duel with Hamilton, his successful opponent rather than rival; in relation, Mr. Adams placed him in a series of dramatic tableaux where the high light developed positions which, analyzed, proved hitherto unrecognized qualities and possibilities. History is not merciless, but only true. Partisan history is not only merciless but untrue, and Burr, a politician, pictured by writers of pronounced political leanings, suffered through personal qualities which demanded sympathy without having deserved it. The most complex combination of elements yields to chemical analysis; it may be measured, weighed and broken into its constituents. The simplest character defies analysis, because there are no absolutes, no definite weights, no uniform, inexorable combinations. Unconsciously we use false weights and measures, for we use our own equipment and seek to apply it to other times and other persons. Could anything be more misleading?

Let us summarize the Adams presentation. He describes Burr as of "pure Connecticut Calvinistic blood"⁶ as having succeeded in lowering the standard of New York politics,⁷ something that to our more experienced generation would seem impossible. And then passing over the detail of twenty active years—Burr was forty-five years of age in 1801—he places him in the United States Senate, on March 4, about to take the oath as Vice-President of the United States, but one step below the office which the interested flattery and trained garrulity of midwives have predicted for every male child born in the country

⁶History, I. 109. Mr. Chapin, of the Rhode Island Historical Society, tells me that the term is one implying reproach.

⁷Ib., 112.

since Washington first took the oath of the Presidency, and for which Lincoln and Garfield kept alive the traditions of humble beginnings and glorious endings, and the voice of pure democracy preaches the gospel of equality of opportunity. Here is the picture:

“Another person, with individuality not less marked, took the oath of office the same day. When the Senate met at ten o’clock on the morning of March 4, 1801, Aaron Burr stood at the desk, and having duly sworn to support the Constitution, took his seat in the chair as Vice-President. This quiet, gentlemanly, and rather dignified figure, hardly taller than Madison, and dressed in much the same manner, impressed with favor all who first met him. An aristocrat imbued in the morality of Lord Chesterfield and Napoleon Bonaparte, Colonel Burr was the chosen head of Northern democracy, idol of the wards of New York city, and aspirant to the highest offices he could reach by means legal or beyond the law; for as he pleased himself with saying, after the manner of the First Consul of the French Republic, ‘Great souls care little for small morals.’ Among the other party leaders who have been mentioned,—Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin, Marshall,—not one was dishonest. The exaggerations or equivocations that Jefferson allowed himself, which led to the deep-rooted conviction of Marshall that he did not tell the truth and must therefore be dangerous, amounted to nothing when compared with the dishonesty of a corrupt man. Had the worst political charges against Jefferson been true, he would not have been necessarily corrupt. The self-deception inherent in every struggle for personal power was not the kind of immorality which characterized Colonel Burr. Jefferson, if his enemies were to be believed, might occasionally make misstatements of fact; yet he was true to the faith of his life, and would rather have abdicated his office and foregone his honors than have compassed even an imaginary wrong against the principles he professed. His life,

both private and public, was pure. His associates, like Madison, Gallatin, and Monroe, were men upon whose reputations no breath of scandal rested. The standard of morality at Washington, both in private society and in politics, was respectable. For this reason Colonel Burr was a new power in the government; for being in public and in private life an adventurer of the same school as scores who were then seeking fortune in the antechambers of Bonaparte and Pitt, he became a loadstone for every other adventurer who frequented New York or whom the chances of politics might throw into office. The Vice-President wielded power, for he was the certain centre of corruption."

Events soon showed that Jefferson could wield the national patronage in such a manner as to paralyze Burr's motions to strengthen a political position in New York. Local appointments tipped the scales in favor of Burr's rivals—the Clintons—or purchased the desertion of his supporters—the Livingstons; and scarcely had the summer of 1801 passed before Jefferson's own party in New York had been hopelessly split and Burr was well-advanced on the road of opposition. His personal dislike of Jefferson, which was cordially reciprocated, soon led to open insubordination. Under dictation, but not reluctantly, the press of party began to hound Burr from public life.⁸ So successful was the attack that in 1804, with retirement from the Vice-Presidency in sight, Burr, "bankrupt in public and private character, abandoned by his own party as a man who no longer deserved confidence," turned to the Federalists for support. He gained recognition, aroused the jealousy of Hamilton and—we all know what followed. It is not so much the death of Hamilton on which we would dwell; it is that from the Federalists Burr gained the idea of disunion. Ambition and revenge, directed

⁸Adams's History, I, 279-283.

against the equally ambitious leader of the Federalists and the even more astute and powerful leader of the Republicans, were his undoing. In the flash of the pistol on Weehawken heights Burr ended all chance of regaining by legitimate means power the future might have held. His idea of an independent western confederation, even of an empire to be carved from Spanish territory, was splendid imagery approaching the dreams of a hashish smoker. So far from considering his career as ended when acquitted on a charge of treason, he had become desperate, and would "rather sacrifice the interests of his country than renounce celebrity and fortune." Such was the opinion of the French minister.⁹ and such has been the verdict of posterity.

This cold-blooded, selfish ambition which so overreached itself is the public life of the man. Mr. Adams very properly confines his treatment to Burr's public career, using it judiciously as a foil to develop the position of other actors no more scrupulous than he in political battle. The other side—the personal—is better told in Burr's own letters—those to his wife, to his daughter and, if rumor and Davis are accepted, to almost any woman who was presentable and inconsolable. It is difficult to reconcile the two aspects of the man; indeed they cannot be reconciled. Allowing for the undoubted exaggeration of his faults, we find no reason to discount the dole of his virtues displayed in his affection for wife and daughter. Theodosia Burr has become one of the romantic characters in our history—not because much is known of her, but because what is known tempts speculation on inheritance and awakens doubt on what might have developed. To have surrendered to her influence is Burr's chief claim upon our compassion.

He possessed a like capacity for awakening affection in others—in his youth, something more than affection,

⁹Adams's History, II. 402, 407.

an unquestioning confidence. The names of his adherents in 1806 are those of his associates in 1776—thirty years earlier. Wilkinson, Dayton, Ogden, who were with him in the Canada campaign, reappear themselves or in a son in the New Orleans conspiracy. Yet with what a difference! The earlier venture is tinged with the spirit of a crusade, that lasting force which appeals to the ages; and its miserable failure can be placed largely to an excess of zeal which had neglected to measure material difficulties before presuming upon success through appeals to mutiny—to disloyalty. Montgomery, Wooster, and the lesser officers died in an effort to reach an “oppressed” people who did not want to be saved from their present governors. Arnold, Schuyler, Hazen and others survived that effort, making reputations of various colors by their service, developed later qualities or invited experiences which left them in arrested development or partial obscurity. It was New England that unjustly hampered Schuyler; it was ambition deformed under a sense of injustice that gave Arnold his undesirable eminence; it was poverty that reduced Hazen to helplessness.

Burr lived to share a combination of these misshapen fortunes, and in the event to have his name linked with Arnold. His personal bravery was not questioned—until his desertion of his fellow-conspirators on the Mississippi. His ambition kept alive a touch of idealism which had made the crusader in 1775, the politician of 1800, and the schemer after 1804. The man who impressed his college mates and won their confidence, was the same man who gained such control in New York politics as to be within sight, even touch, of the Presidency. The man who could plan the overthrow of his rival in political ambition was the same who could picture the carving of a kingdom from the western territory, the ousting of Spain from an empire. Yet whatever motion he embarked upon seems to have been undertaken on too

small capital—a reflection of the Canada situation. His political machine, sufficient for the moment, broke down when its strength appeared greatest, because his duel with Hamilton rendered its further growth difficult, if not impossible. A social machine which is for a moment arrested in motion is generally stalled in action. His attempt to detach the western states from the union failed, because he aroused somewhat late in the day the opposition of the United States government. Had he succeeded to his content, his means were totally inadequate to his object. Spain's empire in America—only a small part of which Burr coveted—has given the final test of his scheme based as it was upon nothing substantial. The long and trying passage of Spanish possessions from colonies to independent states, even now not wholly accomplished in some after nearly a century of effort, proves how little chance a foreign adventurer would have had to obtain so much as a foothold in territory or making a lasting impression on the population of that territory. The equally long list of attempts to gain access to and alter this inert but combustible material, from Miranda to our intervention in Cuba, reduces Burr's intent to foolishness. By poverty he became an adventurer; and worst of all, he alienated even those who in personal loyalty or from interest attached their hopes and fortunes to his career, so thoroughly that it was literally true in the end he had as a follower only Matthew L. Davis. It is one of Davis' peculiarities that he blamed Washington for not favoring Burr—though neither he nor Burr can give evidence of a personal hostility on the part of the general and president. The distrust and opposition of Jefferson and others are well established by the records, but they were incidents in the career of any ambitious politicians, versed in the methods of the darker side of political management. More suggestive than either of these forces was that which came from himself, making Wilkinson his betrayer, Dayton treacherous

and involving all concerned with him in perils such as obliged them to desert him and seek their own safety at the very time when he most needed their help and countenance. It is a remarkable history, whether studied on the lines of heredity, of development of character, or of performance; and few public characters in the history of the United States offer so picturesque a model for a biography, such a combination of capability and sordidness, ambition and power, ruthless pursuit of great ends on nothing but unstable personality. Playing for large stakes the cards were against him, but he had done his best to stack them in his own favor, and no true gambler complains when he loses. A succession of failures marks the salient points in his career. For his failures he had himself to blame; for our ignorance of little but his failures and for the absence of a possible salvage of character we hold Matthew L. Davis responsible.

MATTHEW L. DAVIS TO MRS. JOHN DAVIS¹⁰

NEW YORK 25th November 1839.

MADAM,—

Some time since you expressed a wish that I would select from among the papers of the late Col. Aaron Burr, a few Revolutionary Autographs. With others of a later date, they are herewith presented. May I be permitted to ask their acceptance as a testimonial of the profound respect entertained for your great Worth, and rare intellectual acquirements, by, Mada, Your most Obt. Servt.

M. L. DAVIS.

The Hon. Mrs. John Davis, Worcester

WILLIAM PATERSON TO AARON BURR¹¹

PRINCETON, Thursday Noon.

[January 17th 1772.]

DEAR BURR,—I am just ready to take horse, and therefore cannot have the pleasure of waiting on you in person. Be

¹⁰Eliza, daughter of Rev. Aaron and Lucretia (Chandler) Bancroft, was born February 17, 1791, married, March 28, 1822, John Davis, and died January 24, 1872. See *Ancestry of John Davis and Eliza Bancroft*, compiled by Horace Davis, San Francisco, 1897.

¹¹Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 36.

pleased to accept of the inclosed Essay on Dancing: if you pitch upon it as the Subject of your next discourse, it may perhaps furnish you with a few hints, and enable you to compose with the greater facility and dispatch. To do you any little services in my power will afford me great satisfaction, and I hope you will take the liberty (it is nothing more, my Dear Burr, than the freedom of a friend,) to call upon me whenever you think I can. When I shall be here again is uncertain; perhaps not before vacation: forbear with me whilst I say, *that you cannot speak too slow*. Your good judgment generally leads you to lay the emphasis on the most forcible word in the sentence; so far you are very right. But the misfortune is, that you lay too great stress upon the emphatical word. Every word should be distinctly pronounced; one should not be so highly sounded as to drown another. To see you shine as a speaker would give great pleasure to your friends in general, and to me in particular; I say nothing of your own honour; the desire of making others happy will, to a generous mind, be the strongest incentive. I am much mistaken, if such a desire has not great influence over you. You are certainly capable of making a good speaker. Exert yourself. I am in haste; Dear Burr, adieu.

WM. PATERSON.

Be careful of the inclosed; it is the only copy I have.

Mr. Aaron Burr.

[Addressed] To Mr. Aaron Burr.

[Memorandum] William Paterson Princeton Jan'y 17th 1772. Princeton.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, JUN., TO AARON BURR.¹²

DEAR SIR,—By a poor candle, with poor eyes, and a poorer brain, I sit down to introduce a long wished for correspondence. You see how solicitous I am to preserve old connections, or rather to begin new ones. Relationship, by the fashionable notions of those large towns, which usurp a right to lead and govern our opinions, is dwindled to a formal nothing—a mere shell of ceremony. Our ancestors, whose honesty and simplicity, though different from the wise refinements of modern

¹²Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1 p. 41.

politeness, were, perhaps, as deserving of imitation, as the insincere coldness of the present generation, cousin'd it to the tenth degree of kindred. Tho' this was extending the matter to a pitch of extravagance, yet it was certainly founded upon a natural, rational principle. Who are so naturally our friends, as those who are born such? I defy a *New Yorker*, tho' callous'd over with city politeness, to be otherwise than pleased, with a view of ancient hospitality to relations, when exercised by a person of good breeding, and a genteel education. Now, say you, what has this to do with the introduction of correspondence? You shall know directly sir. The Edwardses have been always remarkable for this fondness for their relations. If you have the least inclination to prove yourself a true descendant of that (to us) respectable stock, you cannot fail of answering me very soon. This, was I disposed, I could demonstrate by algebra and syllogisms, in a twinkling; But hope you will believe me without either. I never asked for many connections in this way, nor was ever denied, but once, by a *Jersey*¹³ Gentleman, originally of *New England*. I hope the disease is not epidemical, and that you have not determined against any communication with the rest of the world. It was a mortification, I confess: for I am too proud to be denied a request, tho' unreasonable, as many of mine are. Therefore I insist upon an answer, at least; and as many more, as you can find in your heart to give me; promising in return, as many by tale, though, without a large profit, at least 50 per cent. shant warrant their quality. I am Sir your sincere friend and servant,

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, Jun'r.

New Haven, March I don't know the day 1772 Wednesday.

[Addressed] For Mr. Aaron Burr at Nassau Hall in Princeton New Jersey. Favoured by Mr. Davenport.

[Memorandum] Timothy Dwight New-Haven March 10th 1772. Princeton.

¹³The gentleman's name was Allen, with whom you are doubtless acquainted. I wrote him two letters, and received no answer, which was a little disagreeable to me; almost as much so, as it would have been to him, to have answered me.

SAMUEL SPRING TO AARON BURR¹⁴

It is a little strang to me that I have not heard any thing of you since your examination. I dont know but you are turned back and out of College too since you are so bakward to write, however I will if possible keep such thoughts out of my mind till I hear from you in particular. If you are let down a peg lower you may tell me of it: if you are permitted to live in College you may tell of it; and if you are turn'd out you may tell of that too; if you passed examination and have a Syllogism to speak at commencement *if you are able to make it* I suppose you may tell me of that likewise; or if you have got the *first oration in the class* you may *tell me if you will only do it softly*, indeed you may tell me any thing for I profess to be your friend. Therefore since you can trust me so far, I expect you will now write and let me know a little how matters are at present in College. In particular let me know the state of the society, and if I owe anything to it do you pay it and *charge it to your humble servant*. I hope you will write the first opportunity as I trust you have got some very good news to tell me concerning College in general, and I hope of yourself in particular. I have nothing remarkable to write at present; it is very pleasant to me where I am at present. The study of Divinity is very agreeable far more so than any other study would be to me whatever. I hope to see the time when you will see it your duty to go into the same study with a desire for the ministry. Remember that that was the prayer of your dear father and mother and is the prayer of your friends to this time, that you should step forth into his place and make it manifest that you are a friend to heaven and that you have a tast for glory. But this you are sensible can never be the case if you remain in a state of nature, therefore improve the present and future moments to the best of purposes, as knowing the time will soon be upon you when you will wish that in living you had lived right and acted rationally and like an immortal.

SAMUEL SPRING.

[Addressed] To Mr. Aaron Burr, Princeton, N. Jersey College.

[Memorandum] Sam'l Spring, New-Port, May 15th, 1772.

¹⁴Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 62.

TIMOTHY EDWARDS TO AARON BURR¹⁵

STOCKBRIDGE, February 11th, 1774.

DEAR NEPHEW,—Whether you study law with Mr. Reeve, or your uncle Pierpont, is a matter of indifference with me. I would have you act your own pleasure therein altogether. I shall write to your uncle upon it, but yet treat it as a matter of doubt. Your board I shall settle with the Doctor¹⁶ myself. I will send you cash to pay for your horse, as soon as I have paid off, for my oxen, sent to the Jerseys, the last fall. Two hundred pounds for them is due this month. When that is paid you may be assured that I will send you as above. You may expect it on the fore part of March. If I had known of this want of yours sooner I would have paid it before this. We are all well and join in love etc. I am your affectionate Uncle and Guardian,

TIMO. EDWARDS.

Sally's things are to be sent by the first sleigh.

[Addressed] To Mr. Aaron Burr at Bethlehem.

JONATHAN SERGEANT, SEN., TO AARON BURR.

PRINCETON, May 24th, 1774.

SIR,—I received yours of the 21st Instant and observe the contents. I spent the next day after I was with you at Doctor Wetherspoon's¹⁷ about gitting the matter settled with him about the rent and at last got the Judgment of one man that he should pay Seven pounds per year but have got no money of him yet and he is gone to Philadelphia so that I cannot speak to him. I have spent some time examining my accounts and find nothing due from me. This morning I went to Mr. Longstreets to enquire if he had any but could not see him he being from home in quest of money for you. Doctor Wetherspoon says he has an account against you which he expects will answer part of his debt and the remainder I will git him to pay as soon as I can so that it's uncertain whether any will

¹⁵Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 46.

¹⁶Rev. Joseph Bellamy, of Bethlehem, Conn.

¹⁷John Witherspoon (1722-1794).

be ready for you this week or in a very short time or not. I
am, your friend and humble Servant,

JON'N SERGEANT.

[Addressed] To Mr. Aaron Burr at Elizabeth-town. By the
post.

ISAAC SEARS TO DAVID WOOSTER.¹⁸

NEW YORK, 14th June, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—The Troops from Cork destined for this City
may be hourly expected. I have the pleasure to inform you
that this day in Congress, it was moved That yourself and
troops be requested to encamp within five miles of this City.
The Motion was put off untill to morrow, at the intercession
of the Members for three Counties, and you may be assured it
will be carried by a great Majority.¹⁹

I am Dear Sir, Yours Affectionately,

ISAAC SEARS.

To General Wooster

ROGER SHERMAN TO DAVID WOOSTER²⁰

PHILADELPHIA June 23d 1775.

DEAR SIR,—The Congress having determined it necessary to
keep up an Army for the Defence of America at the Charge of
the United Colonies have appointed the following General
Officers George Washington Esqr. Commander in Chief,
Major Generals, Ward, Lee, Schuyler and Putnam, Brigadier
Generals Pomroy, Montgomery, yourself, Heath, Spencer,
Thomas, Major Sullivan, of New Hampshire and one Green of
Rhode Island. I am sensible that according to your former
rank you were intitled to the place of a Major General, and as
one was to be appointed in Connecticut I heartily recom-
mended you to the Congress. I informed them of the Arrange-
ment made by our Assembly, which I thought would be
satisfactory to have them continue in the same order, but as
General Putnam's fame was spread abroad, and especially his
successful enterprize at Noddles Island the account of which
had just arrived, it gave him a preference in the opinion of the

¹⁸(1729-1786).

¹⁹American Archives, 4th Sec., II, 1297, 1299.

²⁰Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 59.

Delegates in general so that his appoint[ment] was unanimous among the Colonies. but from your known abilities and firm attachment to the American cause we were very desirous of your continuance in the Army, and hope you will accept of the appointment made by the Congress. I think the pay of a Brigadier is about 125 Dollars per month. I suppose a Commission is sent to you by General Washington. We received Intelligence yesterday of an engagement at Charlestown but have not had the particulars. all the Connecticut Troops are now taken into the Continental Army. I hope proper care will be taken to secure the Colony against any sudden invasion, which must be at their own expence. I have nothing further that I am at Liberty to acquaint you with of the doings of the Congress but what have been made public. I would not have any thing published in the papers that I write lest something may inadvertently escape me which ought not to be published. I should be glad if you would write to me every convenient opportunity and inform me of such occurrences, and other matters as you may think proper and useful for me to be acquainted with. I am with great esteem Your humble Servant,

ROGER SHERMAN.

P.S. The General Officers were Elected in the Congress not by nomination but by Ballot.

David Wooster Esqr.

[Addressed] To Major General Wooster of Connecticut, not at New York or Greenwich.

Forwarded by Sir Your very humble servant, John Hancock. Philadelphia 27 June 1775.

JOSEPH REED²¹ TO DAVID WOOSTER

Camp at CAMBRIDGE, July 25, 1775.

Sir,—I am directed by his Excellency General Washington to inform you that yesterday afternoon 3 Men of War with a number of Transports sailed from Boston. They steer'd E. S. E. after they got out, but we cannot yet learn their destination, or whether they have taken off any pãrt of the Troops of the Enemy. As their designs are so much unknown

²¹(1741-1785.)

to us, and it is possible they may move to New York, the General thought proper to apprise you of it, that you may be prepared for such an event. This he would have done with his own hand but he has been much indisposed for some days past. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

JOS. REED, Sec'y.

[Addressed] To the Hon. David Wooster Esqr., B. General of the Troops of the United Colonies of North America.

[Memorandum] Cambridge 25 July 1775. Gen'l Washington's letter.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL TO DAVID WOOSTER

LEBANON, 16th August, 1775.

SIR,—I have your favour of the 14th instant²² per James Lockwood, Esquire.²³ Am of opinion that your return to Harlem with your men will be best. That it is necessary the Stock on Long Island etc. be secured against further depredation. Hope the people and their force there will be able to secure the same, if not, should rather at their desire and expence to furnish some other Companies from the Main—provided they can be spared, which is probable. Will send your Information to General Washington.

As to the Rev'd James Lyon²⁴ you mention, shall leave the disposition of him to your prudent direction. Such persons are very pernicious.

My Council will be with [me?] tomorrow shall then consult on the affair. Am oblidged for y'our intelligence, and for the service you have done the Islanders. I do not get any intelligence of importance that is late to communicate.

I am, with Esteem and Respect, Sir, Your Obedient Humble Servant,

JON'TH. TRUMBULL.

[Addressed] To Major General David Wooster at Oyster Ponds on Long Island. On the Public Service.

²²American Archives, 4th Sec., III, 134.

²³Appointed Secretary to General Wooster, May 1, 1775, and was with him in the Canada expedition. See Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, III, 193.

²⁴Sabine, *Loyalists*, II, 40.

PHILIP V. B. LIVINGSTON²⁵ TO DAVID WOOSTER.

In Provincial Congress, NEW YORK August 18th, 1775.

SIR,—We enclose you a copy of a Paragraph in General Washington's letter of the 10th instant.²⁶ In consequence of which we desire you to return to your Camp at Harlem with the utmost speed to assist in the Defence of this City and Province.

We are, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servants,

By order, O

P. V. B. LIVINGSTON President.

[Addressed] To Brigadier General Wooster at East end of Nassau Island.

SALLY REEVE TO AARON BURR.

LITCHFIELD, September 2d, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER,—When Mr. Philips came home and informed me that you had not received one letter from us I was both sorry and angry sorry for the hard tho'ts you must entertain of me and angry at the Post for acting so ridiculous a part and he has serv'd us just so this week sat off with [out?] coming to Lichfield for any letters. I hop you will not think we have neglected you when I assure you this is the 6th letter we have wrote you since you have been at the camp if you should ever receive my first letter you will then see my sentiments on your leading a Solders life you will allso find I have promised if you are sick or wonded I will com and see you and I still assure you that the frightful nois of great guns nor the tho'ts of being in a Camp shall prevent my coming if either of those should be the case you will not expect a long letter when I inform you that I have been picklin preserving damsens and makeing jellies. I believe you will think it a pritty good days work for me. I did not know of this oppertunity 'till just now or I sould have took a more leasure time. one peace of newes Mr. Reeve²⁷ and I are become great milk sops. Do write som newes we are starving for want of it I wish you woud com and

²⁵(1710-1792) Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, I, 430.

²⁶*American Arch* viii, 4th Ser., III, 533, 536.

²⁷Tapping Reeve (1744-1823).

make us a visit if it is but a day or two tho I believe I could perswad you to stay if I could but see you. I am tyred so Good by

SALLY REEVE.

Bobb sends his compliments.

[Addressed] To Mr. Aaron Burr, Cambridge.

PHILIP SCHUYLER TO RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

TYONDEROGA, November 30th, 1775

DEAR GENERAL,—You send me such agreeable accounts, and so very frequently, that I am under the necessity of scribbling an hour before day, to announce the glad tidings to my superiors. Prescott²⁸ arrived and was in my room half an hour before I received your letter. I believe he could easily perceive that I knew his character, and I had an opportunity this morning to write him a line, in which I declared that I thought it a duty incumbent on every honest man to do to others as he would wish to be done by, that upon this principle we had always paid attention to those whom the fortune of war had put into our power.

The settlement of the Army Accounts will be a laborious work, and it cannot be compleated, unless I have the pay rolls of every Company. I wish you therefore to order the Captain and Commanding Officers of Companies to make them out and send them to me as soon and as nearly agreeable to the inclosed form, as they can, the Officers and Men's pay to be calculated from the day of their inlistment to the day on which they died, were discharged, taken prisoners, deserted or reinlisted, without any regard to any former pay rolls which they may have sent in, or which may have been paid off; on the back of this roll an indorsement of what money has been received, by whom, from whom, when and where. And as many of the men, that may remain with you in Canada may have families in the country and may wish to have the money paid here, you will please to order the Captains or Officers Commanding Companies, to make a return of such men, for which I also inclose them a form. You will have so much business on hand that you will

²⁸Richard Prescott (1725-1785), who was captured a second time in Rhode Island in 1777.

not be able to attend to this. I wish you therefore to appoint some person that is a good accountant to see this necessary work done, and to make him an allowance adequate to his services, for many of the Officers are incapable of doing this properly.

Be so good as to let me have a return of your new establishment, that we may be able properly to arrange the Officers to the Corps that may be raised here, to march into Canada as soon as the Lakes are passible, which I believe will consist of one thousand men, as the Gentlemen of the Committee²⁹ have agreed to report that number to Congress as necessary to be immediately raised.

When I mentioned to you to provide Clothing for the Troops, I concluded from the letter of Congress of the 12th of October, (Copy of which I did myself the honor to transmit you) that the clothing was not to be deducted from their pay, altho' I did not mention this. The Resolutions which I sent you on the 19th Inst. order a stoppage to be made. As I do not know what promises you may have made, I suggested to the Gentlemen of the Committee, that it was necessary to say something to you on the subject. And they are unanimously of opinion that if the stoppages can be made, without running too great a risk of prejudicing the service, that it ought to be done, especially as a bounty of two months' pay is given, which altho' not mentioned in the Resolutions, for that purpose, was intended to enable the soldiers in Canada, to pay for the clothes and thereby to reimburse them for the stoppages to be made, and that upon the whole it is most advisable to leave this matter to your discretion, not doubting but that Congress would acquiesce in your determination.

I now transmit you some additional Instruction of Congress, part of which you have already actually anticipated and others I dare say you have already determined on.

I make no doubt but that Capt: Lamb³⁰ will be properly provided for. I will do everything in my power for so good an Officer and have begged the Gentlemen of the Committee to second your recommendation.

²⁹John Langdon, Robert Treat Paine and Eliphalet Dyer. Their instructions are in *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), III, 339, and their report in *Ib.*, 446.

³⁰John Lamb (1735-1800).

I have made Honorable Mention of Colo: Easton to General Montgomery and transmitted an extract of your letter to Congress.

Inclose you some blank Commissions, as Mr. Lockwood³¹ is now Brigade Major, the Commission intended for Dimon³² is to go to him.

You will please to order all the Salt Petre in Canada to be purchased; I wish a prudent person to be employed in this business, that it may be as little known as possible, least it should induce the Canadians to think that we were in want of powder.

Please to let me know as soon as you conveniently can, what money you have advanced to the Connecticut or any other Troops and for what purpose.

General Washington has desired me to send all the Cannon and Military Stores that can be spared, to Boston, be so good as to let me know what you have in Canada and what you think will be wanted there beyond what you have.

I send the Sloop and Schooner back to St. Johns. One or the other of them I wish should bring the Horses that I sent Lieut: Thompson to buy. I am under the necessity of carrying Boats into Lake George, as I can get hardly any back from the South End of that Lake.

Please to fill up Commissions for Macpherson and Renss

The Gentlemen of the Committee will write you in few days. I am, Sir, with sentiments of Respect and Esteem, Your most Obedient and Very humble Servant,

PH: SCHUYLER.

General Montgomery.

[Memorandum] Tiond'a 30th Nov'r 1775. Gen'l Schuyler with N. 1. and 2. of 30th Nov'r 1775.

TAPPAN REEVE TO AARON BURR.³³

STOCKBRIGE January 27th 1776.

DEAR BROTHER,—Amidst the lamentations of a Country for the loss of your brave enterprizing General your escape

³¹Lieut. Samuel Lockwood, of Waterbury's regiment.

³²David Dimon, aide to General Wooster.

³³Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 75.

from such imminent danger to which you have been exposed has afforded us the greatest satisfaction. The news of the unfortunate attack upon Quebec arrived among us on the thirteenth of this month. I concealed it from your Sister untill the 18th when she found it out but in less than half an hour I received letters from Albany acquainting me that you was in safety and had gained great honour by your intrepid conduct. it gave us a kind of happiness that I should be very loth ever again to enjoy for it never can be the case untill you have again been exposed to the like Danger and have again escaped it which I hope may never happen. to know that you was in safety gave great pleasure it was heightened by hearing that your conduct was brave—could you have been crowned with success it would have been compleat. It was happy for us that we did not know that you was an Aid de Camp untill we heard of your welfare for we heard that Montgomery and his Aid de Camps were killed without knowing who his Aid de Camps was. whenever you can pray send me the particulars of that transaction. your Sister enjoys a midling state of health she has many anxious hours upon your account; but she tells me that as she believes you may serve your Country in the business in which you are now employed she is contented that you should remain in it. It must be an exalted publick Spirit that could produce such an effect upon a sister as affectionate as your's. As to news you will be acquainted with all we have before this reaches you. the present reinforcement for Canada as we understand it is one Regiment from Pensylvania two from New Jersey one from New York two from Connecticut one from the Massachusetts one from New Hampshire one from the Grants. our eastern privateers continue very successfull. the american squadron has sailed from Philadelphia their destination unknown. Your affectionate Brother,

T. REEVE.

I expect another opportunity by Capt. Seymour. Do not fail to write.

CHARLES LEE TO DAVID WOOSTER.

N. YORK, February the 28th, 1776.

SIR,—I am to inform you that I am appointed by the Continental Congress to the Command of the Troops in Canada.³⁴ I hope and dare say we shall agree well together. I must request you immediately to contract and grind into flour twenty thousand bushels of Wheat. I must also desire that you will suffer the Merchants of Montreal to send none of their woolen Cloths out of the Town. the post is just going out. I must therefore conclude, Sir, Yours,

CHARLES LEE,
Major General.

I have orderd twelve twelve pounders from Crown Point to Sorrel. I leave it to your discretion whether it would not be prudent before it is too late in the season to send em to the falls of Richlieu where it appears to me, you ought to establish a Post.

[Addressed] To Brigadier General Worcester, Montreal.
On Public Service.

ADDRESS OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Aux Habitans du District de Québec.

Vû la rareté actuelle des espèces d'or et d'argent, et les Dépenses excessives que nous sommes journellement obligés de faire pour l'entretien de notre Armée devant Québec, Nous avons jugé à propos de donner cours dans le public à une Quantité nécessaire de l'argent de Carton établi par Ordre de l'honorable Congrès, sur le Crédit universel des Colonies unies du Continent: Assurant par la présente Publication tous ceux à qui il appartiendra, que le dit Papier ou carton, ainsi issu par Ordonance du Congrès, aura libre Cours dans toute l'étendue de nos Colonies, et y sera reçu en payement selon sa Valeur nominale, ainsi qu'elle se trouve marquée sur le dit Papier ou Carton. Déclarons en outre par ces Présentes, que quiconque donnera Cours au dit Argent du Congrès, en recevra dans l'espace de 3 ou 4 Mois de la datte de la Présente, le Montant en Or et en Argent. Come au

³⁴March 1 he was ordered to the Southern Department.

contraire, toute Personne qui refusera de le recevoir au Cours et sans aucun Décompte, sera considéré comme un Ennemi des Colonies unies, et traité comme tel.

Donné sous notre signature et le sceau de nos Armes au Quartier général ce 4e Mars 1776.

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Brigadier General and Commander in Chief of the Army before Quebec.

DAVID WOOSTER TO HECTOR McNEIL.³⁵

Camp before QUEBEC, April 23d 1776.

DEAR SIR,—Your favour of yesterday I have received and say in answer, I still hope notwithstanding the infinite number of difficulties of every kind that we have to encounter from almost every quarter, that we shall be able finally to prevail. You observe very justly that every piece of duty is undertaken and executed with a strange indifference, that, too truly has been the case, ever since I have been here, indeed it has been an arduous task even to keep the troops upon the ground and I have hardly been able to have a single Order properly executed, almost every day discovers new traitors even in our bosoms who endeavour to frustrate all our designs. I have great reason to mistrust Cap'n Pepper. I shall therefore send him away prisoner with his vessel up the River. he has repeatedly broke his word and disappointed me in business which he has undertaken to perform and from many circumstances I have reason to believe he wished to have omitted.

Notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances which are enough to make the heart of a man of sentiment and sensibility bleed for his country, yet let us make the best of our situation. I am confident that a few days will put a very different face upon our affairs. We certainly shall have in a very few days a large reinforcement of men artillery stores and I hope every thing necessary for our future operations.

I have ordered Cap'n Palmer to send off all the vessels from Point au Tremble up the River except the *Maria* which I shall immediately man and arm in such a manner as I hope she will be able to defend herself and perhaps do us some service below.

³⁵A captain in the Continental Navy.

I shall be much obliged to you if you advise and direct such parties as may be sent to Point au Tremble in such a manner as you think conducive to the public safety, and all Officers of parties will obey your directions. I am Sir in haste with the greatest esteem and regard your sincere friend and very humble Servant,

DAVID WOOSTER.

My compliments to Mrs. McNeil and family.

P.S. Sir I understand by Cap'n Palmer and by Cap'n Church that the vessels have been neglected from a dispute among some of the Officers about who commands. I have now told them to take their orders from you. I beg, Sir, if your health will permit, that you would send for the Officers and direct each to his proper business that the vessels may immediately be got ready and sent off and they are hereby ordered strictly to obey your instructions as they will answer the contrary as disobedience of my Orders.

D. WOOSTER, B. Gen'l.

[Addressed] To Cap'n Hector McNeil, Point au Tremble. Per Cap'n Palmer. On the Service of the Colonies.

SAMUEL CHASE AND CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON³⁶ TO
DAVID WOOSTER.

MONTREAL, 25th May, 1776.

SIR,—We think it would be proper for you to issue an order to the town Major to wait on the Merchants or others having provisions or merchandize for sale and request a delivery of what our troops are in immediate want of offering to give a receipt expressing the quantity delivered and engaging the faith of the united Colonies for payment, and on refusal we think our necessity requires that force should be used to compel a delivery.

Your most obedient humble Servants,

SAMUEL CHASE
CH. CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

³⁶Members of a committee of the Continental Congress.

WILLIAM PATERSON TO AARON BURR³⁷

NEW BRUNSWICK, July 22d, 1776.

MY DEAR BURR,—I did myself the pleasure of writing you by my brother, who is in General Sullivan's Brigade, and who was in expectation of seeing you, as he was destined for the Canada Department. Indeed from the Friendship which subsisted between us I was in expectation of hearing frequently from you; and, to tell the truth, was not a little mortified, that I was passed over in silence. Why Burr all this negligence? I dare not call it forgetfulness; for I cannot bear the thought of giving up my place in your esteem. I rejoiced at your return, and congratulate you on your promotion. I was attending the Convention at Burlington when you passed on to Philadelphia, and was full of the pleasing hope of having an interview with you;—the Delaware indeed ran between us; a mighty obstacle to besure! I enquired when you designed to return, that I might plant myself at Bristol, and intercept you on your way. The enquiry was of no avail. I have at times been violently tempted to write you a railing letter; and for that purpose have more than once taken up the pen: but I can hardly tell how, on such occasions the Genius of Friendship would rise up to view, and soften me down into all the tenderness of affectionate sorrow; perhaps because I counted you as lost. I find I must e'en forgive you; but remember, you must behave better in future. Do write me now and then; your letters will give me unfeigned pleasure; and, for your encouragement, I promise to be a faithful correspondent. In the letter-way you used to be extremely careless; you know I am in that respect of a different turn.

This will be handed you by Mr. Hugg and Mr. Leaming, Members of our Convention, whom curiosity partly, and partly business have impelled to New York. As men they are genteel, sensible, and deserving; as politicians they are worthy of your regard, for they possess the genuine Spirit of Whiggism. They have no acquaintance in York; they are desirous of seeing the Fortifications, and other things in the military line: pray take them by the hand; and be assured, that any kindness

³⁷Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 83.

shewn them will be acknowledged as an additional obligation conferred upon your affectionate

WM. PATERSON.

Major Burr.

[Addressed] Major Aaron Burr, Aid-de-camp to General Putnam, New York. Favored by Messrs. Hugg and Leaming. [Judge Paterson, Supreme Court U. States.]

ISRAEL PUTNAM TO MARGARET MONCRIEFFE

NEW YORK the 28 of July 1776.

DEAR MAM,—I must beag your pardon for not answering your leators sooner but the reason was becaus I did not know how to giue you an answor, and not becaus Majr. Moncref did not giue me my titel for I dont regard that in the least but am willing to do him or any of his any kind offes lays in my power not with standing our political disputs for I know let his sentements be what they will he must fight and am well assured we shal fight sooner then giue up our Libertys acording to your desier I haue ben trieng to git leaue for you to go to Stratons Island for that eand haue waited one his Exelancy for liberty for you to go his answor was that when the larst flag was up hear that Collo paten said he had it in his power to offor to excheng marstor Louel for Gouenor Skeen the Ginrol had no power to excheng any prisnors without the leaue of Congres but would send to Congres for leaue and did not doubt but that thay would consent and he told me I might tel you that if thay did mak the excheng you might go with Gouenor Sken but would not seand a flag one porpose.

yestorday Majir Leauenston was hear and said you had a mind to com to New york but all th[e] lades of his acquaintonc was gon out of town and asked my consent for your comming hear as Mir'st Putnam and two Daughtors are hear be assured if you wil com you shall be hartely welcom and I think much more likely to acomplish the eand you wish for that is to see your father.

I am with the gratest respects yours etc.

ISRAEL PUTNAM³⁸

³⁸This is a holograph letter, but the letter that was sent, probably rewritten by Burr, is entirely different as may be seen by consulting the Memoirs of Burr, I, 88.

THEODORE SEDGWICK TO AARON BURR.³⁹

SHEFFIELD 7 August 1776

MY DEAR BURR,—If you remember some eighteen months since you and I mutually engaged to correspond by letter. I told you then, and again repeat it that you was not to expect any thing either entertaining, or in any degree worth the trouble of perusing. what can any reasonable being expect from an inhabitant of such an obscure, remote, dead and dirty place as Sheffield to amuse, instruct or even to merit the attention of a young, gay, enterprising martial genius? I know you will expect nothing and I dare pawn my honor therefore that you will not either now or in future in this respect be disappointed.

You recollect perhaps that when I had the pleasure to see you here I informed you of a design to visit New York and the southward soon after, but my business immediately called me to Boston and on my return I was obliged to go with the Militia to Peekskill, from there should have visited New York and my friends there had not some foolish accidents prevented. I now think (as soon as I can leave home) of making a tour there, but this like other futurities is wholly uncertain.

The very insignificant figure I make in my own opinion in this day of political and martial exertions is a very humbling consideration. to be stoically indifere[n]t to the great events that are now unfolding is altogether inconsistent not only with my inclination, but even with my natural constitution, and to pursue a line of conduct which indicates such a disposition, I mean my continuance at home at this time, (destitute of business) is a mystery for which, (remember I mean not to libel the Colony to which I belong) I will endeavor to account. amidst the confusion which was at once the cause and consequence of a dissolution of Government, men's minds as well as actions became regardless of all legal restraint. all power reverted into the hands of the people, who were determined that every one should be convinced that the *People* were the fountain of all honor, the first thing they did was to withdraw all confidence from every one who had ever any connection with Government, the necessity of which was even called in

³⁹Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 92.

question. Lawyers were universally almost represented as the pest of society, all persons who would pay court to these extravagant and unreasonable prejudices became their idols. Abilities were represented as dangerous and Learning as a Crime or rather the certain forerunner of all political extravagances. they really demonstrated that they were possessed of creating power, *for by the Word of their Power they created great men out of nothing, but I cannot say that all was very well.* observing these violent syptoms, I could not persue that which was the only road to preferment, and I have never had an offer to go into the Army except the one I accepted, while I have seen in more than one instance men honored with the command of a Regiment for heading mobbs. well this poor stuff I believe has troubled you long enough. pray say you what is it to me why you have not been in the Army? why nothing my dear Friend, but it is something to me. you know my Dear Burr I love you or I should not submit such nonsense to your perusal. if Mr. Swift still lives give him my best compliments. Pamela desires me to tell you she loves you. Answer this letter and thereby oblige your sincere Friend,

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

[Memorandum] Theod. Sedgwick Aug. 7th 1776. Rec'd Aug. 11th N. York.

JOSEPH SPENCER TO DAVID WOOSTER

NORTH CASTLE,⁴⁰ 3d December, 1776

DEAR GENERAL,—I have sent a light horseman to know whether you have any further intelligence from the Enemy since yesterday. Trust that you reconnoiter the Estern or Seaside Road. I keep constant scouts out in the seuerval roads from the North River to the post road from White plain towards the Enemy. we have deserters from Rogers of late daly one or more, by their accounts he continues yet where he has been for some time which is about a mile and half from Kings bridge on the post road, the late accounts of the deserters is that he is about mouing but uncertain where.

I desgnd to have made you a visit before now so that we might have had oppertunity to have confer'd on the subject of

⁴⁰Westchester county.

scouts and other proper measures of defence but as I am at present full of business and expect soon to move, fear I shall not have the pleasure of waiting on you soon. I am Sir your humble Servant,

JOS. SPENCER.

M: Gen'l Worster.

BENJAMIN LINCOLN TO DAVID WOOSTER AND SAMUEL HOLDEN PARSONS.

NORTH CASTLE, January 12, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,—The Massachusetts troops are fast collecting here. Matters are ripening. I expect we may soon proceed to Kingsbridge. It is of the greatest importance that the particular state of each division be known to the other. We therefore have forwarded this by express and beg to know what number you have and may in a day or two expect; What quantity of ammunition—What stores of provision and what are now your ideas of our intended expedition.

I have the pleasure to be here with General Scot who joins with me in wishing you the greatest happiness. Adieu Dear Sir,

B. LINCOLN.

General Wooster and General Parsons.

WILLIAM HEATH TO DAVID WOOSTER.

KINGSTREET, February 5th, 1777.

DEAR SIR,—A grand Scout, a grand Forage is to be attempted to morrow morning. In order to effect the former, which is to be kept a secret, under the pretence of a piquet for the night, Col. Enos, Lt. Col. Root, 2 Captains 4 Subalterns, 8 Serjeants and 100 men from your Division, with one days provisions cooked, are to parade at such convenient place as you may think proper, so as to march and be at Stephen Wards precisely at one o'clock to morrow morning. They will be there joined by Major Bryant, and 280 men from General Lincoln's Division, and 120 under Major Pain from the New York Division. When Col. Enos will take the Command of the whole.

To effect the latter which is to take off if possible all the Forge in New Rochell, 300 men properly officer'd from your Division must by 8 o'clock tomorrow morning march and form a line between East Chester and Williams's in such manner as to secure the Foragers whilst taking off the Forge in New Rochell. They must continue formed until the teams are loaden and drove off. The Regiments nearest New Rochell who do not go on duty had best be kept near their Quarters, and ready to turn out if occasion should require it.

I am Dear Sir Yours respectfully,

W. HEATH.

Each man of both parties is to draw one jill of rum.

JOTHAM MOULTON TO DAVID WOOSTER.

NORTH STREET near WHITE PLAINS,

February 10th, 1777.

SIR,—A court of enquiry was appointed by his honor Major General Heath, to enquire into the conduct of Colo. Cook, on the 26 January last.

The Court met, and saw cause of adjournment; but by reason of the members being called into different departments, a sufficient number could not be obtained, to form a proper Court.

You will therefore please to conduct in such a manner, as you shall think most adviseable. I am Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant,

JOTHAM MOULTON, President of said Court.

[Addressed] Hon'ble Major General Wooster, Rye-Neck.

[Memorandum] Col. Enos, President.

Lt. Col. Henaker	} Members.
Lt. Col. Gallup	
Lt. Col. Root	
Major Russell	

WILLIAM DUER⁴¹ TO DAVID WOOSTER.

CROMWELLS, 7th March, 1777.

SIR,—We have received certain intelligence from good authority that 16 Light Horse and about 100 Footmen have

⁴¹(1747-1799), a member of the Continental Congress.

been up yesterday about a mile above Phillipse's: as there is a considerable quantity of stock betwixt our Advanced Post at Wards, and Phillipse's which will probably fall into the Enemy's power unless removed in time, we beg the favor of you to detach 200 of the Connecticut Troops to Ward's House by 10 o'clock to morrow morning, to co-operate with us in moving the stock. As the distance from Rye Neck to Wards is 10 miles it will be necessary that the Troops sett off on their march very early in the morning. I send a proper person to pilot the Detachment.

I am sir by Order and with respect Your obedient humble Servant,

WM. DUER.

[Addressed] To the Hon'ble Major Gen'l Wooster, Rye-Neck.

JAMES MITCHELL VARNUM TO AARON BURR⁴²

Cakiat October 1st 1777.

SIR,—I this moment received your favor of this date. The Enemy have landed at Fowler's Hook in great force. I am apprehensive they mean attacking fort Montgomery by the way of the Clove. I have sent my baggage and some forces there. The Enemy must be attended to. You will therefore halt in the nearest place that is convenient, upon the receipt of this. Keep a good lookout towards Newark, Elizabeth Town etc. or those places from whence they can march into Pumpton. Should you be in danger of being intercepted there, throw your party across the River in Pumpton, and defend the Bridge if practicable; If not, make the best retreat you can towards Morristown etc. But by no means proceed unless necessity urges, derived from the present object. In every thing else pursue your best discretion.

I am, Sir, your very humble Servant,

J. M. VARNUM.

Colo. Burr.

[Addressed] Lieut. Colonel Burr, on his March to Morristown.

[Memorandum] General Varnum 1 October 1777.

⁴²Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 118.

THOMAS CONWAY TO AARON BURR⁴³

25th October 3 o'clock in the evening.

SIR,—I have received a letter from Capt. Kearsley respecting the settlement of the ranks of the Captains and subalterns. I could not give him an immediate answer because I was then attending a court martial. I wish this matter was settled as soon as possible to the satisfaction of the officers of your Regiment. The General officers being employed in several courts martial which along with the camp duty will take up all their time I think you had best apply to the adjutant General know from him the manner in which the ranks of the Virginia and pennsylvania officers have been settled and arrange accordingly at least pro tempore the ranks of your gentlemen.

I am sir your most obedient humble Servant,

T. CONWAY.

[Addresses] To Lt. Col. Burr.

[Memorandum] 25th Oct. 1777. Gen'l Conway.

W. MALCOM TO AARON BURR⁴⁴

YORK TOWN, June 16th, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have just now met with Capt. Kiersley, which enables me to let you know that I here. Sent by General Gates to Congress on a variety of busseness.

I have consented to do duty as Ad'j General to the Northern Army, on conditions of holding my Regiment and that it should come to the Northward—the first agreed to, the last according to events.

Nine of the sixteen Ad'l Regiments stand on the new establishment—of the strongest. if our come within that description it will be one. As General Washington writes General Gates that he cannot conveniently spare you at this time, I recommend your sending three or four officers to the State of York on the recruiting service. You know who will answer best and who can be best spared. And to recruit for the Regiment at large. I think I can provide you with some men.

⁴³Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 119.

⁴⁴Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 125.

As I have not time either to pass thro' came or to write any other of the officers, do tell them how I am circumstanc'd, and offer them by best respects. I am happy to hear that Major Pawling is better.

I shall write from Pecks Kill very soon, and beg to hear from you. I ever am very sincerely, My Dear Sir, yours affectionately,

W. MALCOM.

[Addressed] Colonel Burr, Camp. Per favor of Capt. Kiersley.

LORD STIRLING TO AARON BURR.⁴⁵

BRUNSWICK July 6th 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I have your letter of yesterdays date; The Court Martial of which I am president is adjourned to Morris Town which will oblige me to go there tomorrow; I must therefore desire you will direct your letters with such intelligence as you may procure, to his Excellency General Washington who will be on the line of march with the Army. I am in haste your most obedient humble Servant,

STIRLING.

Lt. Col: Burr.

General Washington desires me to add that he wishes you would employ three, four or more persons to go to Bergen heights Wesashack, Hoobouck or any of the heights there about convenient to observe the motions of the Enemy's shipping and to give him the earliest intelligence thereof, wether up the River particularly; in short every thing possible that can be obtained. Yours etc.

STIRLING.

[Addressed] To Lieut. Colonel Burr, Elizabeth Town.

BARON DE KALB TO W. MALCOM.⁴⁶

Camp near CROTEN BRIDGE

July 19th 1778.

Col. Malcom's Regt. is orderd to march at two o'clock to morrow morning to the fort at west Point on Hudsons River

⁴⁵Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 129.

⁴⁶Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 131.

with the Regt. commanded by Lt. Col. Parker which it is to joyn on the Road near [torn] Bridge the Commander of these [torn] will make all convenient dispatch [torn] Ten miles a day as water and g[round] admit.

The BARON DE K[ALB].

[Addressed] To Commander Malcolm, [torn] Reg't, 9 o'clock P. M.

CERTIFICATE

State of New York.

A Flag is hereby given to Lieut. Colo. Burr, or such other person as he shall appoint, to proceed to the City of New York or such other place within the Enemy's Lines as he may think proper, with the Sloop Liberty having on board the following persons Inhabitants of this State who affect Allegiance to the King of Great Britain, viz't William Smith, Cadwallader Colden Esqr. and Mrs. Rostiff I. Etting, four Negroe Slaves (two women and a child included), the Family of Wm. Smith Esqr. and a Son of Cad'r Colden Esq. who are to be landed and left within the Enemy's lines. The

Hands to navigate
the Sloop viz. P.
Webbers Man Abra-
ham and Rupp,
Hands Major Ed-
wards two Servants
three D'm and Fifes
Attendants.

Sloop with the hands and attendants mentioned in the Margin to navigate her will return with all convenient expedition. Given at North Castle in Westchester County this 2d Day of August 1778.

GEO. CLINTON, Gov'r of the
State of N. York.

Captain Redman has permission to attend the Flag on private business.

Mrs. Prevost and Miss De Visme with one Man Servant in consequence of Lord Stirling's Leave to pass to N. York and return are admitted on board this Flag.

A. BURR.

John McDonald Man Servant of Wm. Smith is permitted to attend him and return with the Flag.

[Endorsed] Flag of Truce 2d August 1778.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON TO JOHN LIVINGSTON.⁴⁷

PRINCETON, 29th September, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I am favoured with your kind letter of the 12th instant.

Whether Mr. Erkelens has studied the German Divines I know not. But he is certainly a very voluminous writer. In consideration however of the fairness of his character and his being a stranger; as well as from the respect which I shall always pay to your recommendations, I should not hesitate a moment to serve him in any way consistent with the attention due to my own character. As his affair is circumstanced, I do not know that I can be of any service to him. It will come to Congress by way of Appeal. His Counsel at Law will represent it in the most advantageous manner. The Congress must determine it according to its merits, and not the character of the [liti]gants. For in this instance also, "circumcision ava-[ileth] nothing, nor uncircumcision." And how far it would be proper for a third person to write on the subject to that Body, or to any of the Members (who collectively constitute the Court) is a point of great delicacy. But if I can be of any use to him in a way less exceptionable I shall befriend him with the greatest alacrity.

I am rejoiced to hear of Cozin Sally's recovery. She always was a favourite of mine, notwithstanding her manifold unmerciful pinches, to which both my arms can bear testimony; and two witnesses, you know, are sufficient in all Courts of Law and Equity.

Your letter really reminds me of old times; and I have a thousand things to tell you; but a thousand things, I have not leisure to *write*, leaving the scarcity of paper out of the question. Whenever it shall please God, that the British plunderers, like Judas Iscariot, shall go to their own place, I hope to see you in your ruined Metropolis. But the rascals have so recently [set] themselves down in Bergen County (I hope they

⁴⁷Gosnivus Erkelens came from Holland to America and offered to place a loan with Congress. That body declined, but mentioned him to Franklin, nothing came of his offer, but in 1787 he was residing at Chatham, Conn., possessed of a cobalt mine, in which he sought to interest Pennsylvania. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), XII, 1106, 1246. *Calendar of the Franklin Papers*, III, 340. There are many of his letters from 1779 to 1783 in the Trumbull Papers.

will teach mynheer Cuyper better divinity than he preached last year) and to all appearances, with such an *animo possidendi*, as if they still preferred this Country to their own. We have at least 3000 of our Militia in arms; but that is not sufficient, without continental succour, to dislodge them.

I have not been with my own family above two weeks in two years. The business I have gone through, the hardships I have borne, the lodging and diet I have been obliged to submit to, and the numerous stratagems laid for my life, which I have escaped, are scarcely credible. Through all these scenes, I have not [had a] days indisposition, weariness, or discouragement [so] remarkably has Providence supported me (for which [I] can never be sufficiently thankful) and I trust in some measure, made me useful to my Country; tho' (or rather for which very reason) the Tories are ready to devour me and all. I am, Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

WILL LIVINGSTON.

The Rev'd Dr. John Livingston.

P. S. The inclosed covers some accounts and a letter from Philip P. Livingston with and to Philip I. Livingston, respecting their joint Estate in Jamaica, which were taken in a prize vessel, and delivered into our Court of Admiralty; and which you will please to forward to the owner as great a Tory as he is.

J. WADSWORTH TO AARON BURR.

PHILADELPHIA, October 26. 1778.

DEAR BURR,—Your favour of the 22d was just now handed me by Maj. Edwards. I wish you better health and need eno. to wish my selfe better. I am but so-so. shall set out for Elisabeth Town as soon as Congress will let me. I am more much more than tired of this place. I like your prescription will attend too it as soon as possible. my respectfull Compliments to Mrs. Peteeck and family and all other friends at E. T. I can fix no time to come their but it must it shall be soon adieu. God Bless You etc.,

J. WADSWORTH.

I am not in a hurry but Your Boy is.

[Addressed] Col. Aa. Burr, Elisabeth Town.

JAMES MONROE TO MRS. THEODOSIA PREVOST.⁴⁸

PHILADELPHIA November 8th 1778.

A young lady who either is or pretends to be in love, is, you know, my dear Mrs. Provost, the most unreasonable creature in existence. If she looks a smile or a frown which does not immediately give or deprive you of happiness (at least to appearance) your company soon becomes very insipid. Each feature has its beauty and each attitude the graces or you have no judgment. But if you are so stupidly insensible of her charms as to deprive your tongue and eyes of every expression of admiration and not only to be silent respecting her but devote them to an absent object, she cannot receive an higher insult nor would she if not restrain'd by politeness refrain from open resentment. The mildest of the sex feel an involuntary resentment and cannot excuse such want of politeness. Upon this principle I think I stand excused for not writing you from B. Ridge. I propos'd it however and after meeting with opposition in which to obtain her point she promised to visit the little Hermitage and make my excuse herself, I took occasion to turn the conversation to a different object and plead for permission to go to France. I gave up in one instance and she certainly ought in the other. But writing a letter and going to France are very different you will perhaps say. She objected to it and all the arguments which a fond delicate unmarried lady could use she did not fail to produce against it. I plead the advantage I should derive from it; the personal improvement; the connections I should make. I told her she was not the only one on whom fortune did not smile in every instance. I produced examples from her own acquaintance and represented their situation in terms which sensibly affected both herself and Lady C. I painted a lady full of affection of tenderness and sensibility, separated from her husband for a series of time by the cruelty of the war; her uncertainty respecting his health, the pain and anxiety which must naturally arise from it. I represented in the most pathetic terms the disquietudes which from the nature of her connection might possibly intrude on her domestic retreat

⁴⁸Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 184.

I then rais'd to her view fortitude under distress; cheerfulness, life and gaiety in the midst of affliction. I hope you will forgive me my dear little friend if I produc'd you to give life to the image. The instance she own'd was applicable; she felt for you from her heart and she has a heart capable of feeling. she wished not a misfortune similar to yours but if I was resolved to make it so she would strive to imitate your example. I have now permission to go where I please, but you must not forget her. she and Lady C. promise to come to the Hermitage to spend a week or two; incourage her and represent the advantage I shall gain from travel. But why should I desire you to do what I know your own heart will dictate; for a heart so capable of friendship feels its own pain alleviated by alleviating that of another. But do not suppose that my attention is only taken up with my own affairs. I am too much attached ever to forget the Hermitage. Mrs. Duvall I hope is recovering and Kitty's indisposition is that of my nearest relation. Mrs. De Visme tho plain and open has delicate nerves; tell me her children are well and I know she has a flow of spirits; for her health depends intirely on theirs.

I was unfortunate in not being able to meet with the Governor. He was neither at Elizabeth Town, B. Ridge, Princeton nor Trenton. I have consulted with several Members of Congress on the occasion. They own the injustice but cannot interpose. "The laws of each State must govern itself." They cannot conceive the possibility of its taking place. General Lee says it must not take place and if he was an absolute Monarch he would issue an edict to prevent it.

I am introduc'd to the gentl'n I wish'd by Gen'l Lee in a very particular manner. I cannot determine with certainty what I shall do till my arrival in Virginia.

Make my compliments to Mrs. and Miss de Visme and believe me with the sincerest friendship yours affectionately,

JAS. MONROE.

UDNY HAY TO AARON BURR.

FISH KILL 8th January 1779.

DEAR SIR,—I was favoured with your very oblidging letter of the 6th inst. and return to you my sincere thanks for your

offers of friendship; Give me leave to assure you of a reciprocal inclination in that way, and must therefore insist as my first request, should an opportunity offer, you will freely indulge this inclination by putting it in my power to serve you; unacquainted with ceremony, and an utter abhorrer of every thing that wears the complexion of formality, I love to speak and be spoken to in the plain and undisguised stile of Friendship, totally free from unmeaning compliment or deceitfull flattery.

Your letter for Mr. Reeve shall be taken particular care of.

As you have now got the Post of Honour, accept of my sincere wishes you may reap the laurels I believe you deserve.

Should it be convenient indulge me now and then with a news paper from York: You see I can already ask favours, nor can I conclude without begging one more, which is that you will believe me to be with real esteem, Dear Sir, Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

UDNY HAY.

[Addressed] Colonel A. Burr, commanding near White Plains.

ALEXANDER McDougall to Aaron Burr⁴⁹

HEAD QUARTERS PEEKSKILL

January 15th 1779.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favors of the 11th and 12th instant with sundry inclosures came duly to hand.

I am much mortified, that Captain Brown should have merited your putting him in arrest. But you have done your duty, for which accept my thanks.

If an officer commanding an outpost will not be very vigilant, he exposes his party to be butchered, as the unfortunate Colonel Baler lately experienced.

I am verry sorry, the Militia have conducted so disorderly; but I wish you to deal tenderly with them, as they are brave and are very sore, by the plundering of the Tories. But support the honor of our arms and you own, by giving redress to the innocent and helpless.

⁴⁹Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 144.

As the principal objects of your command are to protect the good people of these States, and prevent supplies going to the Enemy, you will not send out any parties, or make any excursions, but what are necessary for intelligence and the preservation of your parties, till further orders. Your own ideas on this subject fully meet my approbation.

In the mean time, let all the officers and men of your command, who are unacquainted with the ground, traverse it alternately, from flank to flank and as many miles in front as you may judge necessary.

The position of the whole, I leave to your own discretion, as circumstances shall arise.

A good Captain and twenty picked men of Nixon's, with two drums accompany this, to reinforce your left; and the orders are dispatched to Major Pawling for the Officers you wrote for.

One hundred pair of shoes will be sent to you by this snow.

Send up all Burgoyne's men, with a good corporal and small party of the nine months men, with the first deserters or prisoners.

The serjeant's parties of the Militia, who are to join you, will by their engagements be under the Continental Articles of war. If any of the Militia who may go out on scouts, or parties with your's, will not submit to the Articles of war and your orders, dont suffer them to go with them; nor to appropriate any plunder; but order it to be given to the Continental Troops, and those who shall submit to those Articles.

If any of the Militia marauder, send them up to me, with a guard. They must not be suffered to violate civil and military law. The Legislature is the proper authority, to enable them to make reprisals. For whatever disorders they commit in front of your lines, will be placed by the Enemy to your account.

In all doubtfull questions, which may arise on my orders as to the limit or legality of plunder, in your front, I authorise you, to be the *sole judge*. In the exercise of this trust, it is my wish, you should lean to the honor of our arms.

A surgeon is directed to attend your party; when he arrives, please to advise me of it, that I may be relieved from all anxiety about you, and your Corps.

If you are not supplied with rum, before a quantity of it arrives here, we shall not forget you.

If your Horsemen are mounted and appointed as well as your Horse Guides, they will receive the same pay.

If the oxen at Mr. Hunter's are not in working order, put them in the care of your Forage Master, till they are.

If you can get the articles taken from the inhabitants, in the late expedition restored; let the Militia off for that offence; when you get things in train, I flatter myself you will not have any future trouble with them. But the Officers of the Regular Troops, must be rigorously dealt with according to our martial Law.

As you and the Commissary will be in the rear of the whole, the nine months men, worse shod than the other troops may serve till I have more leisure to compleat your Corps.

Dont omit sending to me all the news papers you can procure.

I am so borne down with correspondence, I can only add, that I am Your affectionate humble Servant,

ALEX'R McDougall.

Lieut. Colonel Burr.

P. S. I fear the Piquets from your Parties are too far advanced from them. The distance ought not to exceed half a mile, at night. And the quarters of the Piquets should be changed every night, after dark—frequent patroles from each give the best security.

I submit it to your consideration whether it would not be of service, to have a quantity of old rags collected, at each party and piquet, for the Patroles to muffle their feet with in frosty weather, when there is no snow on the ground. It will prevent their being heard by the Enemy, and your's will hear those of the Enemy if there are any near them.

[Memorandum] Gen'l McDougall 15th Jan. 1779.

RICHARD PLATT TO AARON BURR.⁵⁰

HEAD QUARTERS PEEKSKILL

February 25th 1779.

SIR,—The General wishes you to detain the best officers and men for five compleat parties of 60. And as soon as Major Hull can be made acquainted with your Posts and the nature of the Command, he desires you will ride up to Head Quarters if there is no probability of a movement from below, and he will concert with you such measures as shall be thought expedient.

The Combustible Balls are not yet come to hand. 5 or 6 Boxes of Ammunition will be sent down to Tarry Town by water the first opportunity.

'Tis necessary that Doctor Eustis, if not at the Plains, should be sent for. I am, Sir, Your most Obedient Servant,

RICHARD PLATT, Adjt.

P. S. Please to inform the General whether Col. Poor's men have accomplish'd the business they were sent upon, or not.

Lieut. Colonel Burr.

MRS. J[ANET] MONTGOMERY⁵¹ TO AARON BURR.⁵²

RYHNBEEK, March 7. [1779]

SIR,—I should before this have answer'd your obliging letter had not the marriage of my eldest sister intirely taken up my time.

I now return you Sir, many thanks, for your kind offers of service. the sincerity with which they were made, would have allowed me to accept them without fears of giving you trouble, had I not determined to run no more risques, as I have been very unfortunate in my ventures that way.

You have awakened all my sensibility, by the praises you bestow'd on my unfortunate General. He was indeed an angle lent us, for a moment. Alas! for me! that this world was not more worthy of him, then had I still been the happiest of women; and his friends in stations more equal to their merits. Reflections like these imbitters continually each day as it

⁵⁰Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 155.

⁵¹Mrs. Richard Montgomery.

⁵²Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 169.

passes, but I trust in the same Mercifull hand which has held me from sinking, in my extreem calamity, that he will still suport, and make me more worthy of a blessed meeting hereafter.

Can you excuse Sir the overflowings of a heart that knows not where to stop when on a subject so interesting.

Mr. Tatard tells me you mean to quit the Service. When ever that happens you will doubtless have leasure to pay us a visit, which I wish you to beleive will give real pleasure to Sir, your obliged,

J. MONTGOMERY.

[Addressed] Colonel Burr. To the care of Col. Hays, Fishkills. Rec'd Fishkill 21st March '79, and forwarded by Sir, your humble servant. S. Loudon. To the care of Gen'l McDougall.

[Memorandum] Mrs. Montgomery 7th March 1779.

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO MRS. THEODOSIA PROVOST.⁵³
HEAD QUARTERS, MIDDLEBROOK
19th May 1779.

MADAM,—It is much to be regreted, that the pleasure of obeying the first emotions in favor of misfortune, is not always in our power. I should be happy, could I consider myself at liberty to comply with your request, in the case of your brother, Mr. Peter De Visme. But, as I have heretofore taken no direction in the disposal of marine prisoners, I cannot with propriety, interfere on the present occasion; however great the satisfaction I should feel in obliging, where you are interested. Your good sense will perceive this, and find a sufficient excuse in the delicacy of my situation.

I have the honor to be, Madam, Your most obedient and humble servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Mrs. Provost.

[Addressed] Mrs. Provost, Hermitage, Paramus.

WILLIAM HULL⁵⁴ TO AARON BURR.

29 May 1779.

DEAR SIR,—Your favors of this day have just received. shall send Dyckman this afternoon. Am sorry you do not

⁵³Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 186.

⁵⁴(1753-1825), later a brigadier general in the war of 1812.

make me a visit, as the distance is small. Shall not trouble you with any dispatches to the eastward at present. Have this day applied to the General for permission to make a tour to Connecticut, and should it be granted, shall hope to see you at Hartford. If not, must beg you to mention me to any acquaintance of both sexes as affectionately as it is possible for them to ask after me. The ground you so long defended is now left to the depredation of the Enemy, and our friends in distressing circumstances. However they have good spirits, and are determined to defend themselves.

Since you left me, have had an excellent body of troops, armed and accoutred in the best manner. Am now at the Mouth of Croton with only two Companies. I am Dear Sir with much esteem your very humble Servant,

WM. HULL.

[Addressed] Col. Burr, Peekskill.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR TO AARON BURR⁵⁵

Col. Burr being on urgent public business, must be put across the Ferry to Fish Kill⁵⁶ Landing without a moments delay. Given at Pompton 3rd June 1779.

A'R ST. CLAIR, MAJ'R GEN'L.

The Qr. Master and Commissary, at Newbury or N. Windsor will receive and observe as my orders, the verbal directions delivered by Col. Burr. Given at Pompton 3d June 1779.

A'R ST. CLAIR, *Maj'r Gen'l.*

[Memorandum] Genl. St. Clair 3rd June 1779.

⁵⁵Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 172-173.

⁵⁶Noted on the back of these commissions, in the same hand writing is the following: The original Design of the Enemy was probably an Attack on the Forts in the Highlands. The Spirit of the Country (which is really to be admired) the Delay occasioned by contrary Winds, and rapid Approach of our Men rendered this design abortive. Part of the Enemies Force (it is said those who were on the Virginia Expedition) have returned to York—sixteen Sail lay still in Haverstraw Bay and near it—no very large Ships among them—the Enemy lay on both sides Kings Ferry—are erecting on each side a Work evidently with Design to maintain a secure Post at Kings Ferry—300 Men may keep an Army at Bay for many Weeks several of the new Corps with all the Horse lay at and near Dobbs Ferry—Gen. Washington is this Day at the Forts—near the Army in the Clove—upwards of 4000 Militia of this State are now in Service—The civil officers and Exempts of every kind are out with their Knapsacks and Musketts—this has a happy Effect on the People.

[Memorandum] Genl. St. Clair 3rd June 1779.

ROBERT TROUP TO AARON BURR.⁵⁷

PRINCETON, April 27. 1780.

MY DEAR BURR,—I wrote to you yesterday and happened to put the letter into the Post Office a little after the post had gone. In that letter I requested you to come here as soon as possible for it was highly probable that I should leave Princeton entirely and determine to follow our original plan. The event has confirmed my conjecture. I came here from General Morris's yesterday and exerted all the influence I was master of to get new lodgings; but could not, without lodging in the town which would be disagreeable to me on many accounts. I have now given over all thoughts of staying here and having an excellent pretext for changing my ground I shall write to Mr. Stockton who is still in Philadelphia and acquaint him with my intentions of going away. Nothing is therefore wanting but yourself with a horse and chair to make me completely happy. I wish to God I could push off eastward immediately but I cannot. I have no horse, neither is it practicable to borrow or hire one. I must then wait for you and I request you in the most pressing terms to lose not a moment's time in coming for me at General Morris's about six miles from this at Sourland near Colonel Vandyke's Mill on the road to Somerset where I shall wait impatiently for you. I am extremely uneasy lest this should reach you after you have left home and begun your journey northward. In that case I shall be very unfortunate and to prevent too great a delay I shall write to Mr. Reeves at Litchfield and enclose him a letter for you and desire him to forward it to you wherever you are with all expedition. I shall likewise enclose another letter for you and send it to Mrs. Prevost who will be kind enough to give it to you the moment you arrive there.

If we once get together I hope we shall not be soon parted. It would afford me the greatest satisfaction to live with you during life.

How shall I have my trunk transported to the eastward? On this and many other matters I shall want to consult you when we meet. God grant our meeting may be soon. Adieu!

⁵⁷Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 199.

You have my best and fervent wishes for the recovery of your health and every other happiness. My compliments to all friends.

ROB. TROUP.

P.S. I can't think of studying [until] I am settled with you. Col. Burr.

[Addressed] Col. Aaron Burr at Mr. Titus Osmer's, Middletown, Connecticut. Per post.

[Memorandum] R. Troup, 27th Apl. Rec'd F. Field 12th May. post.

SILAS DEANE TO BARON ROTTENBOURG.

PARIS November 15th 1780.

SIR,—I received your letter of the 25th ulto. only two days since, and should have replied to your former in course had it been in my power to do it satisfactorily, which it was not, nor unhappily is at present. I know that the State of New York have passed an Act for the Sequestration of Estates of certain Absentees who have joined the Enemy, but how extensive the Act is, I do not know. when I left America (I had remained for six months in Virginia previous to my sailing) I had not heard of any estates having been put to sale. I have not nor can I procure a copy or abstract of their Act, nor have I ever seen it. I presume, however, that your readiest way to proceed, is to go direct to America, and apply to the Government of New York; or if you cannot do that to send over to the Governor a State of your Claim and inform of your intentions of settling and of becoming a subject of that State as soon as possible.⁵⁸

The Manufacture of Salt Petre is certainly an object of very considerable importance, and I think must at all times answer well in America, every new branch of manufacture and commerce introduced is of real service to a new country like America; and therefore I wish you to succeed in your attempts of that kind. I have the honor to be with respect, Sir your most obedient and very humble Servant,

S. DEANE.

[Addressed] A Monsieur Le Baron Rottenbourg, ancien Colonel et actuellement directeur des Vitrières Royales à Mont Aimart en Dauphiné.

⁵⁸In 1786 the Baron wrote to Franklin about some lands in New York state owned by his brother-in-law Charles Williams, "lately deceased."

Certificate of Marriage.⁵⁹

I do hereby certify that Aaron Burr of the State of N. York Esqr. and Theodosia Prevost of Bergen County, State of N. Jersey widow were by me joined in lawful wedlock on the second day of July instant. Given under my hand this sixth day of July 1782.

B'n VAN DER LEUDE.

JOHN SLOSS HOBART TO AARON BURR.

DEAR SIR,—I had taken a present my sincerest congratulations on the event⁶⁰ which Fredrick this moment announced to me, which I do most heartily, when gov'r Clinton desired me to present you his compliments of felicitation on the occasion and to inform you that the pressing sollicitude of the Commander in Cheif to prevent all communication with New York renders it altogether improper for him to comply with your request at present. he would have written to you himself but is very much hurried as the Legislature is on the point of adjourning.

It is so dark I can scarcely see sufficient to assure you that I am with the warmest esteem, Your most obedient Servant,

JOHN SLOSS HOBART.

Coll. Burr.

[Addressed] Coll. Aaron Burr. Mr. Provost.

GENERAL SAMUEL H. PARSONS TO CAPTAIN THOMAS WOOSTER.
25th November, 1782.

SIR,—I have left ninety pounds for you which comes to 405£ if I have computed right @ 4/6. if you can send me 200£ or 250£ more at the same rate I believe I can give you the money in about a month. I have left a receipt with my wife which you will please to sign on receiving the money, and leave me a line whither I may depend on 200 or 300£ more: and when that I may not disappoint you in the cash: I shall know this week when I can have the lands and will inform you to provide for that event in season.

I am Sir Your obedient Servant,

SAM'L H. PARSONS.

⁵⁹Parton states that the marriage was performed by Rev. David Bogart—obviously an error in the light of the above certificate.

⁶⁰This refers, no doubt, to Burr's marriage, July 2d, 1782.

P. S. The notes for this money must be had by the last of next week: if you cant procure them by that time: I must not take them as the money or notes must be returned to the owner by that time. you will know whither you can take the money on that condition.

S. P.

32 half Joannes £76.16

44 Dollars 13: 4

£90: 0

I have sent you £90.0.0 if you cant comply with the time as above expressed you will please to return it. Yours,

S. H. PARSONS.

SAMUEL ALLEYN OTIS TO AARON BURR.

Mr. Otis's Compliments to Coll Bur and Lady and thanks them for their polite reception of him at Albany.

Should it comport with their convenience or pleasure nothing would make him more happy than an opportunity of returning their civilities at Boston, and hopes the apprehensions of the river becomeing unpassable from the approaching warmth of the day will be his apology for an early and unceremonious departure.

Saturday Morning, [March, 1783].

My Dear Sir

I was closeing the within when your smileing lovely boy handed yours of this morning and am mortified at the trouble I have given him and yourself. be assured Sir a heart easily impressed with friendly offices, will not forget yours, and the fresh obligations you lay me under. I had such a character of Mrs. Burr as induced me to expect the graces of a most amiable person in your good Lady. I think better of the world for giving the tribute of praise where am convinced from my own observation it belongs.

Present me with every expression of respect and esteem to her.

You know my original plan was to be early in the week at Pittsfield. Some appointments of business must be observed.

Which as I travel slowly will be my apology for not returning.
But in the pleasing expectation of meeting you at Cloveric am

Your most humble Servant

SAM A. OTIS

JAMES RIVINGTON TO AARON BURR.

N. YORK Oct. 1. 1783.

Permit me, Good Sir, to apply to you for a copy of the Indictment preferred against me. I wish to see its purport before I leave N. York, which I intend to do on the 16th Inst. I wrote to you some time since but my letter was not properly directed. I am, Sir, Your obedient Servant.

JAMES RIVINGTON.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esq., Attorney-at-Law, at Albany.

Tuesday Evening [May , 1785.]⁶¹

Mrs. Wickham just called to tell me of an opportunity to Chester, how joyfully I embrace it. I had a most insupportable impatience to communicate to you my gratitude and thanks for your last visit, it was a cordial to my health and spirits, a balm to my soul. my mind is flushed with pleasing hopes—ten thousand tender thoughts rush to my pen, but the bearer may prove faithless. I will suppress them to a happier moment, and anticipate the dear indulgence.

The holidays are a check to finishing, the family as you left it, Their health and spirits encrease daily. B. industry and utility is striking to the family and strangers. Johnston returned yesterday. your letter was as eagerly read as tho' I had not seen you. write when you have leisure, if it does not reach me immediately it will serve to divert some tedious moment in a future absence—even when you are at home engrossed by business, I frequently find a singular pleasure in perusing those testimonies of affection. I find I am continually speaking of myself. I can only account for it from Aaron's having persuaded me 'tis his favorite subject, and the extreme desire I have to please him enduces me to pursue it. I take no walks but up one stairs and down the other, the situation of my house will not admit of my seeing many

⁶¹Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 260.

visitors. I hope some arrangements will be accomplished by the next week.

A packet from Sill. he writes like a happy man, not the happy man of a day, or I am much deceived in him. She is certainly to be ranked among the fortunate. I wish she may be sensible of her lot.

I have fixt the time of seeing you till saturday. I will hope the best. I cannot extend my calculations beyond it, four days of your absence is an age to come. don't be too solicitous pour la visite d'une jeune personne. J'en suis parfaitement dégoûtée, evites la c'il est possible. My compliments to your chum, and who else you please. penses avec tendresse de
la votre.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr.

[Memorandum] Sop:—May 85. Chester.

Tuesday Evening, [27th Sept. 1785].⁶²

I have counted the hours till evening, since that the minutes and am still on the watch the stage not arrived; 'tis a cruel delay your health, your dear health your tender frame how are they supported? anxiety obliterates every other idea, every noise stops my pen, my heart flutters with hope and fear, the pavement from this to Capes are kept warm by the family—every eye and ear ingrossed by expectation—my mind in too much trepidation to write. I resume my pen after another messenger in vain. I will try to tell you that those you love are well, that the Boys are very diligent, Ireson gone to West Chester. My new medicine will I flatter myself prove a lucky one. Sally amazingly encreased Fream at work at the roof, he thinks it too flat to be secured. The back walls of the house struck thro' with the late rain. M. Y. still at Miss W. You must not expect to find dancing on Thursday night, I should think it a degree of presumption to make the necessary preparations without knowing the state of your health. Should this account prove favorable, I still think it best to delay it as the stage is very irregular in its return, that of Saturday did not arrive till Sunday morning. brought an unfavorable account of the roads. thus you prob-

⁶²Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 271.

ably would not partake, nor would I wish spectators to check my vigilance, or divide that attention which is ever insufficient when thou art the object. O! my Aaron how impatient I am to welcome thy return, to anticipate thy will, and receive thy loved commands.

The clock strikes eleven, no stage. My letter must go. I have been three hours writing or attempting to write this imperfect scrawl. The Children desire me to speak their affection. Mamma will not be forgot, she really shares my anxiousness. Tout jour plus ardemement

la votre.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esqr., Albany,⁶³ per stage.

ELISHA BOUDINOT TO AARON BURR.

NEW ARK 18 June, 1789.

SIR,—Mr. Warmly has returned from Mr. Ogilvie who insists upon the Execution of Schoonmaker's being discharged first. Will you therefore be kind enough to send by Mr. Burnet a calculation of the debt and costs due on that execution, as they are to meet on Saturday to endeavor to settle it.

I am with esteem, Dear Sir, Your most Obedient Servant,

ELISHA BOUDINOT.

Col. Burr.

[Addressed] Col. Aaron Burr, Counsellor-at-law, New York. Favored by Mr. Burnet.

TO MRS. AARON BURR

Philada, 26th Apr, 1792

I have at length the pleasure to assure you that both houses of Congress have concurred in a resolution to adjourn on the fifth of May, which is I think Saturday of next week. I could have wished an earlier day, yet it is a great relief to me to look forward to a certain time. I was so fortunate as to have been in Senate Yesterday to promote this desirable object.

The mail which left you on Tuesday Morning brought me no letter from you, of which indeed I need not to inform you, it is not amiss however that you should know the disappointment to me.

⁶³The word "Albany" is crossed out and "New York" written in another hand.

Mr. and Mrs. Adams left this place on Tuesday and will be in New York about the time this will reach you. You will not forget the rest.

My Confessor is to be with me this Morning to settle terms.

Most Affect. Yrs.

A. BURR.

I have formed some very hostile resolutions if you do not continue the Use of certain remedies:—resolutions which are perhaps most easily formed, and kept, at the Distance of 100 Miles.

Mrs. Burr, No. 4 Broadway,
New York.

BENJAMIN RUSH TO AARON BURR.⁶⁴

PHILADELPHIA, September 24th, 1792.

DEAR SIR,—This letter will be handed to you by Mr. Beckly. He possesses a fund of information about men and things, and what is more in favor of his principles, he possesses the confidence of our two illustrious patriots Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison.

The republican *ferment* continues to work in our State, and the time I think is approaching very fast when we shall universally reprobate the maxim of sacrificing public justice and national gratitude to the interested ideas of stockjobbers and brokers whether in or out of the legislature of the United States.

Your friends every where look to you to take an active part in removing the monarchical rubbish of our government. It is time to *speak out*—or we are undone. The Association in Boston augurs well. Do feed it by a letter to Mr. S. Adams. My letter will serve to introduce you to him, if enclosed in one from yourself.

Have you got the deed completed? I hope nothing will prevent an issue being given to that business this fall.

Mrs. Rush joins in best Compliments to Mrs. Burr with Dear Sir, Yours sincerely,

BENJAMIN RUSH.

P.S. Mr. Burke left the lodgings you looked at last Saturday.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esqr., New York. Mr. Beckley.

⁶⁴Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 316.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO AARON BURR.⁶⁵

TH. JEFFERSON presents his respectful compliments to Colo. Burr and is sorry to inform him it has been concluded to be improper to communicate the correspondence of *existing ministers*. he hopes this will, with Colo. Burr, be his sufficient apology.

Jan. 20, 1793.

[Addressed] Colo. Burr.

ALBERT GALLATIN TO AARON BURR⁶⁶

[1794]

DEAR SIR,—I send you the Massachusetts Laws from 1692 to 1768. Page 125 and 126 is the law which admits persons to become inhabitants upon twelve months residence if not warned. A preceeding law page 21 had made it only three months and [although] repealed defines the word *residing*. Read also the law page 289. Strong said that the law of 1701 page 126 was virtually repealed by a certain temporary law of 1767 which he had not. I strongly suspect the accuracy of his information on that head; And I believe that the law of 1789 is the first which made a change and also introduced the distinction of Citizens. German Servants must have acquired settlement in common with others and many were imported. See page 342. You will find page 122 the word Inhabitant used with that of *Sojourner* in a general sense. Page 338 the same word applied to inhabitant of a County etc. A distinction is made between inhabiting and residing pages 24 and 207. I have not New Hampshire laws.

The Laws of Pennsylvania are clear and explicit. Please to compare the attachment laws in volume of Provincial laws page 44 and 122 with Laz. Barnet's case Del. reports which is grounded upon them and you will find that under the province residing and inhabitants were synonymous.

In Vol. of State Laws, please to read page [burned out] Sect. 2d. says all male white inhabitants and sect. 7th by the exception sheweth the general meaning of the word inhabitant. Page 163 read the 5th Sect. principally and you will find it to

⁶⁵Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 1, p. 331.

⁶⁶Ib. p. 406.

be a copy of the Art. of Conf. substituting white for free. I will call on you about ten o'clock. Yours,

A. G.⁶⁷

[Addressed] Colo. Burr, Corner of 4th and Walnut Streets.

RICHARD PLATT TO AARON BURR

NEW YORK January 12th 1797.

DEAR SIR,—My prospects detailed you in yesterday's letter relative to money for the two houses mentioned, are realized. I am to receive two hundred Guineas this week—the residue in 30 and 60 days in unexceptionable paper. Thus I am relieved on that head, and now wait only for the maturing other things, and the sailing of the Vessel, which I apprehend cannot take place for a week to come, owing to the ice in the Harbour. This induces a hope that we shall meet again before my departure. If we should not, you must get, give and send after me such letters as will assist my operations and views in France, from your friends. I have nothing more to tell you about this day, only that Mrs. P. is better, and Miss A. very well—both desire regards, with your affectionate,

RICHARD PLATT.

Write me always under cover to John Aspinwall.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esquire, Senator in Congress, Philadelphia. Post.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO AARON BURR.

DEAR SIR,—As I wished the cause of Bayard vs Breese and others to be regularly at issue and as the Chancellor could not readily be come at to procure from him an order to serve Subpoenas on the Clerk in Court, I sent you a request some time since to file rejoinders and Mr. Provost informed me you would be so obliging as to have it done. I have not, however, received any notice of its having been done. I will thank you

⁶⁷Noted on this letter is the following:

"Mr. Taylor of Virginia to Col. Burr, in a note across the Table in Senate U. States, in the case of Gallatin says—

" 'We shall leave you to reply to *King*: 1st. Because you desire it; 2d. All depends upon it. No one else *can do it*, and the audience will expect it. If, too, you will see the 2d page of the Kentucky Constitution, it may be pressed upon Edwards. Gallatin has it in manuscript.'

"The preceding *two pages*, are in the hand writing of Albert Gallatin, as the initials to the letter show.

M. L. DAVIS."

particularly to have it done in the course of the day, as my situation has rendered me culpably negligent.

Your Obedient Servant,

ALEX'R HAMILTON.

Thursday. [1797]

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esquire.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO AARON BURR.⁶⁸

WASHINGTON, Dec. 15, 1800.

Dear Sir

Although we have not official information of the votes for President & Vice President and cannot have until the first week in Feb. yet the state of the votes is given on such evidence as satisfies both parties that the two Republican candidates stand highest. from S. Carolina we have not even heard of the actual vote; but we have learnt who were appointed electors, and with sufficient certainty how they would vote. it is said they would withdraw from yourself one vote. it has also been said that a General Smith of Tennessee had declared he would give his 2d. vote to Mr. Gallatin; not from any indisposition towards you, but extreme reverence to the character of Mr. G. it is also surmised that the vote of Georgia will not be entire. yet nobody pretends to know these things of a certainty, and we know enough to be certain that what it is surmised will be withheld will still leave you 4 or 5 votes at least above Mr. A. however it was badly managed not to have arranged with certainty what seems to have been left to hazard. it was the more material because I understand several of the high flying federalists have expressed their hope that the two republican tickets may be equal, & their determination in that case to prevent a choice by the H. of R. (which they are strong enough to do) and let the government devolve on a President of the Senate. decency required that I should be so entirely passive during the late contest that I never once asked whether arrangements had been made to prevent so many from dropping votes intentionally as might frustrate half the republican wish; nor did I doubt till lately that such has been made.

⁶⁸Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," Vol. 2, p. 67.

While I must congratulate you, my dear Sir, on the issue of this contest, because it is more honourable and doubtless more grateful to you than any station within the competence of the chief magistrate, yet for myself, and for the substantial service of the public, I feel most sensibly the loss we sustain of your aid in our new administration. it leaves a chasm in my arrangements, which cannot be adequately filled up. I had endeavored to compose an administration whose talents, integrity, names & dispositions should at once inspire unbounded confidence in the public mind, and ensure a perfect harmony in the conduct of the public business. I lose you from the list, & am not sure of all the others. should the gentlemen who possess the public confidence decline taking a part in their affairs, and force us to take up persons unknown to the people, the evil genius of this country may realize his avowal that 'he will beat down the administration.'—the return of Mr. Van Benthuyzen, one of your electors, furnishes me a confidential opportunity of writing this much to you, which I should not have ventured through the post office, at this prying season. we shall of course see you before the 4th of March. accept my respectful & affectionate salutations.

Th. Jefferson

Colo. Burr

[Addressed] Colo. Aaron Burr, New-York.

AMBROSE SPENCER TO AARON BURR.

HUDSON December 24. 1800.

DEAR SIR,—Permit me to express to you my most cordial congratulations, on the successful issue of your and Mr. Jefferson's election. I have and do consider these events as among the greatest incidents of the age. they are clearly indicative of the abhorrence of the people of America, to the system adopted by our political adversaries—a system which if not totally changed could not have failed of destroying our excellent republican government, and on its ruin of establishing at least an aristocracy. The system pursued too, was vile in many other respects, and particularly as it tended to exclude from office, all but sycophants and political hypo-

crites. But thank Heaven the scene [scene?] is changed, and the men of our party who have been degraded and oppressed, will be entitled to be heard and noticed. imagine not however that I mean myself to be included in these observations. persecuted I have been, oppressed I could not be, and as for office had I the capacity to fill any (which I am sensible I have not) I will accept of none in the gift of the general government, nor of any office from the Governor and Council of this State. Nor is it probable that I shall ever trouble my friends for others—for my own connections I surely shall not. The joy inspired by the event of the election is indiscribable, amongst our Friends, the other party are literally chap fallen. It would please me to hear from you if any thing of consequence transpires, and especially on the subject of Mr. Lees certificate.

believe me to [be] yours with much respect,

A. SPENCER.

Col. A. Burr.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esquire, Counsellor-at-Law, New York.

JOSEPH ALSTON TO THEODOSIA BURR.

CHARLESTON S. C.

Dec. 26th 1800

I have this instant, My dear Theodosia,⁶⁹ received your anxiously expected letter of the 11th December and just snatch the pen to thank you for it, and tell you how much pleasure it gives me.

Had I an hour to spare, I would convince you of the propriety of early marriages, in spite of the authority of even Aristotle; I would shew you how ridiculous are the accounts of your "dear friends" respecting Carolina; and in short reply satisfactorily to every part of your letter; but in half an hour I expect a large company of Republicans to dinner, and, as my Father and family are out of town, and I keep "Bachelor's hall," I must be ready to receive them. The next post, however, I promise you a folio epistle. Adieu. I am delighted. Your letter shows you every thing that the most

⁶⁹Theodosia Burr was born at Albany June 21, 1783 and was baptised July 28. She married Joseph Alston January, 1801.

ardent lover of a disposition like mine, could desire. Yours
My dear Theodosia, always

JOS. ALSTON.

[Addressed] Miss Burr, New-York.

THEODOSIA BURR TO JOSEPH ALSTON

The books and note were received with pleasure; the latter would have honored Petrarch as much as it would have flattered Laura. I shall not leave town to day and if you should not be otherwise engaged Mrs. Provost and myself have disposed of you for this afternoon.

THEODOSIA T. B[URR].

Saturday. [1801]

[Addressed] Mr. Alston.

CHARLES PINCKNEY TO AARON BURR⁷⁰

GEORGE TOWN Saturday Morning [1801]

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Murray a gentleman whom I knew in South Carolina where he was a Member of our Legislature wishes to have an introduction to you and as I have had a request from Doctor Blyth one of our Electors in favour of this gentleman I take the liberty of recommending him to your notice—he will explain to you. the reasons of delicacy I mentioned to you, prevent me from writing the President on applications of this sort and I must apologize for taking the liberty with you. With great respect and esteem I am, dear Sir, Yours truly,

CHARLES PINCKNEY.⁷⁰

[Addressed] The Honourable Aaron Burr, Vice President of the United States.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON TO MATTHEW L. DAVIS

WASHINGTON, February 5, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR,—If I have omitted writing to my friends it has been hitherto that I might not amuse them with vain conjectures instead of satisfying them with such facts as might be

⁷⁰(1758-1824). He was prominent in Carolina politics at this time, having left his associates, the Federalists, to be the leader of the republican party in the State, the party which favored Jefferson. Pinckney became United States Minister to Spain, and, though able, never attained the reputation which his earlier years promised to give him.

a justification for the serious steps which untill within a few hours I have thought it might be necessary to take. I have no longer any apprehension on that score. I can now speak with some degree of confidence and have great pleasure in assuring you that all the little intrigues of falling ambition all the execrable plans of violence and usurpation will in a few hours after you read this be defeated by the election of Mr. Jefferson—eight States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, N. C., Tennessee, Kentucky and Georgia and an equal division of Maryland and Vermont were pledged never to yield the wishes of the people to the cabals of a faction—this determination was known and its effects foreseen. A member from the opposite side of one of the divided States has already pledged himself to decide the vote of his State in our favor—there is great probability that another from the remaining divided State will follow his example, and as I can not learn that the Representative from Delaware has firmly entered into the views of his party, I think it probable that he too will join our ballot.

You may I think rely as fully on this information as on any that the nature of the case will admit. I place implicit confidence in it myself on [and?] look on the result as certain. but if any unforeseen event should disappoint our hopes and wishes, you may rest assured that our City shall never be disgraced by any temporising plan or acquiescence in usurpation on the part of its representative and I think I may without danger give this pledge for all those with whom he acts.

The President has called the Senate for the 4th of March. What the object is can only be got at by those who study the doctrine of chances for no other principles than those which govern the turn of a die will apply to the caprice of his politics. If you should see Mr. Warner I pray you to tell him that I shall be enabled in a day or two to send him some accounts of the fate of the Mechanics Memorial. Greet all my friends in the transfer Coffee House for me, and believe me with true regard, Your friend and fellow Citizen.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON.

JONATHAN RUSSELL TO AARON BURR.

PROVIDENCE, 26 June, 1801.

SIR,—Agreeable to my last reports to you I waited on Mr. Lincoln⁷¹ at Worcester. He received me with sufficient urbanity but did not leave me long in the dark as to your motive in advising caution. Whether the promotion of Mr. Barnes was in fact, a piece of *favouritism* on the part of Mr. Lincoln, or he felt himself committed in the very singular letter he wrote, and which accompanied the commission, to Mr. Barnes I will not pretend to decide; but certainly he appeared anxious to apologize for what was done and insinuated that the imputation of levity might attach to administration by an alteration of the arrangement. On my part I was too explicit to be misunderstood. I know not whether I made an impression favourable to our views or not, but Mr. Lincoln engaged that in the interview he might have with Mr. Barnes nothing should escape him, incompatible with our wishes. The letter which I have since written him, a copy whereof you will find inclosed, will enable you to ascertain the actual state of my communications with him better than any history of the business could do.

The representation with respect to Ellery⁷² is suspended for the present. His nephew, the senator,⁷³ had an influence in this measure. This man you will find very managable, altho he will need the rein rather than the spur. There is another representation on foot relative to Lyman, the naval officer at New Port, but I believe no charge of misconduct in office can be urged against him. The Mr. Gardner who is proposed for his successor is a republican and I believe a very good man but he is not qualified to discharge the duties of the office with more ability and *exactitude* than the present incumbent.

As Timothy Greene Esquire will be here before I embark I will not detain you with further details but reserve myself till his arrival, when, if you should not object to my communicating thro' him, I will take the liberty of stating some matter

⁷¹Levi Lincoln (1749-1820), attorney general under Jefferson.

⁷²William Ellery (1727-1820), collector of the port of Newport From 1790 to his death.

⁷³Christopher Ellery (1768-1840).

worthy of consideration and which requires to be managed with some skill and delicacy.

I am, with the most respectful considerations, Your very humble Servant,

JONA. RUSSELL.

Aaron Burr, Vice-President of the United States.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr, Vice President of the United States, New York.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO AARON BURR.

CAMBRIDGE 18th September 1801.

DEAR SIR,—This will be delivered by Colo. Lee, a fellow soldier whose merits and general character are so well known to yourself, as to require no information on my part. as his object however is to apply for the collectorship at Salem, if according to his information it should be vacant, I cannot refrain from observing, that I have known Colo. Lee from his early youth, and do not conceive, that in the County of Essex, of which we are natives, there is a person who will offer himself as a candidate, with better pretensions in regard to his moral, political, and military character, and his public services, than those of Colo. Lee. his politicks are and always have been truly republican, and his abilities are fully equal and indeed superior to the office. but my opinion of him, I wish to be tested by your own, and those of your friends in this quarter.

I have the honor to remain my dear Sir with the highest sentiments of esteem and respect, Your obedient Servant,

E. GERRY.

Hon'ble Colo. Burr,
Vice President of the U. States.

HENRY DEARBORN TO AARON BURR.

War Department

6th Nov. 1801.

Sir

I am honoured with your letter of the 27th ulto. and have given order for a compliance with the request of the Gentlemen

of Schenectady, for the discharge of Nicholas Sluyter. I have the honour to be Very respectfully, Sir, Your mo. ob. Serv

H. DEARBORN.

[Addressed] The Hon'ble Aaron Burr, Vice-President U.S., Albany. [Readdressed to] New York, N.Y.

C. A. RODNEY TO AARON BURR.

WILMINGTON December 20. 1801.

HONORED AND DEAR SIR,—I have been daily anticipating the pleasure of seeing you here and having received a letter from our friend Mr. Edwards that you were still at New-York I loose not a moment in informing you that added to the many personal considerations I have for wishing to see you, there are at present strong political reasons.

Notwithstanding our Chancellor has been prevailed on to resign (in a manner with which I will at a proper time make you acquainted) in consequence of which they obtain the appointment of that officer and as our present Attorney General N. Ridgely is to be the man they also obtain the appointment of a new Att'y General it has been lately settled to dispute the election of Governor. Their object is, and they have the members in our legislature to do it, to declare their candidate General Mitchell the Governor (duly elected) as having most legal votes.

This I fear will occasion consequences to be lamented by all. On this important and interesting subject I wish to consult you and that you may be informed of the course we mean to pursue with the approbation of our friends elsewhere.

Rest assured the idea was at one period totally abandoned and it is now taken up with a general view upon advising with others from different parts. In every stage it will be our duty to behave with prudence and moderation, but at the same time with the firmness of a "*Spartan band*."

With great esteem and respect believe me Dear Sir Yours
Most Sincerely

C. A. RODNEY.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr, V.President of the U. States, New-York.

HORATIO GATES TO AARON BURR.

NEW YORK 5th. Jan'y 1802

MY DEAR SIR

In compliance with your request, I enclose two of Mr. Garnett's⁷⁴ Projects; and that I may not be too late for the post, send my Letter immediately to the Post Office. I hope You will arrive at Washington before the Session is over.

I am affectionately Yours

HORATIO GATES.

[Addressed] *Cut off* U. States, [] delphia.

[Memorandum] Gen'l Gates 5 Jan. 1802.

ISAIAH BLOOMFIELD TO AARON BURR.

BURLINGTON January 11th 1802.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Rossell has been with me, the two last days on a visit. I mentioned our conversation, respecting the office of Supervisor. It was very gratifying to him, to know the part you took in his interest. He agrees with me, in the opinion I took the liberty to express to you, considering the necessity of union of every influential Republican in this State, and great propriety of supporting the nominations of the President; it is his fervent wish, (and desired me so to write to you) that Mr. Linn may be confirmed in his appointment by the Senate. Mr. Rossell has taken charge of a letter from me, to Philip Freneau; in which, I enclose Mr. Motts on the subject of Mr. Granger's inquiry, and have recommended Freneau, immediately on its reception, to write to Washington and to visit me.

I took the liberty to inform him, that I believed, you was very much his friend on this occasion.

As Freneau's present situation, needs the assistance of those who are disposed and have the power to employ his talents in a useful manner, in the service of the public, I have written to Mr. Mott and his colleagues, to do all they can to effect this desirable object.

It is impossible for me to add to the great respect and esteem with which, I am, Most truly and sincerely Your Friend,

I'H BLOOMFIELD.

The Honourable The Vice-President of the U. States.

⁷⁴Probably James Mercer Garnett (1770-1843), of Virginia, interested in agriculture, instruction, and politics.

JOHN DICKINSON TO AARON BURR.

WILMINGTON the 23d of the 1st Month 1802.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Be pleased to accept my thanks for thy very kind letter of the 20th instant. It will prepare us for meeting reports, that otherwise would have been extremely distressing.

About five or six years ago at his place near Philadelphia the Dr.⁷⁵ fell in the same manner. Therefore by this last disorder I am induced to fear, there is some tenderness or defect in his constitution which requires the utmost attention. May it not be proper to communicate this intelligence to Dr. Eustis?⁷⁶

Dr. Logan's love of country, candor of spirit, and boundless benevolence, render his life inestimable.

With every respectful consideration, I am Thy truly affectionate Friend,

JOHN DICKINSON.

Aaron Burr, Vice president.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr, Vice president in Congress.

ALEXANDER JAMES DALLAS TO AARON BURR.⁷⁷

3d Feb: 1802.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor of the [blank] instant. I will attend to your Director, if ever the proposed Bank should reach the point of organization, which I very much doubt.

On the judiciary question, I wrote my sentiments to Mr. Wilson Nicholas, early in the Session. I am sorry our friends have taken so peremptory a position, as the very circumstances of having taken it, will render it difficult to move them. I cannot concur with them in the policy, or expediency of the measure. The business of the Court will not allow me to give my reasons in detail; but you shall have my Brief.

1. There never was a case in which a party could be more justified in expressing their resentment, on account of the manner of passing the Act:

⁷⁵Dr. George Logan (1753-1821), at this time United States Senator from Pennsylvania. He is best known as the occasion for the so-called Logan act of 1798, providing against officious meddling in foreign relations by a citizen. He was a Quaker.

⁷⁶William Eustis (1753-1825), at this time a member of Congress from Massachusetts.

⁷⁷Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 2, p. 81.

the manner of organizing the Courts:

the nature of the opposition to the repeal, denying its Constitutionality, and menacing a civil war.

2. The repeal would be Constitutional, from a review of the principles and terms of the Constitution itself.
of the peculiar situation of the Country, its growing population, its extending prospects, its encreasing wants, pursuits, and refinements etc. etc.
of the analogy to the judiciary institution of England, where independence of the *Legislature*, is not within the policy or provision of the Statutes relative to the Commissions of the Judges.
of the analogy to the judiciary institutions of the sister States, which have all been subject to Legislative interference occasionally. In Pennsylvania, particularly, the Constitution declares that the Judges shall hold their Commissions during good behaviour; yet it expressly authorises the Legislature to abolish the Courts of Common Pleas etc.
and of the precedents in the existing Act of Congress, which is an exercise of the power, *sub modo*.
3. But notwithstanding the indignation I feel, in common with our friends, at the manner of passing the Circuit Court Act; and notwithstanding my perfect conviction, that Congress has the power of repealing the Act, I think the repeal would be impolitic, and inexpedient: If it would be impolitic, acting on party principles, it would be inexpedient of course; but I mean, also, that it would [be] inexpedient, on account of the use that Pennsylvania (and I presume the same as to other States) has derived from the institution:

1. It is impolitic.

The Republicans are not agreed on the Constitutionality of the repeal.

The People, at large, have imbibed strong prejudices on the subject of judicial independence.

The repeal would be ascribed to party animosity; and, if future amendments should be made, it

would be considered as a personal proceeding, merely to remove the present Judges.

The hazard of loss in public opinion is greater than the hope of gain. There is a mass of the community, that will not be fermented by the leaven of party passions. By persons of this description the motive and effect will be strictly analyzed and pursued.

The *mere resuscitation* of the old system, will either expose the administration of justice to inconceivable embarrassments, or demonstrate the motive to be, abstractedly, a part[y] one, by calling for an immediate reform.

The clamour of the Federalists will at least have a colourable foundation.

2. It is inexpedient.

The mere repeal will reinstate a system, which every man of common sense and candor must deprecate.

It will entirely destroy institutions susceptible of being modelled into a form, oeconomical as well as useful.

It will deprive some States of Tribunals, which have been found highly advantageous to the dispatch of business. I allude particularly to Penn'a. In this State, Justice, as far as respects our State Courts, is in a state of dissolution, from the excess of business, and the parsimony of the Legislature.

With this view of the subject, you will perceive, that I think

1. There ought not to be a total repeal.

2. There ought to be amendments.

If, however, a repeal should take place, I am clearly of opinion, that it would be unjustifiable to make any provision for the Ex-Judges. On this point, and on the introduction of amendments, I will, if you desire it, amplify by a future post.

The zealous Republicans are exciting some intemperance here, in opposition to a Memorial from our Bar, which, you will perceive, is confined to the operation of the Law in this

State, as a matter of fact, and not to any controversy of a Constitutional, or political nature.

I shall be anxious to hear from you, as often as you can spare a moment; and particularly while the Judiciary Bill is depending.

I am, with great regard, Sir,

A. J. DALLAS.

M. WILLETT TO AARON BURR.⁷⁸

NEW YORK 4th February 1802.

DEAR SIR,—What a racket this vile Judiciary Law makes. It must be repealed. But how the Judges who have their appointment during good behaviour are to be removed without making a breach in the Constitution is beyond my abilities to develope. It will not however be the first rape on that instrument, and if two wrongs could make one right this account might be squared. But that horrid Law must, indeed it must be repealed.

I have received your two favours together, one dated 28th January and the other without date. The effect of the abolision of the internal taxes on Mr. O[sgood] gives me no concern. He has plenty of other business and money enough without that. I am more concerned about the nonentity of my fortification agency. This is an operation which might be executed with peculiar advantage the ensuing summer nor do I think a substantial reason can be assigned for omiting it. I shall be glad to hear that our memorial has succeeded. The omission of the Governmental officers in suffering such large and long defaulcations is our strong ground. As the present Comptroler is one of those officers, some watchfulness may be necessary to prevent foul play. I have nothing new. Mr. V Derline⁷⁹ is at Col. Smiths with his drawing materials and has taken lodgings with Capt. Pearsey. He has made me a beautifull picture. He promises to be more attentive in writing to you.

God bless you. You have my prayers always. And who dare say they are not as good as a Bishops, or anny member of

⁷⁸Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 2, p. 173.

⁷⁹John Vanderlyn (1775-1852) painted a portrait of Aaron Burr which belongs to the New York Historical Society.

a Presbyterian Synod. Sometimes I think I'll turn presbyterian that I may have the benefit of their prayers not to outlive my usefull days. An event I deprecate above all others. And this is a prayer I never heard in our Church. I mean my church which you know is the Episcopal.

Most sincerely am I Dear Sir Yours,

M. WILLETT.

Col. Burr.

[Addressed] Aaron Burr Esquire, Vice President of the United States, Washington City.

THOMAS TRUXTUN⁸⁰ TO AARON BURR.

NORFOLK 14th February 1802.

MY DEAR SIR,—I got here a few days ago and have seen many, very many of your friends indeed, and you are toasted daily which gives me much pleasure; Altho' I knew it was the case and would daily be more and more so with certain characters, yet I had no idea changes could have become so great as I find them in half a year. P - - - is your friend but he exceeds a want of common decency in his declaration of other gentlemen. It is true his observations are calculated for the mob on election grounds—but they ought to be dispensed with in the society of gentlemen; but upon the whole he will do good and I most sincerely anticipate the pleasure of seeing you in the possession of the first office under our blessed Constitution after the 3d of March 1805, and I pray that events may turn up to put you there before. I cannot be a hypocrite to effect even the esteem of a man or of men who I don't believe has at heart those principles which are necessary to give character and consequence to our beloved country, which under the auspices of sence and greatness, would rival in a few years the greatest powers of Europe.

I am not afraid to think and to speak whenever I deem it necessary or usefull and if I was mean enough to be actuated by a fear of losing an appointment, I hold none that can check me. My friends in politiks are aware of your situation and how cautious you ought to be just now. And there are those here who you dont know—that have lately been at

⁸⁰(1755-1822.) He went to Norfolk to take command of the fleet for the war with Tripoli.

Washington and have heard enough drop from certain characters, to convince them and this society, that you are not in the confidence of - - - - . The repeal of the Judiciary law has roused here Federalists and even Jacobins, and will unite them against such proceedings which threatens annihilation to our Constitution.

I have delivered your message to W. respecting the affairs of R. he thanks you, but I have not delivered your message to the lovely S- - - that you wish to see her and her father at Washington—tho' I have told her I had a message which I should deliver before I sailed, and like all women she is impatient to hear it and declares I must tell her immediately. I find the Chesapeake in a backward state, but shall hurry her preparations and equipment. You must take care of Alexander Hamilton, King, Pinckney, and Patterson, besides all those at the head of Departments, at least one of those nearest to - - - -.

M- - - is not satisfied where he is and if his friendship for - - - - is at an end, you have none to calculate from him. I am this moment called to sup with the amiable and the fair and we shall talk of you as usual before we rise.

With great attachment I have the honor to be Dear Sir
Your very obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS TRUXTUN.

Hon'ble Aaron Burr, Esq.,
V.P., U.S.

[Addressed] Honorable Aaron Burr Esqr., Vice President of the U. S. Washington.

JAMES JACKSON⁸¹ TO AARON BURR.

Saturday Morning.

[March, 1802.]

DEAR SIR,—I have positively declined the being run for the Chair. Who do you think best qualified on our side the house? it will not do to spare General Mason,⁸² or Breckenridge.⁸³

⁸¹(1757-1806), United States Senator from Georgia.

⁸²Stevens Thomson Mason (1760-1803), United States Senator from Virginia.

⁸³John Breckenridge (1760-1806), United States Senator from Kentucky.

What I mentioned last evening as to a publication I wish to go no further, as I have decided to drop it. I allude to T- - - & D- - -.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to you (for I suppose it must have come from you) for the Medal of General Gates, and should I not see you again, wish you a safe and pleasant journey and shall expect to be honored with a line on my reaching Savannah.

I am Dear Sir with great respect, Your Obedient Servant,
JAS. JACKSON.

Hon'ble Aaron Burr

Vice President U. States.

It is objected to Baldwin⁸⁴ that it is improper as the same honor is not paid twice. What think you of Bradley?⁸⁵

[Addressed] Hon'ble Vice President, U. States.

GIDEON GRANGER TO AARON BURR.

March 10th 1802.

Allow me my friend to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Luther Pratt a republican Printer of East Windsor in Connecticut, He proposes establishing a Political Magazine and wishes Patronage. His sufferings while a Printer as Tory and his merits as a steadfast Republican entitle him to Patronage.

Yours sincerely,

The Vice President

GID'N GRANGER.

SAMUEL S. SMITH TO AARON BURR.

PRINCETON March 13th 1802.

DEAR SIR,

The edifice of the college in this place, together with three libraries containing about three thousand volumes, was, a few days ago, entirely consumed by fire. It is not known whether this event was the effect of accident or of design; but commonly supposed to be of design. In our determination immediately to rebuild it, and, if possible, to improve its structure, it is become necessary to apply to the benevolence of the public; and in order to do this with success, to solicit the influence and

⁸⁴Abraham Baldwin (1754-1807), United States Senator from Georgia, and at this time President *pro tem* of the Senate.

⁸⁵Stephen Row Bradley (1754-1830), United States Senator from Vermont.

aid of those of its sons who are most distinguished for their talents, and the high reputation of their names. But, besides these advantages which point you out to the trustees among the first, the college holds, perhaps, a peculiar relation to you, owing its existence, as it does, principally to the extraordinary merits and exertions of a father so greatly and justly respected. Can I hope, Sir, for your particular interest in this important object, and your recommendation of it, both at the seat of government, and to your friends in New-York? And will you be good enough to suggest any improvement in the general plan of the institution which may occur to you. Subscriptions are opening with considerable vigor in different parts of New Jersey, and in Philadelphia; and, hitherto, we entertain sanguine hopes of completing the building in the course of the next Summer. I have written also to Mr Madison, and some other gentlemen in Congress on the same subject requesting them to co-operate with you, if you will be good enough to take the intrest in it which we hope. I am, most respectfully,
Dear Sir, Yr Mo obdt & Mo hble Servt.

SAMUEL S. SMITH.

[Addressed] His Excellency Aaron Burr, Vice President of the United States.

URIAH TRACY⁸⁶ TO AARON BURR

The Sermon for which I am indebted to your goodness, is now returned with many thanks for the loan.

I have perused it with pleasure, & I hope, profit. It is an excellent treatise, worthy of the attention of every man and more emphatically so of men in high & responsible stations in Govt.

Our time is short, my friend, too short to allow an opp'y of retrieving almost any mispence of it; much more so, to allow a redemption for any neglect to perform great public services, when once happily in our power. God grant that you may be profited by this and in turn be more profitable to this distracted Nation.

U. Tracy.

29th March, [1802.]

Vice Prest.

⁸⁶(1755-1807), once a United States Senator from Connecticut, at this time a resident of Washington.

JOHN RANDOLPH TO AARON BURR

John Randolph finds, to his extreme surprize and chagrin, that the house of representatives, instead of acting on the business of the *nation*, have, by the vote of a great majority, gone into committee of the whole on a complicated *private claim*, not comprised in the report of the joint committee of the two houses. He therefore *despairs, utterly*, of getting away before the middle of next week. He is not vain enough to suppose that Col. B. will postpone his departure on *that* account:—but he shall be highly gratified by any cause of detention not disagreeable to Col B. which shall give J. R. the pleasure of accompanying him thro Virginia.
friday Noon.

15 April [1802]

[Addressed] Col. Burr.

JAMES BIDDLE TO AARON BURR.⁸⁷

U. S. Ship *Constellation* at
Gibraltar May 8. 1802.

DEAR SUR,—As the frigate Philadelphia will sail in a few days for America, I cannot neglect so good an opportunity of writing and returning you my sincere thanks, for the marked civilities I have received at all times from you, particularly at New York, the summer of 1800. Be assured, Sir, I feel the livliest sense of the obligations I am under for the many favours conferred upon me, and shall ever feel extremely happy to have it in my power to render you any service.

Owing to our being perplexed with almost constant easterly winds, we did not make the land until the 24th Ult. when we made Cape Cantin on the Coast of Africa. On the 28th we got into the Streights of Gibraltar, but the wind heading us off the Rock, we were obliged to bear away for Malaga. There we found the Essex and Philadelphia at anchor. On the 3rd Inst. we left Malaga, and arrived here in company with the Philadelphia and Essex, on the fifth and I expect to remain here until Commodore Truxtun arrives on the Station.

While the ship lay at Malaga, I had an opportunity of seeing everything that could attract the eye of a stranger. The

⁸⁷Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 2, p. 197.

country round the city is extremely fertile, abounding with all the different kinds of fruit trees. Indeed the lower class of the Spaniards subsist almost entirely upon fruit, the produce of the country, the chief articles of exportation being grapes, figs, anchovies, raisins, oranges, wines etc. etc. Their streets are very narrow, running at random in every direction, their houses are mostly built of marble, four stories high, different families occupying different stories of the same house. They have two or three forts built on eminences adjacent to the city, for its protection, but they are decaying, and out of order.

I anticipate enjoying a very pleasant cruise, as we seem to be favored with every thing that could render our situation agreeable. Capt. Murray is one of the best of men, and treats us with all the kindness and attention we could wish; the climate is very healthy and mild; the Tripolitans, keep among themselves, and never venture out, so that we shall have nothing to do, but visit the different ports of the Mediterranean; and the closest friendship, and social harmony prevails among the officers of the ship; every thing, in short, that we could wish, we seem to have, to make our situation comfortable.

Pray remember me kindly to Mrs. Alston, and Believe me, with much esteem and respect, Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant,

JAMES BIDDLE.

Hon. A. Burr Esq'e.

[Addressed] The Hon'ble A. Burr Esquire, V. President of the U. States, City of Washington. [The "City of Washington" is crossed out, the letter evidently being forwarded from there to "New York."] Favored by Mr. Cl. Biddle Jun'r.

JOHN TAYLOR TO AARON BURR.⁸³

Virginia, Caroline, May 25, 1802.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor, covering the medal struck to commemorate the most brilliant exploit of the American War, from some cause unknown to me, never arrived until this instant; it is particularly acceptable, from the circumstance

⁸³Printed in Davis's "Memoirs of Aaron Burr," vol. 2, p. 198.

of my having imbibed a personal affection for General Gates, by having served under him for a few months.

It would be quite premature in me to consider, whether I would go into congress, unless it was probable that I could. The government have no means of providing for the gentleman you mention, and if they had, to do so, for the purpose of making room for another, might expose them to censure, which they will hardly encounter. As to a voluntary resignation of his station, there are some circumstances in his case, which do really justify him in refusing to do it, unless for some better prospect of public benefit.

Not until some days after you had left this, was it discovered that you had forgotten your traveling map. I lamented the inconveniences to which the oversight would expose you, but had no mode of removing them, despairing, from a recollection of your horses, that either of mine would be fleet enough to overtake you. The map could therefore only be taken care of, for the purpose of being restored to you. Permit me to hope, that you will allow me to do this at my own house as you return, and that you will apprise me of your resolution to do so, both that I may be at home, and that I may enjoy the hope of your company, before the pleasure is realized. Farewell. Yours sincerely and respectfully,

JOHN TAYLOR.

[Addressed] The Vice President of the United States, Charleston, South Carolina.

JAMES HILLHOUSE⁸⁹ TO AARON BURR

Mr. Hillhouse will have the honor of dining with the Vice President tomorrow agreeably to his invitation.

Dec. 20th. [1802]

[Addressed] Vice President United States.

JAMES MADISON TO MATTHEW L. DAVIS.

WASHINGTON NOV. 26, 1803.

Sir

I have read your letter of the 21st making certain enquiries relative to your brother George Davis.⁹⁰ The last letter from

⁸⁹(1754-1832), United States Senator from Connecticut.

⁹⁰Appointed a surgeon in the United States Navy, January, 1800, by John Adams. He later was consul at Tunis and Tripoli.

him to the Dept. of State was dated July 3d last. From the communications of Mr. Cathcart⁹¹ it appears that he left your brother at Tunis early in September. Mr. Cathcart was appointed successor to Mr. Eaton, but was not recd. by the Bey. No successor to Mr. Cathcart has been named by the President. I am Sir respectfully, Yr. obed. Ser.

JAMES MADISON.

JOHN ARMSTRONG⁹² TO AARON BURR

Mr. Armstrong will have the honor of dining with Mr. Burr on Tuesday next.
Monday.

[Addressed] The Vice President.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS TO AARON BURR.

NEW YORK 5 Dec. 1803

Dear Sir,

I have filed the Bill in Chancery and obtained and served an injunction. The rules of the Court requiring a deposit with the Register of \$100, I paid him that sum.

By the newspapers it appears that Genl. Ledyard is dead, and I should not be surprised if Phelps should attempt to avail himself of this circumstance to obtain an order to dissolve the injunction; which will *enable* him to try his cause at the sittings in this month in case the Court should proceed far enough in the calendar of causes for trial.

I am not advised who are the heirs of Mr. Ledyard and in case a successful attempt should be made to dissolve the injunction, my ignorance of the names of the persons to make parties in Mr. B. Ledyard's stead, will put it out of my power *immediately* to obtain another injunction.

⁹¹James Leander Cathcart, was nominated July 7, 1797, by President Adams, to be Consul General of the United States for the city and kingdom of Tripoli. Cathcart was a citizen of the United States, but had been for many years a prisoner in Algiers and for some years "head Christian clerk" to the Dey of Algiers. In February, 1802, Jefferson had nominated him to be consul at Algiers in place of Richard O'Brian, and in November, 1803, to be consul at Tunis, in place of William Eaton, resigned.

⁹²(1755-1843), United States Senator from New York.

Would it not be well for you to drop me a letter stating the material papers in Mr. Ledyard's possession wanted upon a trial, which letter will enable me I doubt not to postpone the trial of the suit at law, should an effort to postpone become necessary.

I presume my agent in Albany has not arrived to the grade of a Counsellor in Chancery. Should you therefore have any friend in Albany to whom you could refer me to oppose a motion before the Chancellor, have the goodness to mention it in your letter. I am Dr Sir respectfully your Sert

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS

The Honb. A. Burr.

[Addressed] The Honorable Aaron Burr, Washington.

JONATHAN DAYTON⁹³ TO AARON BURR

December, 1803.

DEAR SIR,

Owing to the weather and another cause not necessary or proper to be explained, I have entirely abandoned my intention of visiting Annapolis.

I know of no party going there. Mr. Purviance⁹⁴ was to have accompanied me, and taken dinner with General Stone⁹⁵ tomorrow, but he now speaks doubtfully of the jaunt, and I suspect will give it up.

I hope that you will not dissappoint Genl. S. especially as he has taken from hence three or four pairs of ducks to treat you, and something still better will have been prepared for me at his house, which I herewith transfer to you. Sincerely

J. DAYTON.

If you meet with Miss Murray, take an occasion, I pray you, of saying that I was coming to Anns. but prevented by sickness.

[Addressed] Honorable A. Burr, Esqr.

⁹³(1760-1824), United States Senator from New Jersey.

⁹⁴Samuel D. Purviance, a member of Congress from North Carolina.

⁹⁵Probably John Hoskin Stone (1745-1804).

JOHN ADAMS TO AARON BURR.

Mr. Adams present his respects to the Vice-President, and is happy to accept his obliging invitation to dinner to-morrow. 8. Jan'y 1804.

[Addressed] The Vice President of the United States.

ROBERT G. HARPER TO AARON BURR.

WASHINGTON Mar. 5th. 1804.

SIR,—

It has occurred to me that the Court of Impeachment, in deciding on the question now before it, may be desirous of seeing the evidence intended to be adduced, in support of the suggestion of Judge Pickering's⁹⁶ insanity. I have therefore taken the liberty of enclosing the depositions to you, and of requesting that you will be pleased to lay them before the Court.

If you have no objection, my dear Sir, to receive such a letter as the above, and to present it with the papers to the Court, I will send them in as soon as the senate meets.

It is my wish that in case the court should refuse to hear the suggestion of Insanity, it may hereafter appear that they did so with proof of the fact before them. Yours truly,

ROB. G. HARPER.

The Vice President

P.S. The depositions themselves, except one by Judge Terry of the H. M. which is not yet complete, are enclosed for your perusal.

R. G. H.

[Addressed] The Vice President of the United States.

JAMES A. WILKINSON TO AARON BURR.

To save time of which I need much and have but little, I propose to take a Bed with you this night, if it may be done without observation or intrusion—Answer me and if in the

⁹⁶The impeachment of John Pickering (1737-1805) is related in the second volume of Henry Adams' *History*.

affirmative, I will be with [you] at 30' after the 8th Hour,
Yours truly,

J. A. WILKINSON.

23rd May 1804

Col. Burr.

[Addressed] The Hon'ble A. Burr, Richmond.

LUTHER MARTIN TO JOSEPH ALSTON.

RICHMOND, 26th June, 1807.

SIR,—I have the painful task to inform you that my much esteemed friend, Col. Burr, was yesterday committed to Prison in consequence of a Bill for Treason being found by the Grand Jury against him. I arrived here the evening of May twenty-seventh, and have been with Col. Burr ever since. Nor shall I leave him until his Trial is at end. Never, I believe, did any Government thirst more for the Blood of a victim than our enligtend, philosophic, mild, philanthropic Government for the Blood of my friend. Two Gentlemen, considered here of the first talents, are employed to assist in the prosecution, or, as it may be truly said, the persecution—and the unfeeling, the savage manner each of these three⁹⁷ have adopted, in the course of the prosecution, would dishonor any Beings but Demons from Hell. That Col. Burr is as innocent of every thing of a treasonable nature as the child unborn I remain fully convinced, that he never had any object in view, but what did honor to himself, and would have been greatly useful to the United States, and to all Europe, except France and Spain, I am fully convinced. That a Bill has been found, has been owing to the Jury not being well informed what facts constitute Treason, and to gross perjury in swearing to facts not true. We feel the utmost confidence that he will be acquitted upon his Trial, and that he will ultimately Triumph over that malignant jealousy and inveterate hatred by which he is now persecuted. That Government ardently desire to destroy Col. Burr, that it would feel no more com-

⁹⁷George Hay, William Wirt and Alexander McRae. On Burr's trial in *Henry Adams' History*, III, 441.

punction in taking his life, that that with which a philosopher views a rat expiring, with convulsions, at the bottom [of] an exhausted receiver, I have not a doubt. And I am confident that Government does not believe him to have been guilty of a treasonable act or design.

Under Col. Burr's present situation, you may be assured, it would be most pleasing, most consolatory to him, could you visit Richmond. He has many warm friends here at this time, who are not, and have not been, deterred from proving their attachment to him in the hour of adversity. And the popular odium, which had been so artfully and so basely excited against him has greatly decreased, and is still decreasing. While Wilkinson is viewed by many as the basest of villains. Nay such are the sentiments of the Grand Jury concerning him, that they were, yesterday, equally divided on the question, of finding a Bill against him for Treason.

Present my most respectful Compliments to your amiable Lady—tell her my Daughter, Maria, who came to Richmond with me, and who shares in all my sollicitudes for the fate of Col. Burr, wishes to be remembered by her—tell her, that, for her sake as well as her father's, all the professional powers I possess, are devoted to him, with all the zeal and ardency of friendship—tell her that, if on this occasion I had not come forward and offered my aid,—my services—every exertion of my mind, to shield him from his Enemies, I should have felt myself most deservedly liable to her eternal reproaches—and finally tell her she has my fervent prayers for her happiness.

You will forgive this intrusion upon you by a person, who has not the honor to be *personally* known to you, but who is with sentiments of respect and esteem for you, Your very obedient Servant,

LUTHER MARTIN.

The Hon'ble Joseph Alston.

THEODOSIA BURR ALSTON TO MRS HERMAN
BLENNERHASSETT.⁹³

Virginia, Richmond, Aug. 5th, 1807.

It was with great regret, my dear Friend, that I learned your determination to remain at Natchez; we had been told that you were actually on your way hither; so well authenticated was this report, that after the arrival of Mr. Blennerhassett I still hoped to hear from him that you were not far off. Your absence is the more to be regretted as you might without any inconvenience have resided with Mr. B—I intended to have added to your comforts by my attentions, and hoped to have cheered you by the society of myself and friends.

Mr. B. is in perfectly good health, and Mr Alston who has visited him twice since his arrival, which took place yesterday, assures me that his spirits are good. The rooms in which he is confined are very comfortable, they were occupied by my Father till within a few days, *I* spent several days and one night in them; they are cool, clean and retired from all unpleasant *company*, I hope however that in a few days I shall be able to give you more pleasant and cheering information. Do not, then, suffer yourself to be depressed by apprehensions which must be unfounded. In the meantime rest assured that nothing shall be neglected to contribute to the comfort of your Husband in his present situation which, however, I repeat it, is more tolerable than you may imagine.

Adieu—Kiss your little ones for me. That Heaven may shower blessings on you all is the sincere wish of your affectionate

T. B. ALSTON.

My Father's trial will commence in a few days and we look forward to it with all the cheerfulness we must derive from innocence supported by talents;—for some of the most eminent advocates in the Union have volunteered their services in his cause.

⁹³Adeline Agnew, daughter of the governor of the Isle of Man, married Blennerhassett in 1796. This letter crossed one from Mrs. Blennerhassett to her husband, August 3, 1807, saying: "Apprise Colonel Burr of my warmest acknowledgments, for his own and Mrs. Alston's kind remembrance; and tell him to assure her she has inspired me with a warmth of attachment which never can diminish. I wish him to urge her to write to me." Quoted in Parton's, "Life of Aaron Burr," p. 501.

A. PREVOST⁹⁹ TO AARON BURR.

WEYBRIDGE, 1 September, [1808.]

I began the fear that you had returned to the Antipodes, dear Sir, when your wellcome letter informed me of your desirable Situation; I apply'd to the Achards;¹⁰⁰ they say'd you was gone out of Town; had changed your loddgings, and did not know your address; the arrival of the Packet made me more anxious. I had no letters from Sir George¹⁰¹ by the last Halifax Mail; but my Daughter in law, Mrs. James Prevost, received one from him, dated the 31st July; when he was preparing, with Sir J. B. Warren¹⁰² to go to various parts of Nova Scotia, in a Tour, which was to last three weeks, at the expiration of which he flattered himself, his family would arrive, which unfortunately cannot be having only sailed from Portsmouth the 17th Ult.

I trust to your promise of revisiting Weybridge soon; where you will meet Mr. and Mrs. Barnett; the Gunns have enjoy'd a whole week of happiness during the Egham Races; where they went every days; the fêtes ended with a ball, to which the Dutchess of York presided; the Dukes of York, and Cumberland, having been the Stewards; I suppose they mett *the other Duke*, tho I have not heard it; and he has not been here since; *et je suis privée du plaisir de vous donner le dénouement de la Pièce*; Mrs. Mallet,¹⁰³ of Brianston Street, has lamented her absance from it, when you left your card, she was then in Hert's, and is now in London; I believè *alone*, for every body is out of it; you'll find it deserted at your return; the general War to Partridges begins to day; some unexpected visitors

⁹⁹This may be from Anne Prevost, mother of Sir George Prevost. She was Anne Grand, daughter of Chevalier George Grand of Amsterdam and married Augustine Prevost, a major-general in the British army. Burr had been at Weybridge, July 26. *Diary*, I, 2.

¹⁰⁰Madame Achard was cousin to Frederick Prevost, son of Mrs. Burr by her first husband.

¹⁰¹(1767-1826), who in 1808 became lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of Nova Scotia.

¹⁰²Sir John Borlase Warren (1753-1822), admiral in British Navy.

¹⁰³Wife of John Lewis Mallett, a second cousin of Frederick Prevost.

obliges me to conclude, and gives me only time to assure you of the sincere best wishes of, Dear Sir, Your obliged humble Servant

A. PREVOST.

[Addressed] A Burr Esq. at J. Bentham Esqr. near Godstow, Barrow green.¹⁰⁴

MARTIN VAN BUREN TO AARON BURR.

23 July 1814.

D Sir

Your polite note with Hatsel I have received and acknowledge my obligation for your particular politeness and friendly solicitude. I shall lodge at the Eagle Tavern formerly Gregories now Baird's, where I should be happy to meet you.

Yours

M. V. BUREN

[Addressed] Col. A. Burr, N. York.

AARON BURR TO JOSEPH ARNOLD.

NEW YORK, 5 August, 1816.

SIR,—Your order is still unpaid and the gentlemen on whom it is drawn preemptorily refuse to pay. I thought it might be necessary for your justification to protest it, which has been done as you have been many days since advised by the Notary.

I have received a letter from Ransom dated 30th July, requesting that the taxed bills may be reviewed and giving me a deal of advice how to do my own business. I am really quite ashamed and mortified to see such a letter. It is a very trifling and silly attempt to gain a little time and to impose on me. He knew perfectly well that the measures he pretends to advise were unnecessary and if necessary, that I must be much better informed of it than he could be. My bills are against him and not against Campbell. Ransom has not answered one of my letters for the last six months. How often have I bid him to send me the bond—and yet he dares to tell me that he wishes to [be?] placed in a situation to compel

¹⁰⁴He went to Bentham on August 18th and again on the 26th, remaining over the 29th. See Burr, Memoirs, II, 414.

Campbell to pay? Why then does he not send me the bond. He has been speculating on my money for nearly nine months and now writes me a letter of two pages without a word from which I can infer that he ever means to pay me, nor do I believe that he does if he can any way avoid it. Whilst the suit was pending he was very liberal of his promises. Now he has got his money, he seems resolved to keep it.

If I should not by return of mail receive the money or a satisfactory reply, I shall not write again and he may blame himself for the consequences.¹⁰⁵ I am Sir Your humble servant,

A. BURR.

Please to transmit my receipt and take up your order.
Joseph Arnold, Esqr., Pawlings Town.

JOHN C. CALHOUN TO MATTHEW L. DAVIS.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR,

January 6th. 1818.

SIR,

Enclosed herewith, you will receive the other part of your Contract for the supply of rations to the troops of the United States within the States of Vermont, New York and New Jersey, commencing the 1st. of June 1818, and ending the 31st. of May 1819, executed on the part of the government. I have the honor to be, Your obt. Servant,

J. C. CALHOUN

¹⁰⁵Burr first wrote: "I beg that he will not trouble himself to give me any more advice."

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, 1690-1820.

PART XI: OHIO

COMPILED BY CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

The following bibliography attempts, first, to present a historical sketch of every newspaper printed in the United States from 1690 to 1820; secondly, to locate all files found in the various libraries of the country; and thirdly, to give a complete check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

The historical sketch of each paper gives the title, the date of establishment, the name of the editor or publisher, the frequency of issue and the date of discontinuance. It also attempts to give the exact date of issue when a change in title or name of publisher or frequency of publication occurs.

In locating files to be found in various libraries, no attempt is made to list every issue. In the case of common papers which are to be found in many libraries, only the longer files are noted, with a description of their completeness. Rare newspapers, which are known by only a few scattered issues, are minutely listed.

The check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society follows the style of the Library of Congress "Check List of Eighteenth Century Newspapers," and records all supplements, missing issues and mutilations.

The arrangement is alphabetical by States and towns. Towns are placed according to their present State location. For convenience of alphabetization, the initial "The" in the titles of papers is disregarded. Papers are considered to be of folio size, unless otherwise stated. There are no abbreviations

except in the names of the libraries where files are located, and these should be easily understood. A superior italic "m" is used in the listing of the Society's files to signify mutilated copy. The bibliography includes only newspapers, and does not list magazines; the distinction has sometimes been difficult to draw, but the test has generally been the inclusion of current news. Neither in the historical sketches nor in the listing of files is any account taken of the existence of the paper after 1820.

All files, except in a few instances, have been personally examined by the compiler of this list, and the facts stated have been drawn from an inspection of the papers themselves and not based on secondary authorities.

The bibliography will be published in the Proceedings in about fifteen installments, after which the material will be gathered into a volume, with an historical introduction, acknowledgement of assistance rendered, and a comprehensive index of titles and names of printers. Reprints of each installment will not be made, nor will the names of papers or printers be indexed in the Proceedings. Since the material will be held in type until after the printing of the final installment, the compiler will welcome additions and corrections.

OHIO

[Burlington] **Scioto Telegraph**, see under **Portsmouth**.

Cadiz Informant, 1816-1818.

Weekly. Established in December, 1816, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Jan. 9, 1818, vol. 2, no. 55, published by Smith & Harris (——— Smith and John Harris), with the title of "The Cadiz Informant." It was published in the spring of 1818 by Smith & Harris (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1818, p. 141). In the "Cadiz Republican" of Jan. 18, 1917, the statement is made that the first Cadiz newspaper was established Sept. 15, 1815, which statement was based upon an article in the Republican about 1843 noting an old copy of a Cadiz newspaper which was brought in for the editor's examination. No copy of a paper earlier than "The Cadiz Informant" has been located.

A. A. S. has:

1818. Jan. 9.

[Cadiz] **Ohio Luminary**, 1819.

Published in the spring of 1819 by John Harris (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169). No copy located.

[Canton] **Ohio Repository**, 1815-1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 30, 1815, by John Saxton, with the title of "The Ohio Repository," and so continued until after 1820.

Canton Repository office has Mar. 30, 1815-Dec. 28, 1820. Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. has Mar. 30, 1815. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Mar. 6, July 24, 1818.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Oct. 30.

[Chillicothe] **Fredonian**, 1807-1809.

Weekly. Established Feb. 19, 1807, by Hinde & Richardson (Thomas S. Hinde and Robert D. Richardson), with the title of "The Fredonian." In July, 1807, Hinde

retired and R. D. Richardson became the publisher. Early in 1808 the title was changed to "Fredonian." The last issue located is that of Aug. 5, 1808, vol. 2, no. 67. Richardson advertises in "The Independent Republican" of Sept. 8, 1809, to collect his debts, and refers to his paper as "the late Fredonian."

Harvard has Feb. 19, Mar. 7, 14, Apr. 4, May 16, June 6, 13, 26, July 31, Aug. 28, Sept. 11, 25, Oct. 16, 23, Nov. 20, 27, 1807. Lib. Congress has Mar. 14, 1807; Jan. 5, 1808. H. W. Phelps, Columbus, has June 13, 1807. Wis. Hist. Soc. has July 22, 1808. A. A. S. has:

1807. Mar. 7.

May 2, Aug. 7.

1808. July 22, 29.

Aug. 5.

[Chillicothe] Fredonian, 1811, 1812-1813.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Independent Republican." The first issue with the title of "The Fredonian," was that of Sept. 19, 1811, vol. 3, no. 106, published by R. D. Richardson & Co. (Robert D. and Thomas H. Richardson). It was discontinued at Chillicothe with the issue of Oct. 3, 1811, vol. 3, no. 108, and removed to Circleville, where it was published from Oct. 9, 1811 to Aug. 11, 1812. For these issues, see under Circleville.

With the issue of Aug. 25, 1812, vol. 3, no. 48, it was returned to Chillicothe, it then being published by Robert D. Richardson. With the issue of Sept. 1, 1812, Richardson formed a partnership with John Bailhache under the firm name of Richardson & Bailhache, who continued the paper to the last issue located, that of Oct. 26, 1813, vol. 4, no. 52.

Ohio State Lib. has Sept. 19, Oct. 3, 1811; Aug. 25, 1812-Oct. 26, 1813. Harvard has Oct. 3, 1811; Jan. 26, Mar. 16, 23, May 11, June 1, Aug. 3-17, 31, Oct. 26, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1812. Sept. 16.

1813. Aug. 10.

[Chillicothe] Freeman's Journal, 1800.

Edmund Freeman, publisher of "Freeman's Journal" at Cincinnati, removed to Chillicothe in 1800 (Daniel Drake, "Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of Cincinnati," 1815, p. 152). This was evidently because of the Act of Congress, approved May 7, 1800, making Chillicothe the capital of the Ohio territory. In the records of the territorial court at Chillicothe in 1800 is to be found an order that certain advertisements should be inserted in "Freeman's paper" ("Ohio Centennial Celebration," 1903, p. 565). In "The Western Spy," of Cincinnati, of Nov. 5, 1800, is the following death notice: "On Saturday, the 25th ult. at his father's place, on Bever Creek, Mad River settlement, Mr. Edmund Freeman, printer, formerly of this place." No copies of the Chillicothe issues have been located.

[Chillicothe] Independent Republican, 1809-1811.

Weekly. Established Sept. 8, 1809, by Peter Parcels, with the title of "The Independent Republican." The last issue with this title was that of Sept. 13, 1811, vol. 3, no. 105, when Parcels sold out to R. D. Richardson & Co., who continued the paper under the title of "The Fredonian," which see.

Ohio State Lib. has Dec. 13, 1809; Sept. 13, 1810-Sept. 13, 1811. Lib. Congress has Nov. 20, 1809; Feb. 1, 1810. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has Apr. 4, 1811. Harvard has May 23, 30, June 6, 27, Aug. 1, 1811. A. A. S. has:

1809. Sept. 8, 18, 25.

Oct. 9, 30.

Nov. 27.

1810. Jan. 4, 11, 18, 25.

Feb. 8.

Mar. 1, 8^m, 15, 22.

May 24.

June 28.

July 5, 19.

Sept. 27.

Dec. 27^m.1811. May 9^m.**[Chillicothe] Ohio Herald, 1805-1807.**

Weekly. Established July 27, 1805, by Thomas G. Bradford & Co., with the title of "The Ohio Herald." In July, 1806, the title was altered to "Ohio Herald." The last issue located is that of Nov. 15, 1806, vol. 2, no. 67. The paper was succeeded by "The Fredonian" early in 1807.

Harvard has July 27, Aug. 17, Sept. 7, 21, 28, Oct. 12, Nov. 2, Dec. 21, 1805; June 28, Aug. 2, 30, Oct. 18, 25, Nov. 8, 15, 1806. Detroit Pub. Lib. has Nov. 30, 1805. A. A. S. has:

1805. July 27.

Aug. 17.

[Chillicothe] Scioto Gazette, 1800-1820+.

Weekly. Established late in April, 1800, judging from the volume numbering of the earliest regular issue located, that of Sept. 17, 1801, vol. 2, no. 74. The paper was probably printed during its first year by Winship & Willis (Winn Winship and Nathaniel Willis) as they were chosen printers of the legislative journals on Nov. 5, 1800. Before August, 1801, N. Willis became sole publisher of the paper, which was entitled "The Scioto Gazette." In the issue of Oct. 15, 1804, Willis says "Our next paper will complete four years since it came into the hands of the present editor." The issue of Oct. 24, 1805, according to an editorial, "completes five years since its first publication." With the issue of Dec. 29, 1805, Willis sold out to J[oseph] S. Collins & Co. From 1805 to 1809 Peter Parcels was editor, although his name did not appear in the imprint. At some time between Sept. 30, 1812, and Apr. 7, 1814, James Barnes became publisher. In August, 1815, John Bailhache became publisher, changed the title to "The Scioto Gazette, and Fredonian

Chronicle," and adopted a new volume numbering. With the issue of Oct. 2, 1818, Bailhache transferred the proprietorship to John Scott, but with the issue of Apr. 16, 1819, he again became a proprietor and the paper was published by Bailhache & Scott. With this issue, moreover, the initial "The" was dropped from the title. The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Scioto Gazette Company has Aug. 2, 9, Sept. 10, Nov. 7, 28, Dec. 19, 1801; Jan. 9-Apr. 17, May 22-Oct. 2, 1802; Jan. 1, 1803-Dec. 29, 1814; Apr. 24, June 5, July 24, 31, Sept. 11, 1818; Feb. 10, 1820. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Sept. 17, 1801; Mar. 10, 1810. Harvard has Oct. 17, Dec. 5, 1801; Feb. 26, May 14, June 25, July 9, 30, Aug. 6, 20, 27, Sept. 17-Oct. 15, 1803; June 11, July 16, Oct. 29, Nov. 12, Dec. 3, 1804; Mar. 18, 25, Apr. 8-22, May 6-20, June 10, 24, July 1, 8, 22, 29, Aug. 19-Sept. 2, 23-Oct. 7, 24-Dec. 5, 29, 1805; Jan. 9, 1806. Lib. Congress has Apr. 10, 1802; Mar. 5, 1807; Nov. 28, 1816; Jan. 1, 1819-Dec. 28, 1820. Chillicothe Pub. Lib. has June 19, 1802-June 25, 1803. Chicago Hist. Soc. has Jan. 30-Feb. 20, 1806; Sept. 3, 1807; Sept. 26, 1810; Sept. 25, 1818-Dec. 28, 1820. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has May 30, June 6, 1810; May 22, Oct. 2, 1811. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Sept. 10, 1804. Univ. of Chicago has Nov. 27, 1806. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Dec. 12, 1810. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 4, 1818. A. A. S. has:

1800. Supplement: [U. S. Cong. Act, passed May 10, 1800.]

1801. Extra: Aug. 2.
Supplement: Oct. 17.

1803. Oct. 1, 8, 15, 22.
Nov. 5, 12, 19.
Dec. 3, 10.
Extra: [August].

1804. Jan. 2, 16, 23.
Feb. 20.
Mar. 12.
Apr. 16, 23, 30.
May 14, 28.

June 4, 11, 18, 25.

July 9, 16, 23.

Oct. 15, 29.

Nov. 5, 19, 26.

Dec. 3, 10.

1805. Mar. 11^m, 18.

Apr. 1, 15, 22, 29.

May 6, 13, 27.

June 10, 24.

July 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.

Aug. 5, 12, 19, 26.

Sept. 9, 16, 23, 30.

Oct. 7, 14, 24, 31.

Nov. 7, 28.

1806. Jan. 23, 30.

Feb. 6, 13, 20, 27.

Mar. 6, 13, 27.

Apr. 3, 10, 17, 24.

May 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.

June 5, 26.

July 3, 10.

Aug. 7, 28.

Sept. 4, 18.

Oct. 9, 23, 30.

Nov. 6, 13, 20, 27.

Dec. 25.

Supplement: Mar. 29.

1807. Jan. 8.

Feb. 5, 12.

Mar. 5, 12, 19.

Apr. 9.

June 4, 11.

July 30.

Aug. 20, 27.

Sept. 3, 10, 17.

Oct. 1, 8, 15, 29.

Nov. 19.

Dec. 21.

1808. Jan. 4, 11.
Mar. 21.
Apr. 4, 11, 18.
May 16, 23, 30.
June 6, 20.
July 1, 19, 26.
Aug. 9, 23.
Sept. 6, 23.
Dec. 26.
1809. Jan. 16, 30.
Feb. 6, 13, 27.
Mar. 6, 20, 27.
Apr. 24.
May 8, 29.
June 5, 12, 26.
July 10, 17.
Aug. 7.
Sept. 11, 25.
Oct. 2, 9, 16.
Nov. 6, 13, 20, 29.
Dec. 6, 13, 20.
Supplement: Dec. 15.
1810. Jan. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
Feb. 7, 14, 21, 28.
Mar. 7, 14, 21.
Apr. 11, 18, 25.
May 9, 16.
June 6, 27.
July 4, 11.
Aug. 1, 22.
Sept. 5, 26.
Oct. 10, 24.
Nov. 7, 21, 28.
Dec. 12, 19.
Supplement: Jan. 3, 10.
1811. Jan. 9, 23.
Feb. 6, 13.
Mar. 13, 27.

Apr. 17, 24.

May 1, 8, 15.

1812. Sept. 30.

1814. Apr. 7, 28.

1815. Nov. 2.

1816. Sept. 26.

1818. Apr. 3, 24.

May 22.

1819. June 18^m.

July 23.

Extra: Jan. 29.

[Chillicothe] Supporter, 1808-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 6, 1808, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Dec. 8, 1808, vol. 1, no. 10, published by Nashee and Denny (George Nashee and George Denny, according to their proposals in "The Scioto Gazette" of Aug. 23, 1808), with the title of "The Supporter." In March, 1815, the partnership was dissolved and the paper published by George Nashee. It was so continued until after 1820.

Ohio State Lib. has Dec. 8, 1808-Sept. 26, 1815; Oct. 29, 1816-Nov. 22, 1820. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has Dec. 30, 1809; Mar. 2, 23, May 25, June 8-29, July 13, Aug. 3, 17, Nov. 23-Dec. 7, 21, 1811. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has May 18, 1809. Lib. Congress has Aug. 6, 1816. Marietta Coll. has Aug. 29, Oct. 31, Nov. 14, 21, Dec. 12, 1815; Jan. 16, Feb. 6-27, Apr. 2-Nov. 26, 1816; Oct. 14, Nov. 4-18, Dec. 2-30, 1818; Jan. 6, 1819-Dec. 20, 1820. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Dec. 1, 1813. Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. has June 3, 1818. Wis. Hist. Soc. has July 5, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1809. Jan. 5 to Dec. 30.

Extra: July 15.

Missing: Jan. 19, Mar. 23, May 4, Aug. 11,
Nov. 10, Dec. 30.

1810. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.
Missing: Jan. 20, Apr. 28.
1811. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.
Missing: Mar. 23.
1812. Jan. 4 to Dec. 26.
Mutilated: Dec. 26.
Missing: July 11, Aug. 15, Oct. 17.
1813. Jan. 2 to Dec. 29.
[Extra]: Feb. 2.
Mutilated: Dec. 8.
Missing: Sept. 29, Oct. 6.
1814. Jan. 5 to Dec. 31.
Missing: Jan. 12, 19, Feb. 2, Apr. 9, May 7,
July 2, 30, Aug. 6, 27, Oct. 8, 22, Nov. 26,
Dec. 3, 10.
1815. Jan. 7, 17, 24.
Feb. 14.
May 30.
June 13, 20, 27.
July 18^m.
Aug. 8, 15^m.
Sept. 4^m, 26.
Extra: May 10.
1816. Feb. 6.
Apr. 2, 9, 16, 30.
May 14.
June 4^m, 11, 18, 25.
July 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.
Aug. 6, 13, 20.
Nov. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Dec. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
1817. Jan. 14, 21.
Feb. 4, 11, 18, 25.
Mar. 4, 11.
Apr. 1, 15, 22.
May 13, 27.
June 3, 10.
July 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
Aug. 26.

Oct. 7, 14, 21.

Nov. 4, 11, 18.

Dec. 2, 9, 30.

1818. Jan. 6, 13, 20.

[Chillicothe] Weekly Recorder, 1814-1820+.

Weekly. Established July 5, 1814, by John Andrews, with the title of "The Weekly Recorder." It was of quarto size, with eight pages to the issue, and each volume had a title-page and index. Although primarily a religious newspaper, it contained considerable local news, obituaries, etc. With the issue of Aug. 18, 1819, John Andrews took his son John C. Andrews into partnership under the firm name of John Andrews & Son. So continued until after 1820.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has July 5, 1814-Dec. 27, 1820. Carnegie Lib. of Allegheny has July 5, 1814-Aug. 17, 1820. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has July 5, 1814-June 28, 1815; July 31, 1816-July 31, 1818; Aug. 18, 1819-Aug. 17, 1820. Wis. Hist. Soc. has July 5, 1814-July 16, 1819; Mar. 2-Aug. 3, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has July 5, 1814-June 28, 1815. Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. has Jan. 19-June 14, 1815. Marietta Coll. has Dec. 4, 1813; Feb. 20, 1816-Dec. 27, 1820, scattering issues. Univ. of Chicago has Sept. 18, Dec. 4, 1818; Jan. 1-Oct. 6, 1819. Detroit Pub. Lib. has Aug. 24-Dec. 27, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1815. Mar. 16^m, 23.

Apr. 6, 13, 20.

May 3, 17, 24, 31.

June 14, 21, 28.

Index.

1816. July 31 to Dec. 24.

Title-page.

1817. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.

Title-page.

1818. Jan. 3 to Dec. 25.

Title-page.

1819. Jan. 1 to Dec. 30.

Title-page.

1820. Jan. 6 to Dec. 27.

Title-page.

[Cincinnati] Advertiser, 1810-1811.

Weekly. Established June 13, 1810, by Francis Mennessier, with the title of "The Advertiser." It succeeded "The Whig," continuing its advertisements, but adopting a new title and volume numbering. Daniel Drake, in his "Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of Cincinnati," 1815, p. 152, states that it expired in November, 1811.

A. A. S. has:

1810. June 13, 27.

Cincinnati Advertiser, 1818-1820, see [Cincinnati] Inquisitor.**[Cincinnati] Centinel of the North-Western Territory, 1793-1796.**

Weekly. Established Nov. 9, 1793, by W[illiam] Maxwell, with the title of "The Centinel of the North-Western Territory." It was of quarto size, but with the issue of July 12, 1794, was enlarged to folio. It was discontinued in June, 1796, probably with the issue of June 11, 1796, as Maxwell inserted an advertisement, dated June 13, 1796, in the early numbers of the "Freeman's Journal," stating that he had discontinued the printing business. It was succeeded by the "Freeman's Journal."

Ohio State Lib. has Nov. 9, 1793-Nov. 8, 1794. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. Nov. 23, 1793-June 4, 1796. Harvard has June 7, 27, July 4, Aug. 1, Oct. 31, Dec. 26, 1795; Apr. 9, 23, 30, 1796. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has May 23, 1795.

[Cincinnati] Freeman's Journal, 1796-1800.

Weekly. Established June 18, 1796, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 9, 1796, vol. 1, no. 4, published by S. Freeman, and Son (Samuel and Edmund Freeman), with the title of "Freeman's Journal." At some time between Mar. 25, 1797, and Oct. 27, 1798, Edmund Freeman became sole proprietor and published the paper up to the time of the last issue located, that of Oct. 1, 1799, vol. 4, no. 19. Daniel Drake in his "Natural and Statistical View, or Picture of

Cincinnati," 1815, p. 152, states that Freeman continued the paper until the beginning of 1800, and then removed to Chillicothe. Freeman advertises in "The Western Spy" of Cincinnati, under date of Mar. 1, 1800, that he has "this day given all accounts into the hands of Thomas Morris, for collection." See under Chillicothe-Freeman's Journal.

Harvard has July 9, 23-Sept. 3, 17, Oct. 8, 22, Nov. 5, 12, 26-Dec. 31, 1796; Mar. 4-25, 1797; Mar. 5, 1799. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Oct. 27, 1798; Oct. 1, 1799. A. A. S. has:

1797. Mar. 25.

Cincinnati Gazette, 1815.

Weekly. Established July 15, 1815, by Thomas Palmer, with the title of "The Cincinnati Gazette." In December, 1815, it was consolidated with "Liberty Hall," which with the issue of Dec. 11, 1815, was entitled "Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette."

Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has July 15-Sept. 2, 1815.

[Cincinnati] Inquisitor, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 23, 1818, by Cooke, Powers & Penney (Edward B. Cooke, Benjamin F. Powers and Thomas Penney), with the title of "The Inquisitor, and Cincinnati Advertiser." With the issue of Aug. 4, 1818, the title was changed to "Inquisitor Cincinnati Advertiser," the word "Inquisitor" being in smaller type above the main title "Cincinnati Advertiser," which might cause the paper to be alluded to as the "Cincinnati Advertiser." although the editors usually referred to it as the "Inquisitor." With the issue of May 11, 1819, the firm was dissolved and a new firm was formed of Powers & Hopkins (Benjamin F. Powers and George F. Hopkins). With the issue of Sept. 12, 1820, Benj. F. Powers became sole publisher and so continued until after 1820.

Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has June 23, 1818-July 18, 1820. Ohio State Lib. has July 21, 1818-Dec. 12, 1820. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has June 30, 1818-Dec. 21,

1819. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has June 23, 1818-June 15, 1819.
Lib. Congress has May 4, 1819-Sept. 5, 1820. Wis. Hist.
Soc. has Nov. 24, 1818. Univ. of Chicago has Jan. 26,
1819; June 29, 1820 A. A. S. has:

1818. Aug. 4, 11^m.
Sept. 8^m.

1819. Mar. 2^m, 30^m.
May 25^m.

[Cincinnati] **Liberty Hall, 1804-1820+.**

Weekly and semi-weekly. Established Dec. 4, 1804, by John W. Browne, with the title of "Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury." With the issue of Apr. 13, 1809, the title was shortened to "Liberty Hall," and John W. Browne took his son, Samuel J. Browne, and James H. Looker into partnership, under the firm name of J. W. Browne, & Co. John W. Browne died Jan. 3, 1813, and with the issue of Jan. 12, 1813, the paper was published by the surviving partners, Browne & Looker. S. J. Browne disposed of his interest to Andrew Wallace, and with the issue of Nov. 16, 1813, the paper was published by J. H. Looker & A. Wallace. With the issue of Dec. 11, 1815, "The Cincinnati Gazette" was consolidated with it, and the title was changed to "Liberty Hall & Cincinnati Gazette," published by Looker, Palmer & Reynolds (James H. Looker, Thomas Palmer and S—Reynolds), Wallace having sold out his interest. The "&" in the title was changed to "and" with the issue of May 20, 1816. With the issue of Dec. 30, 1816, Looker and Reynolds were replaced by Ephraim Morgan in the firm, which became E. Morgan & Co. (changed to Morgan, Palmer & Co. with the issue of Jan. 20, 1817). With the issue of Sept. 1, 1817, James Lodge replaced Palmer in the firm which became Morgan, Lodge and Co. The paper became a semi-weekly with the issue of Mar. 9, 1819 and was so continued until after 1820.

Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has Dec. 4, 1804-Feb. 3, 1817; Oct. 20, 1818-Mar. 3, 1820. Ohio State Lib. has Dec. 16, 1805-Nov. 19, 1808; Jan. 19, 1814-Dec. 4, 1815; Mar. 11, 1816-Dec. 30, 1820. Cincinnati Pub. Lib. has Apr. 10, 1811-Dec. 22, 1812; Jan. 7, 1813; June 14, 1814-June 3, 1818; Aug. 11, 1818-Dec. 30, 1820. Lib. Congress has Sept. 21, 1807; Apr. 9, 30, June 25, July 9, 16, Aug. 20-Sept. 10, 24, Nov. 26, 1808-Apr. 3, 1811; Apr. 26, Oct. 11, 1814-Sept. 11, 1815, fair; June 9, 1818-Dec. 30, 1820. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 17, 1811-Aug. 30, 1814, fair; June 24, 1816. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Jan. 3, Oct. 28, 1816-June 3, 1818; Mar. 9, 1819-Mar. 3, 1820. Western Reserve has Jan. 5, 1819-Mar. 24, 1820. Harvard has Sept. 15, 1812-Dec. 13, 1814, fair. N. J. Hist. Soc. has June 22, 1813; Jan. 6-Sept. 22, 1817, fair; Jan. 21, Mar. 18, June 30, July 14, Aug. 4, Dec. 15, 1818. Marietta College has Mar. 18-Apr. 1, Aug. 18, 25, Sept. 29, Oct. 6, 1818; Jan. 19-Dec. 28, 1819; Nov. 11, Dec. 2-16, 1820. Port Jervis, N. Y., Lib., has Aug. 4, 1807. Yale has Jan. 7, 1813. A. A. S. has:

- 1806. Oct. 21.
Nov. 18.
Dec. 16.
Supplement: Dec. 16.
- 1807. Jan. 20.
Feb. 3.
Mar. 3, 31.
Apr. 14, 28.
June 2.
- 1808. June 18.
- 1809. Feb. 16.
- 1810. Aug. 8.
- 1812. June 23.
July 14, 21, 28.
Aug. 4, 11, 18.
Sept. 15, 21, 25, 29.
Oct. 13.

- Nov. 3, 10, 17, 24.
Dec. 8.
Extra: July 11.
1813. Feb. 16, 23.
Mar. 2, 23, 30.
Apr. 6, 20, 27.
May 4, 18, 25^m.
June 1, 8, 22, 29^m.
July 6, 13, 20, 27.
Aug. 24.
Sept. 7, 21, 28.
Oct. 12^m, 26.
Nov. 30.
Dec. 7, 14, 21.
1814. Jan. 11, 25.
Feb. 1, 8.
Mar. 15.
Apr. 12, 19, 26.
May 10, 17.
June 14, 28.
July 12.
Aug. 2, 16.
Sept. 27.
Oct. 4, 18.
Nov. 22, 29.
Dec. 30.
1815. Jan. 5, 11, 28.
Feb. 4, 11, 18.
Mar. 25.
Apr. 1, 15, 22.
May 8, 15, 22.
June 5, 19, 26.
July 3, 17.
Aug. 7, 14, 28.
Sept. 4, 18.
Oct. 16, 23.
Nov. 13, 20, 27.
Dec. 11 (fac-sim), 18, 25.

1816. Jan. 8.
Mar. 4.
Apr. 15, 22, 29.
May 6, 13, 20, 27.
June 3, 10, 17, 24.
July 1, 8, 22, 29.
Aug. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Sept. 2, 9, 16, 22, 25, 30.
Oct. 7, 21, 28.
Nov. 4, 11, 18, 25^m.
Dec. 2, 9, 16, 23.
1817. Jan. 27.
Feb. 3, 10, 17.
Mar. 3, 17, 31.
Apr. 7, 14, 28.
May 12.
June 30^m.
Dec. 1.
1818. Sept. 15.

[Cincinnati] *Literary Cadet*, 1819-1820.

Weekly. Established Nov. 22, 1819, with the title of "The Literary Cadet," edited by Joseph Buchanan and printed by Looker, Reynolds & Co. (James H. Looker and S—— Reynolds). It was of quarto size. With the issue of Jan. 3, 1820, the size was enlarged to folio and the title was changed to "Literary Cadet, and Cheap City Advertiser." The last issue was that of Apr. 27, 1820, vol. 1, no. 23, after which it was consolidated with the "Western Spy."

Ohio State Lib. has Nov. 22, 1819-Apr. 27, 1820.

[Cincinnati] *Spirit of the West*, 1814-1815.

Weekly. Established July 26, 1814, by M[——] S. Pettit, with the title of "Spirit of the West," and so continued until Apr. 29, 1815, vol. 1, no. 41.

Cincinnati Pub. Lib. has July 26, 1814-Apr. 29, 1815.
Wis. Hist. Soc. has July 26, 1814. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc.

has Nov. 29, 1814; Mar. 4-18, Apr. 8, 15, 1815. A. A. S.
has:

1814. July 26.

Aug. 2, 9, 16, 23.

Sept. 6, 13, 27.

Nov. 15.

[Cincinnati] Western Spy, 1799-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 28, 1799, by Joseph Carpenter, with the title of "The Western Spy, and Hamilton Gazette." With the issue of Dec. 10, 1799, Jonathan S. Findlay was taken into partnership and the paper was published by Carpenter & Findlay. With the issue of Aug. 3, 1803, Findlay's name disappeared from the imprint, which became Joseph Carpenter & Co., but Findlay still retained his interest in the firm. With the issue of Sept. 4, 1805, he finally sold out and Joseph Carpenter became sole proprietor. With this issue of Sept. 4, 1805, the title was changed to "The Western Spy, and Miami Gazette." With the issue of July 29, 1806, David L. Carney became the publisher. With the issue of Aug. 6, 1808, George Williamson became the publisher, and continued the paper until April, 1809, when he sold it to its former editor, David L. Carney, who established "The Whig" in its place.

On Sept. 1, 1810, Joseph Carpenter & Co. reestablished "The Western Spy" with a new volume numbering. Carpenter died Mar. 10, 1814, and with the issue of Apr. 9, 1814, E[phraim] Morgan & Co. became the publishers, Carpenter's estate, however, retaining an interest. With the issue of July 23, 1814, a new series volume numbering was started and the paper was published by E. Morgan & M[icajah] T. Williams, they having bought out the Carpenter interest. With the issue of Apr. 26, 1816, the firm was dissolved and Williams admitted James M. Mason to partnership, under the firm name of Williams & Mason. With the issue of June 20, 1818, Samuel Todd was admitted to the firm, which became Williams, Mason, and Co. In the issue of Jan. 9, 1819, it was announced

that the firm of Williams & Mason had been dissolved on June 8, 1818, by the transfer of Williams's interest to Todd, and that the new firm of Williams, Mason & Co. was now dissolved, to be succeeded by a firm comprising James M. Mason and Thomas Palmer. With the issue of Jan. 16, 1819, the title was changed to "Western Spy, and Cincinnati General Advertiser," and with that of Jan. 23, 1819, the firm name of Mason and Palmer appeared in the imprint. With the issue of Apr. 29, 1820, the "Literary Cadet" was absorbed, and the title was changed to "Western Spy, and Literary Cadet," edited by Joseph Buchanan, and published by Looker, Palmer & Reynolds (James H. Looker, Thomas Palmer and S—— Reynolds). With the issue of Sept. 14, 1820, the title was slightly altered to "Western Spy & Literary Cadet." Continued until after 1820.

Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has May 28, 1799-Jan. 4, 1804; Aug. 1, 1804-Apr. 8, 1806; Aug. 26, 1806-July 2, 1808; Sept. 15, 1810-Oct. 17, 1812. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Dec. 3, 1799; Feb. 4, 1801; Sept. 18, 1802; Aug. 31, 1803; Jan. 25, 1804; Oct. 23, Nov. 13, 1805-Feb. 11, 1806; Mar. 25-July 29, 1806; Sept. 12, 1812-May 30, 1818; Feb. 26, Apr. 29-Dec. 28, 1820. Wis. Hist. Soc. has July 23, 1814-Dec. 28, 1820. Lib. Congress has Feb. 11, 1801; Aug. 21, Sept. 4, Oct. 16, 1805; Apr. 6, 1807; July 28, 1815-Sept. 7, 1820. Ohio State Lib. has May 24, 1816-Dec. 28, 1820. Cincinnati Pub. Lib. has July 25, 1817-Dec. 28, 1820. Harvard has Jan. 7, 1801; Sept. 15, 1810-Nov. 9, 1811, scattering file; Nov. 28, 1812-Dec. 10, 1814, scattering file. Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. has Sept. 31, 1799. Hist. Soc. of Northwestern Ohio, Toledo, has Aug. 1, 1804. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Aug. 16, 1816. Univ. of Chicago has Jan. 23, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1803. Aug. 10, 17.

1804. Sept. 12^m.

1807. Apr. 13.

May 4.

- Sept. 21.
Nov. 30.
Dec. 7.
1808. Aug. 13.
1810. Sept. 1.
Oct. 6.
Dec. 1.
1811. Feb. 9, 16, 23.
Mar. 23, 30.
June 15.
July 20.
Sept. 28.
1812. Mar. 21.
Dec. 19.
1813. Jan. 1^m, 23.
Mar. 27.
Apr. 3, 10.
June 26.
Extra: Mar. 24.
1815. Jan. 28.
Apr. 15.
June 16.
July 7.
Oct. 20, 27.
Nov. 17, 24.
1816. Feb. 2.
Aug. 23.
Nov. 15, 22, 29.
Dec. 13.
1817. Jan. 17, 24, 31.
Feb. 7, 14.
Apr. 11.
Dec. 5.
1819. Supplement: Nov. 6.

[Cincinnati] Whig, 1809-1810.

Weekly. Established Apr. 13, 1809, by David L. Carney, with the title of "The Whig," succeeding "The

Western Spy." With the issue of Apr. 20, 1809, Ephraim Morgan was admitted to partnership, under the firm name of Carney & Morgan. In either March or April, 1810, Morgan retired and David L. Carney became sole publisher. The last issue was that of June 6, 1810, vol. 2, no. 58, when the title was changed to "The Advertiser," which see.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 20, 1809. A. A. S. has:

- 1809. Apr. 13.
May 11.
July 19.
Sept. 6, 13^m.
- 1810. Feb. 28.
Apr. 25.

[Circleville] Fredonian, 1811-1812.

Weekly. Removed from Chillicothe and continued at Circleville with the issue of Oct. 9, 1811, vol. 3, no. 4, published by R. D. Richardson & Co. (Robert D. and Thomas H. Richardson), with the title of "The Fredonian." With the issue of Apr. 15, 1812, this firm was dissolved, and R. D. Richardson became sole publisher. The last issue at Circleville was that of Aug. 11, 1812, vol. 3, no. 47, after which the paper was removed back to Chillicothe, where it was continued as "The Fredonian."

Ohio State Lib. has Oct. 16, 1811-Aug. 11, 1812. Harvard has Oct. 30, Nov. 6, 20, Dec. 18, 1811; Feb. 12, 19, Mar. 18, 1812.

[Circleville] Olive Branch, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 10, 1817, judging from the date of the earliest issue recorded, that of Oct. 26, 1817, vol. 1, no. 12, published by James Foster, with the title of "The Olive Branch." After a suspension of "more than five weeks," it resumed publication Jan. 21, 1818, with William Henry Benson as printer and Renick, Doan & Co. (James Renick, Guy W. Doan and Joseph M. Hayes) as publishers. Benson's name was omitted from the

imprint as printer in April, 1818, the firm of publishers remaining the same. In February, 1819, the publishers became Olds & Thrall (Joseph Olds and William B. Thrall). With the issue of Apr. 16, 1819, Thrall transferred his interest to Silas S. Geohegan, but in October, 1819, resumed as publisher, the firm again becoming Olds & Thrall. The paper was continued until after 1820 (see Van Cleaf, "History of Pickaway Co.," p. 337).

Circleville Union-Herald Office has Oct. 26, 1817. Lib. Congress has Feb. 18, June 12, July 24, Aug. 18, Nov. 6, 1818; Jan. 1, 8, Feb. 5, 1819; July 7, 1820. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Jan. 14, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1818. Jan. 21.

Apr. 11.

May 23, 30^m.

Cleveland Gazette, 1818.

Weekly. Established July 31, 1818, by A[ndrew] Logan, with the title of "The Cleveland Gazette, and Commercial Register." The last issue with this title was that of Sept. 29, 1818, vol. 1, no. 9, after which it was changed to "Cleveland Register," which see.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has July 31 - Sept. 29, 1818.

Cleveland Herald, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 19, 1819, by Z. Willes & Co. (Ziba Willes and Eber D. Howe), with the title of "Cleveland Herald," and so continued until after 1820.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Oct. 19, 1819 - Dec. 26, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1819. Dec. 28.

1820. Jan. 18.

Mar. 28.

Apr. 25.

May 9.

June 13.

Aug. 8^m, 29.

Sept. 12^m, 26^m.

Cleveland Register, 1818-1820.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Cleveland Gazette, and Commercial Register." The first issue with the new title of "Cleveland Register" was that of Oct. 6, 1818, vol. 1, no. 10, published by A[ndrew] Logan. With the issue of Nov. 9, 1819, Logan admitted Carlos V. J. Hickcox to partnership, under the firm name of Logan & Hickcox. The paper was discontinued with the issue of Mar. 7, 1820, vol. 2, no. 29.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Oct. 6, 1818-Mar. 7, 1820. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 20, 1818. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Mar. 23, 1819.

[Clinton] Ohio Register, 1813-1816.

Weekly. Established June 26, 1813, by John C. Gilkison & Co., with the title of "The Ohio Register." At some time between Aug. 3 and Oct. 12, 1813, the imprint was changed to published by John C. Gilkison, for Samuel H. Smith. The early issues were of the usual folio size, but within a few months, probably in December, 1813, the size was reduced to quarto, eight pages to the issue, and the publishers to Smith & M'Ardle (Samuel H. Smith and John O. M'Ardle). The last issue located is that of Sept. 19, 1815, vol. 3, no. 4, but in April, 1816, the paper was removed to Mount Vernon, a town a mile and a half away, and there reestablished under the same title.

Lib. Congress has Feb. 14, Sept. 19, 1815. A. A. S. has:

1813. June 26.

Aug. 3.

Oct. 12, 19.

[Columbus] Columbian Gazette, 1815.

W. T. Martin, in his "History of Franklin County," 1858, p. 61, states: "After the discontinuance of the paper by Mr. Gardiner [the 'Freeman's Chronicle,' of Franklinton, expired 1815], the materials passed into the

hands of John Kilbourne, who removed them to Columbus, and published two numbers of a paper called the *Columbian Gazette*; but his enterprise was not likely to succeed to his satisfaction, and the materials were sold out by parcels, and the paper and office discontinued." No copy has been located.

Columbus Gazette, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "*Western Intelligencer*." The earliest issue located with the new title of "*Columbus Gazette*" is that of Dec. 4, 1817, vol. 7, no. 2, published by P[hilo] H. Olmsted. It was so continued until after 1820.

Ohio State Lib. has Dec. 4, 1817-Dec. 31, 1818; Jan. 7, 14, Mar. 4, Aug. 26, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 11.

1818. Mar. 19.

Oct. 1.

1819. July 1.

[Columbus] Ohio Monitor, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 16, 1816, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 1, 1816, vol. 1, no. 12, published by Smith & Griswold (David Smith and Ezra Griswold, Jr.), with the title of "*Ohio Monitor*." With the issue of Jan. 1, 1817, the paper was printed by Ezra Griswold, Jun. for David Smith, editor and proprietor. At some time between May 14 and June 11, 1818, Griswold's name disappeared from the imprint and the paper was published by David Smith, and was so continued until after 1820.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 1, Dec. 12, 1816; Aug. 14, 1817; May 7, June 11, 18, July 9-23, Sept. 3-17, Oct. 1-15, 29, Nov. 5, Dec. 3, 10, 31, 1818; Jan. 14, Feb. 4, Apr. 1, 22, June 17, July 1, 15-29, Sept. 9, 30, Dec. 2-23, 1819; Apr. 29, June 10, Aug. 5-Sept. 2, Nov. 4, Dec. 2, 1820. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Aug. 15, 1816; Jan. 1, 1817; Aug. 13, 1818; Apr. 8, 1819. N. J. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 14,

Nov. 13, 1817; Nov. 12-Dec. 3, 17-31, 1818; May 27, June 3, Sept. 2, 16, 23, Oct. 28, Nov. 11, Dec. 16, 1819; Jan. 13, Mar. 28, Apr. 18, May 27, June 10, Nov. 18, 25, 1820. Lib. Congress has Aug. 1, 1816; Feb. 22, 1820. Marietta College has Jan. 9, 30, 1817.

[Columbus] **Western Intelligencer**, 1814-1817.

Weekly. Removed from Worthington and established at Columbus, without change of title or volume numbering, on Mar. 16, 1814, vol. 3, no. 25, published by Olmsted, Buttles & Griswold (Philo H. Olmsted, Joel Buttles and Ezra Griswold), with the title of "Western Intelligencer." Early in 1815, the firm name was changed to Olmsted, Buttles & Co., and at some time between May 25, 1815, and June 13, 1816, it was again changed to P. H. Olmsted & Co. The title was changed, apparently at the close of 1817, to "Columbus Gazette," which see.

Ohio State Lib. has Mar. 16, 26, June 4, 11, Aug. 13, 1814; Apr. 20-May 4, 18, 25, 1815. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has June 13, 1816. A. A. S. has:

1814. Dec. 10.

[Dayton] **Ohio Centinel**, 1810-1813.

Weekly. Established May 3, 1810, by Isaac G. Burnet, with the title of "The Ohio Centinel." The paper was discontinued with the issue of May 19, 1813, vol. 3, no. 156, when Burnet stated that he had disposed of his interest and that the paper would not again appear until May 31. Upon this date it was succeeded by the "Ohio Republican."

Dayton Pub. Lib. has May 10, 1810-May 19, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1813. Apr. 21, 28.

[Dayton] **Ohio Republican**, 1813-1816.

Weekly. Established May 31, 1813, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Nov. 1, 1813, vol. 1, no. 23, published by Pettit & Strain (M——— S. Pettit and —— Strain), with the title of "Ohio Republican."

In this issue of Nov. 1, the publishers state that they had purchased the interest of Capt. A[braham] Edwards. In March 1814, M. S. Pettit became sole publisher, but with the issue of May 3, 1814, he disposed of the paper to Addison Smith & Co. In the issue of July 18, 1814, Smith stated that James Lodge had become the proprietor, but the imprint of Addison Smith & Co. continued until Sept. 26, 1814. With the issue of Oct. 3, 1814, Burnet & Lodge (Isaac G. Burnet and James Lodge) became the publishers and adopted a new volume numbering. With the issue of Nov. 20, 1815, Burnet removed from the county and James Lodge became sole publisher. The paper was discontinued with the issue of Oct. 9, 1816, vol. 3, no. 106.

Dayton Pub. Lib. has Oct. 3, 1814-Oct. 9, 1816.
A. A. S. has:

1813. Nov. 1.

1814. Jan. 4.

Feb. 1^m, 8, 15^m, 22.

Apr. 12, 19.

May 16, 23, 30.

June 27.

July 18, 25.

Aug. 8, 15.

Sept. 26.

Oct. 3, 10, 17, 24.

Nov. 5, 12, 19, 26.

Dec. 3, 17.

1815. Jan. 2.

Feb. 20, 27.

Mar. 13.

May 22.

June 12, 26.

July 3, 17, 24.

Aug. 7, 14, 21, 28.

Sept. 18, 25.

Oct. 9, 30.

Dec. 18.

1816. Jan. 1, 8, 15.
Feb. 5.
May 13, 29.
June 5, 12, 19.
July 10, 17.
Aug. 14, 28.
Sept. 4, 11, 18.
Oct. 2.

[Dayton] *Ohio Watchman*, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established Nov. 27, 1816, by Robert J. Skinner, with the title of "The Ohio Watchman." With the issue of Dec. 25, 1820, the title was changed to "Dayton Watchman and Farmers' and Mechanics' Journal," published by George S. Houston and R. J. Skinner. The above facts are taken from the "History of Montgomery County," 1882, p. 707, since the practically complete file once owned by the Dayton Public Library was lost in the flood of Mar. 25, 1913.

N. J. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 1, 1818; Jan. 14, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1817. Oct. 23.

Dayton Repertory, 1808-1809.

Weekly. Established Sept. 23, 1808, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 30, 1808, vol. 1, no. 2, published by William M'Clure & George Smith, with the title of "The Dayton Repertory." Because of the removal of the office, the paper was suspended with the issue of Oct. 21, 1808, and not resumed until Feb. 1, 1809, when the title was altered to "Dayton Repertory" and the publishers became Henry Disbrow & William M'Clure, Smith having sold out his interest. With the issue of Mar. 8, 1809, the title of "The Dayton Repertory" was resumed. The last issue located is that of Dec. 14, 1809, vol. 1, no. 51.

Dayton Pub. Lib. has Sept. 30, 1808-Dec. 14, 1809.

Dayton Watchman, see [Dayton] *Ohio Watchman*.

Delaware Gazette, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established in October, 1818, according to the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 22, 1819, vol. 1, no. 42, published by J. Drake & Co., with the title of "Delaware Gazette, and Religious Informer." Its first publishers were Drake & Hughs (Jacob Drake and Joseph S. Hughs), and in the spring of 1819 it was published by this firm (see Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169). It must have started a new volume numbering in May, 1820, since the issue of Jan. 3, 1821, printed by Jay Handy for Rev. Jacob Drake, is vol. 1, no. 32.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Jan. 3, 1821. A. A. S. has:

1819. July 22.

Eaton Weekly Register, 1820+.

Weekly. Established in 1820 by Samuel Tizzard (see Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1821, p. 191). No copy located.

[Eaton] Western Telegraph, 1817-1818.

Weekly. Established Aug. 1, 1817, judging from the date of the earliest and only issue located, that of Dec. 5, 1817, vol. 1, no. 17, published by C[ornelius] Vanausdal & Co., with the title of "The Western Telegraph." It is recorded as published by Cornelius Vanausdal in the list of papers of the spring of 1818 in Kilbourn's "Ohio Gazetteer," 1818, p. 141, but is not included by Kilbourn in the 1819 list. The 1881 "History of Preble County" states that the paper was started in 1816 by Messrs. Blackburn and John A. Daly, and was continued by Vanausdal.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 5.

[Franklinton] Freeman's Chronicle, 1812-1815.

Weekly. Established June 25, 1812, by James B. Gardiner, with the title of "Freeman's Chronicle." The

last issue located is that of Nov. 14, 1814, vol. 3, no. 8, and the paper was discontinued in 1815.

Harvard has Sept. 5, 12, 26, Oct. 10, 24, Dec. 5, 1812; Jan. 22, Mar. 12, Apr. 16, July 16, Aug. 13, 27, Oct. 1, 29, Nov. 19, 26, 1813; Feb. 18, 25, Apr. 8, 15, May 20, June 3, 10, Sept. 16, 23, Oct. 14, Nov. 14, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1812. July 2, 9, 16.

1814. Feb. 11.

May 20.

[Gallipolis] Gallia Gazette, 1819-1820+.

Established in November, 1818, by Joshua Cushing, and continued after 1820 (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169, and "Ohio Centennial Celebration," 1903, p. 575). No copy located.

Hamilton Gazette, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 12, 1819, by Camron & Murray (James B. Camron and John L. Murray), with the title of "Hamilton Gazette & Miami Register." It succeeded "The Miami Herald," and continued its advertisements, but adopted a new volume numbering. With the issue of Jan. 25, 1820, the title was altered to "The Hamilton Gazette and Miami Register." Continued until after 1820.

Ohio State Lib. has Oct. 12, 1819-Dec. 20, 1820. N. J. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 21-Mar. 6, Apr. 3, June 12, July 17, 1820.

[Hamilton] Miami Herald, 1817-1819.

Weekly. Established Sept. 12, 1817, by W. & J. Camron, & Co. (Wesley and James B. Camron), with the title of "The Miami Herald." It succeeded "The Philanthropist" and continued its advertisements, but adopted a new volume numbering. The last issue with this title was that of Oct. 5, 1819, vol. 2, no. 104, when it was succeeded by the Hamilton Gazette, which see.

Ohio State Lib. has Sept. 12, 1817-Oct. 5, 1819. N. J.

Hist. Soc. has Nov. 4, 1818; Jan. 5, July 20, Aug. 17, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 5.

1818. July 8.

[Hamilton] Miami Intelligencer, 1814-1816.

Weekly. Established June 22, 1814, with the title of "Miami Intelligencer." There was no imprint giving the names of publishers, but the prospectus was signed by Keen & Stewart (William C. Keen and Andrew Stewart) and Colby & Bonnell (Zebulon Colby and—— Bonnell), who had planned rival newspapers, but had decided to consolidate their two establishments. With the issue of July 20, 1814, the firm was termed Keen, Colby & Co. With the issue of Sept. 19, 1814, Colby and Bonnell withdrew, the publishers became Keen & Stewart, and the title was altered to "The Miami Intelligencer." With the issue of Nov. 14, 1814, Colby returned to the firm, which became Keen, Colby & Co. With the issue of May 4, 1815, Andrew Stewart disposed of his interest to William Murray, and the firm became Keen, Colby & Murray. The last issue located with this title is that of Feb. 2, 1816, vol. 2, no. 76, and in the following month it was succeeded by "The Philanthropist," which see.

Ohio State Lib. has June 29, 1814-Feb. 2, 1816. Harvard has Aug. 29, Sept. 19, Oct. 3, 10, 24, Nov. 7, 28, Dec. 5, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1814. June 22.

Aug. 3, 7, 15, 22, 29.

Sept. 5, 12.

[Hamilton] Philanthropist, 1816-1817.

Weekly. Established Mar. 29, 1816, by Smith, Colby & Co. (Addison Smith and Zebulon Colby), with the title of "The Philanthropist." It succeeded "The Miami Intelligencer," and continued its advertisements, but adopted a new volume numbering. With the issue of Aug. 23, 1816, Smith withdrew, and the firm became Z. Colby & Co. The last issue located with this title is that

of Apr. 17, 1817, vol. 1, no. 51, and in September, 1817, it was succeeded by "The Miami Herald," which see.

Ohio State Lib. has Mar. 29, 1816-Apr. 17, 1817.
A. A. S. has:

1816. Apr. 12, 26.
May 31.
Aug. 9, 23.
Oct. 11.
Dec. 12.

Hillsborough Gazette, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 18, 1818, by Moses Carothers, with the title of "Hillsborough Gazette; and Highland Advertiser." Continued until after 1820.

Hillsboro Gazette office has June 18, 1818-Dec. 28, 1820.

Lancaster Correspondent, 1814.

In "The Ohio Eagle" of July 13, 1814, published at Lancaster, the publishers, Shæffer, Clifton & Gastor, state "The publication of the Lancaster Correspondent will in future be discontinued, its proprietors having become partners in the establishment of the Ohio Eagle." In "The Supporter," of Chillicothe, of Mar. 12, 1814, there is an advertisement signed by Edward Shæffer, Feb. 26, 1814, stating that a German newspaper was being published at Lancaster, in which same issue was another advertisement from the "Ohio Eagle" office at Lancaster.

[Lancaster] Independent Press, 1811-1812.

Weekly. Established probably in March, 1811, since its recent beginning is referred to in "The Ohio Centinel" of Dayton, of Apr. 18, 1811, and it is quoted in "The Supporter," of Chillicothe, of Mar. 30, 1811. The only issue located is that of Sept. 12, 1812, vol. 2, no. 70, printed by R[ussell] E. Post, for the Proprietors. A. A. Graham, "History of Fairfield and Perry Counties," 1883, pt. 3, p. 171, states that the proprietor was George Sanderson, and mentions a copy of Nov. 21, 1812.

A. A. S. has:

1812. Sept. 12.

[Lancaster] Ohio Adler, see Ohio Eagle.

[Lancaster] Ohio Eagle, 1807-1820+.

Weekly. It is stated in Seidensticker, "First Century of German Printing in America," p. 170 (quoting "Der Deutsche Pionier," vol. 16, p. 218), that this paper was established in 1807 by Carpenter & Green (Joseph Carpenter and John Green), with the title of "Der Westliche Adler von Lancaster," the name being later changed to "Der Ohio Adler." The English paper probably began in 1812. In "The Fredonian," of Chilli-cothe, of Sept. 16, 1812, there is an advertisement, dated Aug. 22, 1812, asking that all subscriptions for the Ohio Eagle and also the German Ohio Eagle should be sent to the editor at Lancaster, as the first number of each paper was expected to appear about September 1. The first issue located is that of July 9, 1813, vol. 4, no. 166, new series, published by Jacob D. Dietrick, with the title of "Ohio Eagle," which would seem to show that the new series began in May, 1810. The issue of July 30, 1814, entitled "The Ohio Eagle," was published by Shæffer, Clifton, & Gastor, and was the first issue published by them. In this issue Jacob D. Dietrick states that he has disposed of the establishment to the new proprietors, and that the subscribers owe him for the English Eagle up to no. 57, and for the German Eagle up to no 78. With the issue of Aug. 13, the firm was dissolved and the paper was published by Shæffer, & Gastor. With the issue of Oct. 15, 1814, the title reverted to "Ohio Eagle," and the names of the publishers were given as E[dward] Shæffer & H. Gastor. In 1817, and possibly before, the paper was published by John Herman, the title being "The Ohio Eagle," and he continued it until after 1820.

All the early issues located are wholly in English. The earliest issue in German located is that of Dec. 20, 1817, no. 249, published by Johann Herman, with the title of "Der Deutsche Ohio Adler." The next located, also by Herman, is entitled "Ohio Adler," Jan. 22, 1820, old no. 334, new no. 48. So continued until after 1820.

Harvard has July 9, 1813, Sept. 10, 24, Oct. 15, Nov. 12, 19, 1814. Allen Co. Hist. Soc., Lima, has Nov. 13, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1814. July 30.

Aug. 13, 20.

Sept. 24.

Oct. 1.

1817. May 15.

Dec. 11.

1817. Ohio Adler, Dec. 20.

1820. Ohio Adler, Jan. 22.

[Lancaster] Political Observatory, 1810-1811.

Weekly. Established July 28, 1810, judging from the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 8, 1810, vol. 1, no. 7, published by George Sanderson, for Peter Parcels & Co., with the title of "Political Observatory, and Fairfield Register." It was continued into 1811, and the "Independent Press," which was established in that year, succeeded it. The fact that it had "recently changed its name" is recorded in the "Muskingum Messenger," of Zanesville, of Apr. 6, 1811.

A. A. S. has:

1810. Sept. 8, 15.

[Lancaster] Western Oracle, 1806-1807.

Weekly. Established Oct. 24, 1806, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 6, 1807, printed by J[acob] Hinkle, with the title of "Western Oracle and the Farmers Weekly Museum." Hinkle evidently retired, for the issue of Apr. 10, 1807, announced that the paper had been purchased by E[lijah] B. Merwin and J[——] Wilson, although the only imprint was "Printed for the Editors." The last issue located is that of May 29, 1807, vol. 1, no. 32. In the "Scioto Gazette," Chillicothe, Dec. 21, 1807, is an advertisement regarding Chillicothe subscribers to the Western Oracle, signed by E. B. Merwin and J. Wilson.

Harvard has Mar. 20, Apr. 10-24, May 29, 1807.

A. A. S. has:

1807. Feb. 6.

Lebanon] Farmer, 1816-1818.

Weekly. Established in December, 1816, judging from the first and only issue located, that of Dec. 12, 1817, vol. 2, no. 53, published by George Smith, with the title of "The Farmer." It was published early in 1818 by George Smith (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1818, p. 141) and is referred to in the "Ohio Monitor" of Columbus, Aug. 13, 1818.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 12.

[Lebanon] Western Star, 1807-1820+.

Weekly. Established Feb. 13, 1807, by John M'Clean, with the title of "The Western Star." At the beginning of 1810, the paper was published by Crane & M'Clean (I. Thomas, "History of Printing," ed. 1874, vol. 2, p. 304). Noah Crane, one of the editors, died Aug. 21, 1810 ("The Western Spy," Cincinnati, Sept. 1, 1810). In "The History of Warren County," 1882, p. 310, it is stated that the issue of Sept. 10, 1810, was published by Nathaniel M'Clean; that John M'Clean disposed of the paper to his brother Nathaniel, who from 1810 to 1814, had as successive partners, Noah Crane, Adjet McGuire, Samuel H. Hale, Henry Lazier, William Blackburn, Samuel Blackburn and Joseph Henderson; and that about 1814 he disposed of the paper to his brother William M'Clean. The only paper located during these four years is that of Sept. 23, 1813, reduced in size to a quarto of 8 pages and published by Nathaniel M'Clean & William Blackburn. During the year prior to November, 1816, George Smith was publisher, for nine months as sole editor and for three months in company with John Eddy (see Eddy's statement in issue of Jan. 31, 1817). A new series was started, in folio, Nov. 29, 1816, by Van Vleet & Eddy (Abram Van Vleet and John Eddy). With the issue of Jan. 10, 1817, William A. Camron was added to the firm, which became known as Van Vleet, Eddy and Camron. With the issue of Feb. 19, 1817, Eddy was replaced by ——— Cunningham, and the firm became

Van Vleet, Camron and Cunningham. With the issue of Apr. 30, 1817, Cunningham withdrew, the firm becoming VanVleet and Camron. Late in 1818 or early in 1819, Abram VanVleet became sole publisher and continued the paper until after 1820.

Lib. Congress has May 8, 1807. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Sept. 25, 1807. N. J. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 23, 1813; Apr. 13, 20, May 18, 1819; June 6, July 11, 1820. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Aug. 4, 1808. A. A. S. has:

1807. Feb. 13.

1808. June 30.

1816. Dec. 27.

1817. Jan. 3, 10, 17, 24, 30.

Feb. 7, 19, 26.

Mar. 5^m, 12, 19, 26.

Apr. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.

May 7.

Dec. 11.

1818. Jan. 24.

[Mansfield] *Olive*, 1818-1820.

Weekly. Established in April, 1818, by John C. Gilkison, with the title of the "*Olive*." Shortly after it started, John Fleming became a partner of Mr. Gilkison, and they continued the paper for about a year, when Mr. Gilkison sold his interest to Robert Crosthwaite, who, in a few weeks, also purchased Fleming's interest. Crosthwaite then carried on the paper very irregularly for eight or ten months, when he failed (A. A. Graham, "*History of Richland County*," p. 487.) No copy located.

[Marietta] *American Friend*, 1813-1820+.

Weekly. Established Apr. 24, 1813, with the title of "*American Friend*," edited by D[avid] Everett, and printed by T[homas] G. Ransom for D. Everett, T[imothy] Buell & D[aniel] H. Buell. Everett died Dec. 21, 1813, and with the issue of Jan. 1, 1814, the paper was edited by D. H. Buell, and printed by T. G. Ransom for

T. & D. H. Buell. From scarcity of paper, publication was suspended from Feb. 26 to Apr. 9, 1814, and with the issue of Apr. 16, 1814, the paper was printed and published by T. & D. H. Buell and R[oyal] Prentiss. From scarcity of paper, publication was again suspended from Jan. 12 to Mar. 15, 1816, with which latter issue the paper was purchased and published by Royal Prentiss, who adopted a new series volume numbering. Publication was suspended from Mar. 6 to May 8, 1818, for want of patronage. The paper was continued by Prentiss until after 1820.

Marietta Coll. has Apr. 24, 1813-Dec. 29, 1820. Harvard has May 29, June 12-July 17, 31, Aug. 14, 28, Sept. 11, 18, Nov. 6, 27, Dec. 4, 25, 1813; Jan. 8, 15, 29-Feb. 12, 26, Apr. 9-23, May 14, June 18, 1814. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has May 10, Aug. 16, 1816; Jan. 1, Feb. 5-Mar. 5, 1819; May 5, 1820. Chicago Hist. Soc. has July 14, 1815. Lib. Congress has Aug. 30, 1816. A. A. S. has:

1813. Apr. 24 to Dec. 25.

Missing: May 1, 8, 22, June 5, 19, July 3, Sept. 25, Oct. 2, 9, 16, 23, Nov. 6, Dec. 11, 18.

1814. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.

Mutilated: May 28, July 30.

Missing: Jan. 8, Feb. 26, Apr. 23, May 7, July 23, Aug. 20, Nov. 12, Dec. 17.

1815. Jan. 7 to Dec. 29.

Mutilated: May 5.

Missing: Feb. 4, Mar. 31, Apr. 7, 14, 21, 28, June 9, 16, 23, 30, July 28, Aug. 4, 11, 25, Sept. 1, Oct. 13, Nov. 17, Dec. 15.

1816. Jan. 5 to Dec. 27.

Mutilated: Apr. 26.

Missing: Jan. 5, Apr. 12, May 24, June 7, 21, 28, July 5, 12, 19, 26, Aug. 2, 30, Sept. 6, Oct. 4, 18, Nov. 1.

1817. Jan. 3, 10, 17, 31.
Feb. 7, 14, 21.
Mar. 28.
Apr. 11, 18, 25.
Dec. 12.

[**Marietta**] **Commentator**, 1807-1810.

Weekly. Established Sept. 16, 1807, by James B. Gardiner, with the title of "The Commentator; and Marietta Recorder." After a suspension of nearly four months in the summer of 1808, it was resumed with the title of "The Commentator." In October, 1808, judging from the volume numbering of subsequent issues, Joseph Israel was taken into partnership, under the firm name of Israel & Gardiner, and a new volume numbering was adopted. This firm was dissolved Sept. 21, 1810 (see advertisement in "Western Spectator" of Oct. 30, 1810), and the paper was discontinued.

Harvard has Oct. 14, 1807; Mar. 25, Aug. 25, 1808. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 4, 11, 1808. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has Apr. 3, 1810. Detroit Pub. Lib. has June 19, 1810. A. A. S. has:

1807. Sept. 16.
Oct. 14, 29.
1808. Aug. 25.
1809. June 10, 24.
July 1.
Nov. 25.
1810. Jan. 16^m.
Mar. 13.
Apr. 3, 17.
June 5, 26.

[**Marietta**] **Ohio Gazette**, 1801-1811.

Weekly. Established Dec. 18, 1801, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Jan. 1, 1802, vol. 1, no. 3, printed by Wyllys Silliman, with the title of "The Ohio Gazette, and the Territorial and Virginia Herald." Elijah Backus was the editor of the paper,

although his name did not appear in the imprint. I. W. Andrews, in his "Washington County," 1877, p. 55, states that within two years, Silliman sold his interest to Backus, who soon afterwards sold to Fairlamb & Gates. In April, 1805, Samuel Fairlamb became sole publisher and adopted a new volume numbering, judging from the issue of Sept. 26, 1805, vol. 1, no. 23, published by Samuel Fairlamb, with the title of "The Ohio Gazette, and Virginia Herald." It was so continued, although somewhat irregularly, to the date of the last issue located, that of Dec. 9, 1811, vol. 5, no. 215.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 26, 1805. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Sept. 18, 1806; Mar. 7, 14, May 11, June 16, 23, 1808. Detroit Pub. Lib. has Aug. 11, Sept. 15, 1808; Sept. 7, 1809; May 21, 1810; Oct. 7, 28, 1811. Marietta Coll. has Aug. 25, 1808. Chicago Hist. Soc. has Mar. 20, 1809. Lib. Congress has Oct. 28, 1811. A. A. S. has:

- 1802. Jan. 1, 15.
Feb. 5.
Aug. 17, 31.
Sept. 7, 14, 28.
Oct. 4, 11, 18.
- 1806. Apr. 24.
- 1809. Feb. 20.
Mar. 20.
Apr. 3, 10.
- 1810. May 21.
- 1811. Oct. 14, 28.
Nov. 11, 25.
Dec. 9.

[Marietta] *Western Spectator*, 1810-1813.

Weekly. Established Oct. 23, 1810, with the title of "Western Spectator," printed by Joseph Israel, for Caleb Emerson. Israel retired in November, 1811. The paper bore no imprint from Nov. 23 to Dec. 7, 1811, and with the issue of Dec. 14, 1811, it was published by Thomas G. Ransom for Caleb Emerson. After a long struggle with

scarcity of paper and patronage, it was suspended with the issue of May 22, 1813, vol. 3, no. 25, although a later and final issue appeared on July 31, 1813, vol. 3, no. 26.

Marietta Coll. has Nov. 6, 13, 27, Dec. 4, 18, 25, 1810; Jan. 21, Feb. 5-19, Mar. 5, 19, 26-Apr. 26, Aug. 17, Sept. 7-21, Oct. 5, 19, 1811-July 31, 1813. Harvard has Nov. 13, 1810; Jan. 14, Mar. 5, 12, May 4, June 8, 29, July 6, 23, Aug. 3, Sept. 7, 21, Oct. 8, 26, Nov. 2, 11, Dec. 21, 1811; Jan. 11, 18, Feb. 1, 15, 29, Mar. 21, May 2-23, July 11, 18, Aug. 8, Oct. 3, 17, 1812; Jan. 23, Mar. 6, 13, 20, May 5, July 31, 1813. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 30, 1810. Detroit Pub. Lib. has May 18, Oct. 8, 1811. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 22, Mar. 14, 1812. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has May 12, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1810. Oct. 30.

Nov. 6, 13, 27.

Dec. 4.

1811. Mar. 12.

May 11.

June 1.

1812. Jan. 25.

1813. July 31.

[Mount Pleasant] *Philanthropist*, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 8, 1817, by Charles Osborn, with the title of "The Philanthropist." It was a quarto newspaper of eight pages, with pagination. On Oct. 8, 1818, it was purchased by Elisha Bates, who with the issue of Dec. 11, 1818, changed it to a sixteen-page octavo and adopted a new series volume numbering. It was so continued until after 1820. The octavo volumes each had a title-page and index (see also J. B. Doyle, "History of Steubenville and Jefferson County," 1910, pp. 316).

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Dec. 11, 1818-Dec. 30, 1820. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 24, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 26.

[Mount Vernon] *Ohio Register*, 1816-1819.

Weekly. Removed from Clinton and established at Mount Vernon, Apr. 24, 1816, by John P. M'Ardle, with

a new volume numbering, but the same title, "The Ohio Register." It was a paper of quarto size, with eight pages to the issue. The last issue recorded is that of Apr. 15, 1818, vol. 2, no. 52 (A. B. Norton, "History of Knox County," p. 247), but it was still published in the spring of 1819 (J. Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169).

Lib. Congress has May 8, June 5-July 17, 31, 1816.
Marietta College has Oct. 9, 1816. A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 10.

[New Lisbon] Ohio Patriot, 1808-1820+.

Weekly. Established in December, 1808, by William D. Lepper, as a small German sheet, entitled "Der Patriot am Ohio." It was soon discontinued, and in 1809, it was reestablished as an English paper, with the title of "The Ohio Patriot" ("History of Columbiana County," 1879, p. 114). The earliest issue located is that of Dec. 2, 1809, vol. 1, no. 4, published by William D. Lepper. It was continued by Lepper until after 1820.

Ohio State Museum has Dec. 2, 1809. Lib. Congress has Mar. 31, 1813; June 29, July 20, Dec. 21, 1816.
A. A. S. has:

1818. May 2.

[New Philadelphia] Tuscarawas Chronicle, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 24, 1819, by James Patrick, with the title of "The Tuscarawas Chronicle," and so continued until after 1820 (see "History of Tuscarawas County", 1884, p. 485).

Piqua Gazette, 1820+.

Weekly. Established July 6, 1820, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 27, 1820, vol. 1, no. 4, published by William R. Barrington, with the title of "The Piqua Gazette." Continued until after 1820.

J. A. Rayner, Piqua, has July 27, 1820.

Portsmouth Gazette, 1818-1819.

Weekly. Established Aug. 5, 1818, by Abbott & Chaney (Jeremiah Abbott and ——— Chaney), with the title of "Portsmouth Gazette." It was discontinued with the issue of Mar. 17, 1819, vol. 1, no. 26.

Ohio State Lib. has Aug. 5, 1818-Mar. 17, 1819.

[Portsmouth] Scioto Telegraph, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 4, 1820, by C[harles] Hopkins, with the title of "The Scioto Telegraph." With the issue of Oct. 5, 1820, the title was altered to "The Scioto Telegraph and Lawrence Gazette," the paper being edited by C. Hopkins and printed by Jeremiah Abbott. It was "published in Portsmouth on Thursday, and in Burlington on Friday," although the printing-office was located in Portsmouth. The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Ohio State Lib. has Mar. 4-Dec. 28, 1820. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 4, 1820.

[St. Clairsville] Belmont Journal, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established in August, 1818, by Alexander Armstrong (Caldwell, "History of Belmont and Jefferson Counties," 1880, p. 233). It was published in the spring of 1819 by Armstrong and also in 1821 (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169, and 1821, p. 191). No copy located.

[St. Clairsville] Belmont Repository, 1811-1814.

Weekly. Established Dec. 14, 1811, by Alexander Armstrong, with the title of "Belmont Repository." There is a quotation from the paper in the Zanesville "Muskingum Messenger" of Jan. 19, 1814.

Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has Dec. 21, 1811; Feb. 8, 29, Mar. 7, 1812.

[St. Clairsville] Impartial Expositor, 1809.

Weekly. Established Mar. 25, 1809, by John C. Gilkinson, & Co., with the title of "Impartial Expositor." This initial issue is the only one located.

A. A. S. has:

1809. Mar. 25.

[St. Clairsville] Ohio Federalist, 1813-1818.

Weekly. Established May 12, 1813, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 15, 1813, vol. 1, no. 19, printed by J[ohn] Berry, for C[harles] Hammond (see also reference in "Western Spectator," Marietta, of May 22, 1813). With the issue of Nov. 23, 1814, Berry withdrew and the paper was published by C. Hammond & A[lexander] Armstrong, the title was changed to "Ohio Federalist, and Belmont Repository," and a new volume numbering was adopted. It was so continued to the last issue located, that of Jan. 15, 1818, vol. 4, no. 158.

Marietta Coll. has Jan. 15, 12, Mar. 2, 16, May 4, June 8, 29, Aug. 3, Nov. 30, 1814; Jan. 5, 26, Oct. 6, 1815; Jan. 4, 18, Feb. 22, Mar. 14, 28, Apr. 25, May 16, June 6, 13, July 25, Sept. 5-26, Oct. 31, Nov. 7, 21, Dec. 12, 1816; Jan. 2, 9, 30, Mar. 20, Aug. 28, Sept. 18, Nov. 6, Dec. 11, 1817; Jan. 15, 1818. Univ. of Chicago has Sept. 15, 1813; Apr. 13, 1814-Sept. 14, 1815, fair. Ohio Hist. & Phil. Soc. has Nov. 2, 1814. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 18, 1816. A. A. S. has:

1813. Sept. 29.

1817. Dec. 11.

St. Clairsville] True American, 1815.

There is a quotation from the "St. Clairsville True Amer.," in the Zanesville "Muskingum Messenger" of Mar. 15, 1815. No copy located.

[Springfield] Farmer, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established in February, 1819, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 4, 1819, vol. 1, no. 25, published by Geoghegan & Rogers (——— Geoghegan and Henry Rogers), with the title of "The Farmer." At some time between Aug. 4 and Nov. 10, 1819, Henry Rogers became sole publisher. The paper was continued until after 1820, although probably in that year the title was changed to "Farmer's Advocate"; at least this was the title early in 1821 (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," p. 191.

Lib. Congress has Nov. 10, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1819. Aug. 4.

[Steubenville] Western Herald, 1806-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 7, 1806, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 16, 1806, vol. 1, no. 11, published by W[illiam] Lowry, and J[ohn] Miller, with the title of "The Western Herald." At some time between Aug. 19, 1808, and Nov. 6, 1811, John Miller became sole publisher, but at some time between the latter date and Nov. 5, 1812, Miller entered the military service and William Lowry became the publisher. With the issue of April 20, 1815, Lowry sold the paper to James Wilson. With the issue of Jan. 3, 1817, Wilson enlarged the title to "Western Herald & Steubenville Gazette." It was so continued until after 1820.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Aug. 16, 1806-Aug. 19, 1808; Mar. 18, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 6, 1815-Dec. 26, 1817. Lib. Congress has Nov. 6, 1811; Jan. 28, 1813; Aug. 17, 1815; Nov. 1, 1816; Mar. 21, 1817; Jan. 2, 1819-Dec. 30, 1820. Ohio State Lib. has Feb. 7, 1817-Nov. 20, 1820. Penn. State Lib. has July 3, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1812. Nov. 5, 12.

1816. Feb. 23.

June 21.

Sept. 6, 27.

1817. July 4^m.

Dec. 12.

[Troy] Miami Weekly Post, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 16, 1820, judging from the date of the only issue noted, that of June 15, 1820, vol. 1, no. 14 (see Venable, "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley," 1891, p. 42). Early in 1821 the paper was published by W. Doherty & Co. (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1821, p. 191.)

[Urbana] Farmer's Watch-Tower, 1812.

Established in June, 1812, by Corwin and Blackburn, (Moses B. Corwin and ——— Blackburn) with the title of "The Farmer's Watch-Tower" (Venable, "Beginnings

of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley," 1891, p. 41). No copy located.

Urbana Gazette, 1817-1819.

Weekly. Established in May, 1817, judging from the date of the only issue located, that of Dec. 23, 1817, vol. 1, no. 32, published by Allen M. Poff, with the title of "Urbana Gazette." It was still published by Poff in the spring of 1819 (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169).

A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 23.

[Urbana] Spirit of Liberty, 1814.

There is a reference to the "Spirit of Liberty," dated at Urbana, Feb. 8, 1814, in the Zanesville "Muskingum Messenger" of Feb. 16, 1814. No copy located.

[Urbana] Ways of the World, 1820+.

Weekly. Established in July, 1820, by A[——] R. Colwell, with the title of "The Ways of the World" (Venable, "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley," 1891, p. 41; Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1821, p. 191). No copy located.

[Warren] Trump of Fame, 1812-1816.

Weekly. Established June 9, 1812, with the title of "Trump of Fame," by David Fleming for Thomas D. Webb. The second issue, on June 16, was also numbered vol. 1, no. 1, by mistake, or possibly June 9 was considered a preliminary issue. With the issue of Nov. 3, 1813, the paper was published by James White & Co. [Thomas D. Webb]. Samuel Quinby replaced Webb in the firm in 1814, but retired in about a year, as James White was sole publisher at some time previous to May 10, 1816. With the issue of Aug. 9, 1816, White sold out to F[itch] Bissell. The issue of Sept. 27, 1816, was the last with the title of "Trump of Fame," and on Oct. 4, 1816, the title was changed to "Western Reserve Chronicle," which see.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has June 16, 1812-Oct. 26, 1814; May 10, 17, July 12-Aug. 16, Sept. 13-27, 1816. Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. has June 16-Dec. 23, 1812. New London Co. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 17, 1813. Chicago Hist. Soc. has Mar. 16, 1814. Detroit Pub. Lib. has July 5, 1816. Several libraries have the facsimile issue of June 9, 1812. A. A. S. has:

1812. June 9 (fac-sim)

Nov. 5.

Dec. 30.

1814. Jan. 19.

Feb. 2, 9, 16.

Mar. 2, 10, 30.

June 15.

July 27.

[Warren] **Western Reserve Chronicle, 1816-1820+.**

Weekly. Established Oct. 4, 1816, by F[itch] Bissell, with the title of "Western Reserve Chronicle," and succeeding the "Trump of Fame," but adopting a new volume numbering. With the issue of Jan. 24, 1817, the title became "The Western Reserve Chronicle," and the publishers F. Bissell & W. Smith, but with Feb. 28, 1817, F. Bissell was given as sole publisher, and with Mar. 14, 1817, S. Quinby, & Co. (Samuel Quinby and Elihu Spencer) became the publishers. With the issue of Mar. 4, 1819, George Hapgood replaced Spencer in the firm, and with July 1, 1819, Otis Sprague replaced Quinby, the firm then becoming Hapgood & Sprague. With the issue of Oct. 1820, E—— R. Thompson replaced Sprague, and the firm became Hapgood & Thompson. It was so continued until after 1820.

Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Oct. 11, 1816-Sept. 24, Oct. 29, 1818; Aug. 19, Sept. 30, 1819; May 4-18, June 15, 22, Sept. 14, Nov. 9, Dec. 14, 1820. Detroit Pub. Lib. has Dec. 20, 1816; May 25, June 15, Sept. 14, 1820. Chicago Hist. Soc. has July 17, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1816. Nov. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
Dec. 6.

1817. July 3, 17.
Dec. 4.

[West Union] **Political Censor**, 1815-1820+.

Weekly. Established in March, 1815, judging from the first and only issue located, that of Dec. 20, 1817, vol. 3, no. 42, published by James Finley, with the title of "Political Censor." The paper is listed in the 1818, 1819 and 1821 editions of Kilbourn's "Ohio Gazetteer" as published by James Finley.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Dec. 20.

[Williamsburgh] **Clermont Sentinel**, 1818-1819.

Weekly. Established July 4, 1818, by Charles D. McManaman ("History of Clermont County," 1880, p. 151). It is referred to in Kilbourn's "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169, as published in the spring of 1819 by C. D. M'Manaman. No copy located.

[Williamsburg] **Farmers' Friend**, 1820+.

Weekly. Established in February, 1820, judging from the only copy noted, that of July 21, 1821, no. 77, published by William A. Camron, with the title of "The Farmers' Friend" (Venable, "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley," 1891, p. 42). No copy located.

[Williamsburgh] **Political Censor**, 1813.

Weekly. Established Jan. 15, 1813, by Thomas S. Foote and Robert Tweed, with the title of "The Political Censor," but discontinued probably within a year ("History of Clermont County," 1880, p. 150). The prospectus was published in the Chillicothe "Supporter" of June 20, 1812. No copy located.

[Williamsburg] Western American, 1814-1816.

Weekly. Established in August, 1814, judging from the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 25, 1815, vol. 1, no. 30, published by Morris & Ely. The date of establishment is given as Aug. 5, 1814, and the names of the publishers as David Morris and George Ely ("History of Clermont County," 1880, p. 151). The paper is quoted in the "Union" of Washington, Ky., of May 31, 1816.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 25, Mar. 11, 1815.

[Wooster] Ohio Spectator, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 6, 1817, judging from the volume numbering and advertisements of the earliest issue located, that of Nov. 21, 1817, vol. 1, no. 25, published by Cox & Hickcox (Levi Cox and Asa W. Hickcox), with the title of "The Ohio Spectator." Before the end of 1817, Cox withdrew, and the paper was published by Hickcox & Baldwin ("Ohio Monitor," Columbus, Jan. 1, 1818). Within a year, certainly previous to the spring of 1819, Samuel Baldwin, Jr., became sole publisher (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169). Baldwin died in office May 18, 1820 ("Ohio Monitor," Columbus, June 10, 1820). It is stated in Douglass, "History of Wayne County", 1878, p. 357, that after Baldwin's death, the paper was edited by Thomas Townsend and printed by Joseph Clingan, and expired before the end of the year, although later revived.

A. A. S. has:

1817. Nov. 21.

[Worthington] Columbian Advocate, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 7, 1820, by Ezra Griswold, Jr., with the title of "Columbian Advocate and Franklin Chronicle", according to the evidence of a complete file described in the "History of Delaware County," 1880, p. 249, but now not located. The prospectus of the paper is printed in the "Ohio Monitor," of Columbus, of Sept.

2, 1819. At some time previous to June 19, 1820, the title was shortened to "Franklin Chronicle," and the publishers became Griswold & Spencer, by whom the paper was continued after 1820.

N. Y. Pub. Lib. has June 19, 1820.

[Worthington] **Franklin Chronicle**, see **Columbian Advocate**.

[Worthington] **Western Intelligencer**, 1811-1814.

Weekly. Established in August, 1811, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 7, 1812, vol. 1, no. 25, published by Buttles & Smith (Joel Buttles and George Smith), with the title of "Western Intelligencer." In December, 1812, the firm was dissolved and Smith retired. The issues early in 1813 bear no publisher's imprint, but according to A. E. Lee, "History of Columbus," vol. 1, p. 423, the publishers at this period were Joel Buttles, James H. Hills and Ezra Griswold. In the spring of 1813, Buttles retired in favor of Philo H. Olmsted, and the publishing firm became Olmsted, Hills & Griswold. The last Worthington issue located is that of Nov. 3, 1813, vol. 3, no. 8, although judging from later volume numbering it was discontinued at Worthington with the issue of Feb. 23, 1814, vol. 3, no. 24, and removed to Columbus, where it was reestablished under the same title on Mar. 16, 1814.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 7, 1812. Long Id. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 9, 16, 1812. Harvard has Dec. 16, 1812; Jan. 20, Feb. 10, 17, 1813. Ohio State Lib. has Feb. 17, June 9, 23, July 14, 28, Aug. 4, Oct. 6-20, Nov. 3, 1813. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has Sept. 1, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1813. Oct. 13.

[Xenia] **Ohio Vehicle**, 1814-1815.

Weekly. Established in January, 1814, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 14, 1815, vol. 2, no. 5, published by Pelham & Smith (Samuel Pelham and George Smith), with the title of "Ohio

Vehicle." The last issue located is that of Oct. 24, 1815, vol. 2, no. 39.

Green Co. Lib., Xenia, has Feb. 14-Oct. 24, 1815.

[Xenia] Reading Room, 1819.

Weekly. A paper with the title of "Reading Room" was published in the spring of 1819 by John Kendall (Kilbourn, "Ohio Gazetteer," 1819, p. 169). No copy located.

Zanesville Express, 1812-1820.

Weekly. Established Dec. 30, 1812, by Putnam & Israel (Edwin Putnam and Joseph Israel), with the title of "Zanesville Express, and Republican Standard," With the issue of Dec. 28, 1814, Jonathan Clark was added to the firm, which became Putnam, Israel & Clark. With the issue of May 25, 1815, Israel withdrew and the firm became Putnam & Clark. With the issue of Nov. 14, 1816, Dunham replaced Clark in the firm, which became Putnam & Dunham. In 1817, the paper was transferred to Horace Reed & Co., changed early in 1818 to Horace Reed. In June, 1820 the paper was purchased by O'Hara & Barrett (——— O'Hara and ——— Barrett) and the title was changed to "The Express & Public Advertiser." It was so continued until after 1820.

Ohio State Lib. has Dec. 30, 1812-Dec. 19, 1816. Detroit Pub. Lib. has Jan. 5, 1813; Jan. 30, 1817; June 3, 1818; Nov. 3, Dec. 29, 1819; Jan. 5-19, Feb. 2, 23, Mar. 1, 8, 1820. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has Jan. 5, 1813. Marietta Coll. has Mar. 16, June 8, Aug. 31, Nov. 9, Dec. 21, 1815; Sept. 1, 1819; Feb. 2, 16-June 3, July 1-Aug. 5, Sept. 12, 19, 1820. Lib. Congress has Dec. 28, 1815. A. A. S. has:

1813. June 30.

1815. Oct. 5.

1817. Dec. 18.

1818. July 29.

[Zanesville] Muskingum Messenger, 1809-1820.

Weekly. Established Nov. 18, 1809, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Jan. 6, 1810, vol. 1, no. 8, published by White, Sawyer, & Co. (Joseph W. White and Porter Sawyer), with the title of "Muskingum Messenger." In either July or August, 1810, the "Co." was omitted and the paper published by White & Sawyer. With the issue of Dec. 8, 1810, the title was enlarged to "Muskingum Messenger and Ohio Intelligencer" and David Chambers was added to the firm, which became White, Sawyer & Chambers. With the issue of July 24, 1811, White withdrew from the firm, which became Sawyer & Chambers. With the issue of Apr. 8, 1812, the title was shortened to "Muskingum Messenger." With the issue of Mar. 30, 1814, David Chambers became sole publisher, and with Nov. 2, 1814, the title was slightly altered to "The Muskingum Messenger." With the issue of May 16, 1816, Josiah Heard was admitted to partnership, the firm becoming Chambers and Heard. With the issue of Nov. 7, 1816, Josiah Heard became sole publisher. Early in 1819 Ezekiel T. Cox became the publisher and continued the paper until after 1820.

Zanesville Pub. Lib. has May 12, 1810. Cincinnati Y. M. M. Lib. has July 17, 1811; July 6, 1814. Marietta College has Sept. 13, 1815; Feb. 21, 1816-Dec. 31, 1817; Feb. 11-25, Mar. 25-Apr. 22, 1818. Chicago Hist. Soc. has Jan. 12, 1814. H. W. Phelps, Columbus, has June 1, 1814. Western Reserve Hist. Soc. has June 16, 1813. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 17, 1817; Feb. 3, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1810. Jan. 6 to Dec. 26.

Missing: Jan. 13-Feb. 10, 24, Mar. 3-24,
Apr. 28, July 21-Aug. 18, Sept. 15, 22,
29, Oct. 20.

1811. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.

Missing: Jan. 16, Feb. 6, 13, 27, Mar. 2, 9,
23, 30, Apr. 27, June 5, 12, July 10, Aug.
14, 21.

1812. Jan. 1 to Dec. 30.
Extra: Apr. 4.
Missing: Jan. 22, Feb. 26, Mar. 18, Apr. 15,
22, 29, May 13, 20, 27, July 29, Aug. 12,
26, Sept. 9, Oct. 7, 21, 28, Nov. 11, 25.
1813. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.
Extra: Apr. 7.
Missing: Jan. 6, Feb. 10, June 9, 16, 23,
July 7, 14, Sept. 22, Nov. 10, 17.
1814. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.
[Extra: June 17]
Missing: Mar. 4, Apr. 13, 20, July 6, 27,
Aug. 3, 17, Sept. 21, Oct. 5, 12, 19, Nov.
9, 23, Dec. 7.
1815. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27.
Missing: Jan. 4, 11, Feb. 1, Apr. 26, May
3, 17, June 7, 28, July 12, 26, Aug. 2,
Sept. 13, 20, Oct. 4, Nov. 1, 22, Dec. 6.
1816. Jan. 3 to Dec. 26.
Missing: Jan. 17, Feb. 21, Mar. 6, 13, Apr.
3, 10, June 6, 13, July 18, Aug. 8, 29,
Sept. 5-26, Oct. 10, Nov. 28.
1817. Jan. 2, 9, 16, 30.
Feb. 6, 13, 20.
Mar. 6, 20, 27.
Apr. 3, 10, 17.
Dec. 17.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 15, 1919,
AT THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY, WORCESTER

The annual meeting was called to order in Antiquarian Hall, at 10.45 a. m., President Lincoln in the chair.

There were present the following members:

Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Reuben Colton, Henry Herbert Edes, William Eaton Foster, Francis Henshaw Dewey, William Trowbridge Forbes, George Henry Haynes, Arthur Lord, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, Edward Sylvester Morse, George Parker Winship, Samuel Utley, Benjamin Thomas Hill, Daniel Berkeley Updike, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, Worthington Chauncey Ford, Frederick Jackson Turner, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Samuel Bayard Woodward, George Hubbard Blakeslee, Arthur Prentice Rugg, Wilfred Harold Munro, Henry Winchester Cunningham, Frank Farnum Dresser, Rev. Shepherd Knapp, Homer Gage, Livingston Davis, Archer Butler Hulbert, Rev. Herbert Edwin Lombard, Howard Millar Chapin, Grenville Howland Norcross, Thomas Hovey Gage, Charles Francis Jenney, John Whittemore Farwell, Leonard Wheeler, Alexander George McAdie, Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, William Lawrence Clements, Richard Ward Greene, George Anthony Gaskill, John Woodbury, Alfred Lawrence Aiken, Charles Knowles Bolton, John Henry Edmonds, Leonard Leopold Mackall, Samuel Lyman Munson, Robert Kendall Shaw, Harold Marsh Sewall.

The call for the meeting having been read, it was voted to dispense with the reading of the records of the last meeting.

The President read the report of the Council, the financial report was read by the Treasurer, Dr. Woodward, and the Librarian's report was read by Mr. Brigham. It was voted, on motion of Mr. Edes, that these papers be accepted as the Report of the Council and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The President appointed Messrs. Blakeslee, Aiken and Colton a committee to collect and count the ballots for new members. They reported the election, as resident members of the following:

Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes, of New York, N. Y.

Robert Digges Wimberly Connor, of Raleigh, N. C.

The unanimous election of Waldo Lincoln as President was announced by the committee, Messrs. Edes, Gaskill and Edmonds, appointed by the chair. Messrs. Cunningham, Woodbury and Munson, as a committee to nominate the other officers, reported the following list:

President

Waldo Lincoln, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Vice-Presidents:

Andrew McFarland Davis, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.

Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Councillors:

Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Samuel Utley, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Francis Henshaw Dewey, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B., of Milton, Mass.

Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Ph.D., of New York, N. Y.

George Parker Winship, Litt.D., of Dover, Mass.

William Howard Taft, LL.D., of New Haven, Conn.

George Hubbard Blakeslee, Ph.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Henry Herbert Edes, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

James Phinney Baxter, Litt.D., of Portland, Me.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

Worthington Chauncey Ford, Litt.D., of Boston, Mass.

Recording Secretary:

Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D., Litt.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Treasurer:

Samuel Bayard Woodward, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Committee of Publication

George Henry Haynes, Ph.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Julius Herbert Tuttle, of Dedham, Mass.

John Henry Edmonds, of Boston, Mass.

Auditors:

Benjamin Thomas Hill, A. B., of Worcester, Mass.

Homer Gage, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

The above named officers were then unanimously elected by the Society by ballot. The oath was administered to the recording secretary by Judge Forbes.

The secretary then read on recommendation of the Council the Constitution of the American Council of Learned Societies devoted to Humanistic Studies, which was adopted by the society, on motion of Judge Forbes. It was moved, and so voted, that the President appoint delegates to represent this Society in the new

organization. The delegates appointed were Messrs. Hiram Bingham for four years and Frederick J. Turner for two years.

There being no further business, the members listened to the following papers: "Greater New England in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century," by Frederick Jackson Turner, of Cambridge, Mass, and "The Conciliatory Proposition in the Massachusetts Convention of 1788," by George Henry Haynes, of Worcester. A paper by Barrett Wendell, entitled "A Gentlewoman of Boston, 1742-1805", was read by title. It was voted that these papers be referred to the Committee of Publication.

Rev. Herbert Edwin Lombard called the attention of the society to the exhibition of the engraved work of Edwin D. French in the cases in the gallery and emphasized its importance as a contribution to the study of American engraving and bookplates.

Mr. Edes proposed and the Society voted to send the following resolution to Andrew McFarland Davis: "We, the members of the American Antiquarian Society, assembled at our annual meeting, send cordial and affectionate greeting to our honored senior Vice-President, Andrew McFarland Davis. We wish to record an expression of our regret at his absence and of our hope to welcome him at the April meeting in Boston. We miss the genial presence of Mr. Davis. We miss also his participation in our proceedings and his wise counsel in our various discussions and undertakings to which he has always been a generous contributor."

The President invited the members to lunch at his house, 49 Elm Street, at the close of the exercises. There being no further business, the meeting was dissolved.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

During the past six months two deaths have occurred among the active members, both very recently. William Roscoe Livermore of Boston, a member since October, 1897, died at New York, September 28, after a brief illness. On Saturday last, October 11, Henry Ernest Woods of Boston died very suddenly at Greenfield. He was elected to the Society in October, 1907.

Brief memoirs of these gentlemen will be prepared for publication in the Proceedings. So far as known to the Council there have been no deaths among the foreign members. It may be well to repeat the suggestion made two years ago, that members notify the secretary or librarian of the decease of any foreign member that may come to their knowledge.

The Society has recently received from the estate of the late Samuel Abbot Green a legacy of five thousand dollars with which the Samuel Abbot Green Fund has been established, the income of which, under the terms of Doctor Green's will, is to be expended for "the purchase of works relating to American history, including all publications in any way connected with the town of Groton," Massachusetts. Doctor Green at the time of his death was the senior member of the Society, having been elected in October, 1865, and for forty-four years was a member of the Council, the last fourteen as Vice-President. It is peculiarly gratifying therefore, to have his name associated with the large benefactors of the Society.

A petty source of annoyance, which has existed for many years, has been removed during the past

summer, by the action of the local society in changing its name from "The Worcester Society of Antiquity" to "The Worcester Historical Society." The similarity of the former name to that of this Society led to constant misunderstanding in the mind of the public as to which was which, and to frequent misdirection of letters. This Society has always wished to encourage and assist the local society and, in the past, has sent much material to it for its cabinet and library, but many individuals have refrained from joining it because of its unfortunate name. The Council now hopes that every member of this Society from Worcester County will join the Worcester Historical Society and give it every aid in his power.

It should be one of the most important objects of this Society to encourage local historical societies all over the United States. The more there are of them and the more active they are in collecting and preserving the records, maps, manuscripts, and newspapers of their respective localities the better. It is manifestly impossible for any national library to cover the whole country. The Library of Congress, which has the government itself behind it, is swamped with the vast mass of material which it attempts to preserve. There are seventeen thousand newspapers published in this country alone, and many hundreds, if not thousands, more in Canada and Spanish America. This library preserves about thirty of these thousands. If every local historical society would make a point of preserving and binding a file of the newspapers published in its neighborhood, it would advance the cause of local history very much, and bring great relief to the national libraries. But it is not necessary to have a local society to accomplish this, since the local library can do this work as well, and many in Massachusetts, where every town has a library, are already doing it. Let it be the business of every member of this Society to see that his own local society or library adopts this plan, if it has not already done so.

By the sale of the larger part of the duplicate newspapers, as was mentioned in the last annual report, the Purchasing Fund has been restored to its original sum and considerably increased. This has made possible the purchase of several important collections which otherwise could not have been secured. The most notable of these is the Marshall collection of book-plates, the acquisition of which has placed the Society's collection well at the front of all others. The financing of this purchase has been done partly with the Purchasing Fund and partly with the aid of our ever generous recording secretary. It will probably be a year before the sale of duplicates from this collection will enable the Society to repay the secretary and return something to the fund. Through the good will of Mrs. E. D. French, the Society's collection of the book-plates designed by her husband has been made practically perfect, and an exhibition of his work has been arranged in the upper hall, which will undoubtedly interest the members and will be continued for some weeks for the benefit of the public. It should attract the attention of all who are interested in this branch of art.

Partly owing to the war, partly to the death of the most active member of the committee of publication, and partly to a depleted staff and consequent increase of work for those remaining, the published Proceedings are six months in arrears, and the printed records of the last annual meeting have but just now reached the members. One result of such delay is that any appeal of the Council is received, by those members who are not present at the meeting when it is made, so late as to lose much of its force. An effort will be made during the coming year to return to the former custom of having the printed Proceedings of each meeting distributed before the holding of the next meeting. Even this delays too long the presentation of recommendations of the Council. It is, therefore, proposed to print and distribute the report of the Council, as a

separate publication, as soon as possible after each meeting. Thus the members may be more promptly advised of the Society's doings. A year ago reference was made to an offer which would enable the Society to acquire a valuable collection of engraved portraits of distinguished Americans, and the hope was expressed that some member, not too far removed from Worcester, would volunteer to care for the arrangement and increase of such a collection, the staff being too small and too much occupied with other work to take over such a task. Owing to the delay in printing the Proceedings this suggestion has reached those members, not present when the report was read, within the last week, and naturally no response has been received. This is a concrete example of the advantage to be gained by a separate publication of the Council's report. Fortunately the offer of the portraits is still open and the suggestion is now renewed.

One of the specialities in which this library holds first rank is that of American school books, or educational textbooks as they are frequently designated. This collection has recently been completely rearranged and classified, and by a careful estimate contains ten thousand eight hundred and seventy volumes, probably nine-tenths of them being published before the Civil War. No other collection of which any record has been found approaches this in point of numbers and importance. A Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education on "Special Collections in Libraries in the United States," issued in 1912, claims for that Bureau ten thousand textbooks, but a large proportion of these are foreign, while the collection in the Library of Congress consists mainly of textbooks published since 1870 and acquired through the operation of the copyright law. The next largest collection noted in the Bulletin is that in the Wadsworth Athenæum, Hartford, Conn., which numbered forty-five hundred volumes, and many of these are foreign. A better idea, perhaps, can be

gained of the importance of this accumulation of early school books, for a study of the history of education of the United States, by stating that, by actual count, there are on the shelves eight hundred and twenty arithmetics, six hundred and ten geographies and atlases, six hundred and thirty English grammars, nine hundred and forty readers, and three hundred and ninety spellers,* yet these subjects, which include the classic "three R's," make up only about a third of the whole number.

On August 22, 1919, the presidents and secretaries of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Historical Association invited this Society, with twelve other representative American learned societies devoted to humanistic studies, to send delegates to a conference to be held in Boston on September 19. The purpose of the conference was to consider what action should be taken by American societies to enable them to take part effectively in the new international Union Académique, which was organized in Paris in May, to further international undertakings in bibliography, archæology and history. The suggestion was made in the invitation that each society be represented by its president, its secretary and one other member, and accordingly the Council appointed the president, the recording secretary and the librarian to attend the conference. Doctor Nichols was unable to accept, but President Lincoln and Librarian Brigham were present at the conference, which was held in the building of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and was attended by twenty delegates representing the following ten societies:—The American Philosophical Society, The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, The American Antiquarian Society, The American Oriental Society, The American Philological Association, The Archæological Institute of America, The Modern Language

*This includes school atlases only and not the larger and more important atlases in the map room. Neither are the New England Primers, of which the society owns ninety-two editions, counted among the nine hundred and forty readers.

Association of America, The American Historical Association, The American Economic Association, and The American Philosophical Association. Three other societies had been invited but were not represented, viz.:—The American Political Science Association, The American Sociological Society, and The American Society of International Law. Mr. William Roscoe Thayer was chosen permanent chairman and Mr. Waldo G. Leland permanent secretary, and the origin and purposes of the Union Académique were explained to the conference by Professor Charles H. Haskins of Harvard University. After discussion the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this conference that American learned societies devoted to humanistic studies should participate as a group in the Union Académique.

The conference then appointed Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University and Mr. William M. Buckler of Baltimore, as American delegates to the October session of the Union Académique, with power to fill vacancies, and adopted the following votes of instruction:—

VOTED, That all projects of research or publication which societies desire to have presented to the Union Académique at its October session in Paris shall be transmitted to the Secretary of the Conference not later than September 28 for forwarding to the American delegates.

VOTED, That until the action of this conference shall have been ratified by the bodies represented and an organization of the societies for national representation in the Union Académique shall have been perfected, the delegates are instructed that they have no authority to commit the American societies to any particular project but should confine themselves to a cordial endorsement of the general plan by those present at this Conference, and that any projects submitted to the delegates should be regarded as the suggestions of individual scholars.

VOTED, That it is the sense of those present at this Conference that some form of bibliography of humanistic studies should be approved as an international undertaking.

VOTED, That this Conference desires to express its deep interest in the subject of explorations and researches in western Asia and hopes that a scheme of co-operation may be considered by the Union Académique.

The secretary of the conference presented a draft of a convention for establishing an American Council of Learned Societies accompanied by a form of constitution for such a council, which after some amendment was adopted. This convention and constitution will be presented to the Society by the recording secretary later in the meeting, with the recommendation of the Council that it be accepted and ratified.

By the liberality of four of our members a scholarship bearing the name of this Society has been established for two years at Clark University, for the encouragement of the study of American history.* A closer connection is thus formed between the Society and the University which should redound to the benefit of both, but the benefit accruing to the Society will come indirectly from the advertising by the University of the educational advantages possessed by it through the use of this library. It is true that the University has always had the free use of the library, but it is now not only at liberty to advertise that fact, but it has become its duty to extol the facilities which the library offers to students and writers of American history. The more generally this becomes known among the friends of education, the greater the chance that a "good angel" will appear who will relieve the Society of its financial distress. Should that "good angel" prove to be one of the Society's own members the greater the credit to the Society, but should it be a non-member the greater the credit to the "angel." Though attention has frequently been called to it in these reports, many members may not yet appreciate the extent to which the Society's collections are used by advanced students, in their preparation of theses for higher degrees. This alone justifies the work of the Society

*The scholarship has been awarded to Mr. F. Lee Bennis, a graduate of Syracuse University in 1914 and, from that time until February, 1918, an instructor in history and a graduate student in history and economics at Syracuse. For the next six months he was a teacher in the Bloomfield, N. J., High School and for the past year head of the historical department in the Danbury, Conn., High School. He is thirty years old.

in continuing to collect American historical material, but it is sometimes questionable if the library is not better known to students not connected with the Society than to the members themselves. One object sought by this report is to excite such an interest among the members, that everyone will feel it his duty not only to contribute what he can to the Society's funds, but to represent the merits and needs of the library to all liberal minded friends of education whom he may know, so that not one but many "angels" may spread their beneficent wings over this institution.

At the last annual meeting, held while the world war was at its height, some fear was expressed lest the scarcity of coal might seriously interfere with the usefulness of the library, and lest the Society might even be deprived of the services of its librarian. Fortunately in less than a month the armistice was signed and anxiety on those two points was allayed, but the high cost of living, which still continues, has been and is a serious handicap for which the only remedy seems to be an increase of endowment. The need for this has been mentioned so frequently that it may be superfluous to mention it now, but the members should bear it in mind when approached by solicitors for other educational institutions, whose appeals are receiving a wide, free advertising which a small institution like this cannot command. Compared with the vast sums demanded by others the wants of this Society can be met by a sum which is modesty itself, yet with the small constituency on which it can call, it looms so large as to seem almost unobtainable. One hundred thousand dollars added to the interest-bearing endowment would furnish the much needed addition to the staff, and provide an equally needed sum for binding and book purchases.

But the most imperative need is for a similar sum of one hundred thousand dollars for the enlargement of the stack to double its present size, for which plans were submitted by the architects nearly three years

ago. These plans are now before you and will be printed in reduced facsimile in the Proceedings for the information of those not present today. Estimates of the cost were made at the time and it was the intention of the Council to make an effort to raise a sufficient sum to build the extension, but the war interfered and the matter has rested until now. It can rest no longer for the time has come when the storage capacity of the building must be increased or a check must be put on collecting. Already several hundred volumes of newspapers are stored in the basement and are inaccessible for consultation, except with an expenditure of much time and labor which the present force is too small to supply, and even this method of storage must soon cease, as little room remains unoccupied and that is required for new acquisitions now awaiting classification and arrangement which cannot be hastened for lack of means. The fact is that the Society must have financial help or its usefulness will be seriously impaired, and the sooner the members realize that fact the better. They must themselves feel, and they must impress upon that portion of the general public on whose liberality all educational establishments must depend for support, that the great assistance given by this library to advanced students of American history, who come hither from graduate schools as far west as the Mississippi, and even from more remote universities, for research work which they cannot pursue as well elsewhere, must not be curtailed. They should realize that writers in almost every branch of this subject must prosecute their studies here, if they would exhaust the sources of information, for these walls contain larger and more complete collections of printed matter on many topics relating to American history, than any other library in the United States; and in certainly a dozen important lines more than any other library in New England. This is not said in any spirit of boastfulness but simply in an attempt

to impress on the minds of the members, that this is an educational institution which is entirely worthy of their financial assistance, and that its needs, though comparatively small, are quite as imperative as those of institutions whose appeals are now being so vigorously advertised.

WALDO LINCOLN,

For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

HENRY ERNEST WOODS

Henry Ernest Woods died suddenly of heart trouble at the Hotel Weldon in Greenfield, Mass., October 11, 1919, while on the performance of his duties as State Commissioner of Public Records. He was born in Boston, June 5, 1857, the son of Henry Thayer and Ellen (Thayer) Woods and descended on both sides from a long line of New England ancestors. He was educated at the old Chauncy Hall School in Boston, but was prevented from continuing his studies at Harvard by ill health and trouble with his eyes, and instead, travelled for a year or two in England, on the Continent, and in North Africa, and from then till the last ten years of his life was a traveller in this, and other countries.

After a few years in Mercantile life, he devoted himself to genealogical and historical investigation of New England people and places, and to editorial work along these lines. He was a prominent member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and from 1901 to 1907 was Editor of the *Register* and the other publications of that Society. He was prominent in the movement for publishing the Vital Records of the Massachusetts towns and edited many of these volumes. In 1907, he was appointed by the Governor, State Commissioner of Public Records, and performed a notable service in this office. He was made a member of this Society in 1907. In 1903, Bowdoin College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. He was clever with his pencil, being at one time a contributor to *Life*, and was well posted in the

science of heraldry. His chief literary work was editorial, though he published an excellent genealogy of the Woods Family and many shorter genealogical sketches, and was ever ready to put his time and talents at the disposal of friends in genealogical, historical or heraldic investigations. He never married, but made his home in Boston with an invalid mother until her death. Later he lived on Newbury Street, making his home at the near-by St. Botolph Club.

H. W. C.

WILLIAM ROSCOE LIVERMORE

William Roscoe Livermore, son of George and Elizabeth (Cunningham) Livermore, was born in Cambridge, January 11, 1843, and died at the Army Hospital in New York City from heart failure, September 28, 1919. He was fitted for college at the Cambridge High School and entered Harvard College in 1860, but left at the end of his freshman year to attend the Military Academy at West Point, from which he was graduated in 1865, as second lieutenant of engineers. He rose by successive promotions to become colonel, which appointment he received in 1904, and was retired from service on June 11, 1907, after forty-two years of varied activities in connection with army engineering work. May 10, 1917, he returned to active duty and was assigned to special duty with the Chief of United States Engineers. After retirement in 1907, he lived in Boston, but removed to Washington after the declaration of war with Germany. He was author, in 1882, of "The American Kriegspiel," a game for practising the art of war on a typographical map, and, in 1884, of "Manoeuvres for Infantry", which reached a second edition. After his retirement he devoted his time to writing on military and historical subjects, publishing the "Story of the Civil War—Vicksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg", and

contributing papers to the several societies of which he was a member. He was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Massachusetts Military Historical Society, and the American Historical Association, and was elected to this Society in October, 1897, contributing a paper on "America's Place in History" to the Proceedings for April, 1908. In 1883, he married Augusta Keen of Philadelphia, who survives him.

W. L.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer presents herewith his annual report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending Sept. 30, 1919, to which is appended a statement of the Society's investments and of the condition of the various funds.

Oct. 1, 1919, the net assets were invested as follows:

Library Building	\$189,905.71
Public Funds	102,147.50
Railroad bonds	101,515.50
Miscellaneous bonds	62,867.00
Railroad shares	22,017.00
Bank shares	5,345.00
Miscellaneous shares	8,234.50
Mortgages	15,100.00
Bank deposit	2,000.00
Cash on deposit	7,076.10

\$516,208.31

Which sum includes unexpended income
amounting to

562.70

\$515,645.61

Less Library Building

189,905.71

Capital bearing interest

\$325,739.90

Bonds of the City of Boston to the amount of \$15,000 and of the City of Waterbury to the amount of \$10,000 became due and were paid during the year, and in their place the Treasurer, with the consent of the Finance Committee, purchased \$5,000 Consumers Power Company 5% bonds; \$5,000, Detroit Edison Company 5% bonds; \$5,000, Southern Power Company 5% bonds; \$1,000, Southern California Edison Company 5% bond, and \$11,000 United States Government 4th 4¼% bonds.

Principal account has been increased by receipt of \$57.23 from the James Lyman Whitney Estate; \$5,000 from the Samuel A. Green Estate; \$150 by Life Memberships; \$237.25 by income added to principal; \$215 by gifts; \$7,502 by sale of duplicates; \$625 by profit on City of Boston bonds and \$400 by profit on City of Waterbury bonds.

SAMUEL B. WOODWARD, *Treasurer.*

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Principal Oct. 1, 1918 (less unexpended income for 1918)	\$508,451.56
Principal received since Oct. 1, 1918	
Alfred L. Aiken Life Membership	\$50.00
John Woodbury " "	50.00
John H. Edmonds " "	50.00
Income added to principal:	
James L. Whitney Fund.....	\$20.25
Purchasing Fund.....	217.00
	<hr/>
	237.25
G. H. Norcross: for Special Gifts Fund.....	215.00
Samuel A. Green Estate.....	5,000.00
James Lyman Whitney Estate.....	57.23
Profit: City of Boston bonds.....	625.00
Profit: City of Waterbury bonds	400.00
Sale of duplicates.....	7,502.00
	<hr/>
	14,186.48
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	\$522,638.04
Expended from Purchasing Fund.....	\$6,777.43
Expended from Special Gifts Fund.....	215.00
	<hr/>
	6,992.43
	<hr/>
	\$515,645.61

INCOME ACCOUNT

Unexpended Income 1918.....	\$5.90
Income from Investments.....	14,264.99
Assessments.....	295.00
Sale of Publications.....	233.95
	<hr/>
	14,799.84
	<hr/>
	\$530,445.45

EXPENDITURES

Income carried to Principal.....	\$237.25
Incidental Expense.....	395.49
Salaries.....	7,165.66
Light, Heat, Water, and Telephone.....	935.26
Office Expense.....	628.52
Supplies.....	398.42
Books.....	2,179.21
Publishing.....	1,208.15
Binding.....	600.00

Care of Grounds.....	111.23	
Extra Service.....	377.95	
		\$14,237.14
ASSETS		\$516,208.33
Real Estate.....	\$189,905.71	
Mortgages.....	15,100.00	
Bonds.....	266,530.00	
Stocks.....	35,596.50	
Bank Deposit.....	2,000.00	
Cash on deposit.....	7,076.10	
		\$516,208.31
Unexpended Balance October 1, 1919.....		\$562.70
Principal October 1, 1919.....		\$515,645.61

Oct. 1, 1919

CONDITION OF THE FUND ACCOUNTS

Fund Title	Principal	Balance 1918	Income 1918	Expended 1918	Balance
1-Alden.....	\$1,000.00		\$45.00	\$45.00	
2-Bookbinding.....	7,500.00		337.50	337.50	
3-George Chandler.....	500.00		22.50	22.50	
4-Collection and Research	17,000.00		765.00	765.00	
5-I. and E. L. Davis.....	23,000.00		1,035.00	928.00	\$107.00
6-John and Eliza Davis..	4,900.00		220.50	220.50	
7-F. H. Dewey.....	4,800.00	\$1.09	216.00	217.09	
8-G. E. Ellis.....	17,500.00		787.50	787.50	
9-Librarian's and General.	35,000.00		1,575.00	1,575.00	
10-Haven.....	1,500.00	3.02	67.50	70.52	
12-Life Membership.....	3,900.00		175.50	175.50	
13-Lincoln Legacy.....	7,000.00		315.00	315.00	
14-Publishing.....	32,001.91		1,420.00	1,420.00	
17-Salisbury.....	104,348.39		4,780.54	4,680.54	100.00
18-Tenney.....	5,000.00		225.00	225.00	
19-B. F. Thomas.....	1,000.00	0.57	45.00	45.57	
22-Special Gifts.....	497.82		22.50	22.50	
23-F. W. Haven.....	2,000.00		90.00	90.00	
24-Purchasing.....	1,161.55		217.00	217.00	
25-Chas. F. Washburn....	5,000.00		225.00	225.00	
26-Centennial.....	34,506.58		1,602.70	1,247.00	355.70
27-Eliza D. Dodge.....	3,000.00	1.22	135.00	136.22	
28-Hunnewell.....	5,000.00		215.00	215.00	
29-Jas. Lyman Whitney...	489.68		20.25	20.25	
30-Samuel A. Green.....	5,000.00				

STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS

BONDS

NAME	RATE	MATURITY	PAR VAL.	BOOK VAL.
PUBLIC FUNDS:				
Baltimore, Md.....	4	May, 1955	\$15,000	\$15,000.00
Cuyahoga County, Ohio....	5	Oct., 1922	3,000	3,151.00
Duluth, Minn.....	4	April, 1936	2,000	1,940.00
Jersey City, N. J.....	4	April, 1928	5,000	4,931.00
Memphis, Tenn.....	4	May, 1933	5,000	4,887.00
Middletown, Conn.....	3½	May, 1925	5,000	4,700.00
New York, N. Y.....	4½	May, 1957	20,000	20,000.00
Omaha, Neb.....	4½	Mar. 1928	15,000	15,000.00
San Francisco, Cal.....	4½	July, 1948	5,000	4,914.00
Woonsocket, R. I.....	4	June, 1929	12,000	11,179.00
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.....	5½	Feb., 1937	2,000	1,977.50
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.....	5½	Nov., 1921	1,000	985.00
United States of America....	4¼	May, 1942	3,000	3,000.00
United States of America....	4½	Oct., 1938	11,000	10,483.00
				<hr/> \$102,147.50
RAILROADS:				
Atchison, Topeka & Sante Fe.....	4	May, 1995	2,000	\$1,540.00
Atchison, Topeka & Sante Fe.....	4	May, 1995	1,000	885.00
Baltimore & Ohio.....	3½	July, 1925	5,000	4,637.00
Boston Elevated.....	4	May, 1935	2,000	2,000.00
Boston Elevated.....	4½	April, 1937	8,000	7,960.00
Boston & Maine.....	3½	Feb., 1925	5,000	4,593.00
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy.....	4	July, 1949	5,000	5,000.00
Chicago & Eastern Illinois..	5	Nov., 1937	4,000	4,000.00
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul.....	4½	June, 1932	2,000	1,932.50
Chicago, Indiana & Southern.....	4	Jan., 1956	12,000	10,920.00
Chicago & Northwestern....	4	Aug., 1926	1,000	945.00
Fitchburg.....	3½	Oct., 1921	10,000	9,300.00
Illinois Central.....	3½	July, 1952	2,000	2,000.00
Illinois Central.....	5	Dec., 1963	2,000	2,010.00
Lake Shore & Michigan Southern.....	4	May, 1931	5,000	4,621.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haver- hill.....	5	June, 1923	7,000	6,570.00

Marlboro & Westboro.....5	July, 1921	1,000	1,000.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford....4	May, 1954	10,000	10,000.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford...3½	Jan., 1956	50	50.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford...6	Jan., 1948	2,200	2,189.00
Old Colony.....4	Jan., 1938	3,000	2,970.00
Penobscot Shore Line.....4	Aug., 1920	5,000	4,943.00
Pere Marquette.....4	July, 1956	5,000	4,500.00
Pere Marquette.....5	July, 1956	500	500.00
Southern Indiana.....4	Feb., 1951	2,000	2,000.00
Union Pacific.....4	July, 1927	500	450.00
Wilkesbarre & Eastern....5	June, 1942	2,000	2,000.00
Worcester & Webster.....5	Dec., 1919	2,000	2,000.00

\$101,515.50

MISCELLANEOUS BONDS:

Amer. Tel. & Tel. Co.....4	July, 1929	11,000	11,000.00
Bethlehem Steel Co.....5	Jan., 1926	2,000	2,005.00
Business Real Estate Trust.4	June, 1921	2,000	1,915.00
Congress Hotel Co.....6	Feb., 1933	5,000	5,000.00
Consumers Power Co.....5	Jan., 1936	5,000	4,475.00
Detroit Edison Co.....5	Jan., 1933	5,000	4,925.00
Detroit Edison Co.....5	July, 1940	5,000	4,800.00
Ellicott Square Co.....6	Mar., 1935	5,000	5,000.00
Michigan State Tel. Co....5	Feb., 1924	3,000	2,996.00
Norton Co.....5	Feb., 1927	3,000	3,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.....5	Aug., 1929	5,000	5,000.00
So. Cal. Edison Co.....5	Nov., 1939	1,000	920.00
Southern Power Co.....5	Mar., 1930	5,000	4,775.00
Terre Haute Trac. Lt. & Power Co.....5	May, 1944	2,000	2,000.00
Western Electric Co.....5	Dec., 1922	5,000	5,056.00

\$62,867.00

Stocks

\$266,530.00

Shares		PAR	BOOK
		VALUE	VALUE
24	American Tel. & Tel. Co.....	\$2,400	\$2,353.50
11	Atchinson, Topeka & Sante Fe R. R. (Pref.)	1,100	687.00
3	Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co. (Pref.).....	300	210.00
6	Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co. (Com.).....	600	420.00
6	Fitchburg Bank & Trust Co.....	600	600.00
50	Fitchburg R. R. Co.....	5,000	5,000.00
35	Mass. Gas Light Cos. (Pref.).....	3,500	2,900.00
68	N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. Co.....	6,800	8,450.00
30	Northern R. R. (N. H.).....	3,000	3,000.00
11	Old South Building Trust (Pref.).....	1,100	981.00
30	Union Pacific R. R. (Com.).....	3,000	3,000.00
16	Webster & Atlas National Bank.....	1,600	1,800.00

25 West End St. Ry. Co. (Pref.).....	1,250	1,250.00
14 Worcester Gas Light Co.....	1,400	2,000.00
31 Worcester Bank & Trust Co.....	3,100	2,945.00
		<hr/>
		\$35,596.50

MORTGAGE LOANS

J. Burwick.....	\$2,100.00
L. L. Mellen.....	1,500.00
B. F. Sawyer.....	3,500.00
J. P. Sexton, Trustee.....	8,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$15,100.00

BANK DEPOSITS

Deposit in Worcester Bank & Trust Co., Interest Department.....	\$2,000.00
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REAL ESTATE

Library Building with land.....	\$189,905.71
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The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, beg leave to state that the books and accounts of the Treasurer, for the year ending September 30, 1919, have been examined by Elmer A. MacGowan, Accountant, and his certificate that they are correct is herewith submitted.

The Auditors further report that they have personally examined the securities held by the Treasurer and find the same to be as stated by him and the balance of cash on hand duly accounted for.

(Signed) BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,
HOMER GAGE, *Auditors.*

October 1, 1919.

WORCESTER, MASS., October 1, 1919.

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society, made up for the year ending September 30, 1919, and find same to be correct.

(Signed) ELMER A. MACGOWAN,
Accountant.

CONTRIBUTORS OF \$100 AND MORE TO THE SOCIETY'S
INVESTED FUNDS

1832	Isaiah Thomas, Worcester (legacy).....	\$23,152
	Nathaniel Maccarty, Worcester (legacy).....	500
1838	Edward D. Bangs, Worcester (legacy).....	200
1840	William McFarland, Worcester (legacy).....	500
1842	Christopher G. Champlin, Newport, R. I. (legacy).....	100
1852	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	5,000
1856	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	5,000
1858	Nathan Appleton, Boston.....	100
	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	200
	Edward Everett, Boston.....	100
	George Folsom, Worcester.....	100
	John Green, Worcester.....	100
	James Lenox, New York, N. Y.....	250
	Levi Lincoln, Worcester.....	200
	Charles C. Little, Cambridge.....	100
	Pliny Merrick, Worcester.....	100
	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	3,545
	P. Dexter Tiffany, Worcester.....	200
1867	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	8,000
1868	William Thomas, Boston.....	500
	Benjamin F. Thomas, Boston.....	100
	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	500
	Levi Lincoln, Worcester (legacy).....	940
1869	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	100
	Usher D. Parsons, Providence.....	100
	Nathaniel Thayer, Boston.....	500
1870	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	100
	Ebenezer Torrey, Fitchburg.....	100
1871	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	100
1872	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury.....	300
	John P. Bigelow, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
1874	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury (legacy).....	200
	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph.....	100
1875	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	400
1878	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	400
1879	Benjamin F. Thomas, Beverly (legacy).....	1,000
	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	500
1881	Joseph A. Tenney, Worcester (legacy).....	5,000
	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph (legacy).....	1,000
1882	Samuel F. Haven, Worcester (legacy).....	1,000
1883	Robert C. Waterston, Boston.....	100
1884	George Chandler, Worcester.....	500
	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy).....	10,000
1885	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy).....	10,000
1886	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester.....	5,000

1887	Robert C. Waterston, Boston.....	100
1889	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester (legacy).....	2,000
1891	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	5,000
1895	George E. Ellis, Charlestown (legacy).....	10,000
1899	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester.....	5,000
1900	John C. B. Davis, Washington, D. C.....	1,000
	Horace Davis, San Francisco, Calif.....	1,000
	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge.....	1,000
1905	Andrew H. Green, New York, N. Y. (legacy).....	4,840
1907	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy).....	60,000
	Charles E. French, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
1908	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy).....	175,000
1909	Mrs. Frances W. Haven, Worcester (legacy).....	2,000
1910	Charles G. Washburn, Worcester.....	5,000
	Mrs. Eliza D. Dodge, Worcester (legacy).....	3,000
	James F. Hunnewell, Boston.....	5,000
	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge.....	1,000
	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	5,000
	Charles H. Davis, Worcester.....	2,000
	Austin P. Cristy, Worcester.....	100
	Henry W. Cunningham, Boston.....	1,000
	Henry A. Marsh, Worcester.....	100
	Simeon E. Baldwin, New Haven, Conn.....	100
	Eugene F. Bliss, Cincinnati, O.....	1,000
	A. George Bullock, Worcester.....	2,000
	William B. Weeden, Providence.....	500
	Charles L. Nichols, Worcester.....	2,500
	Samuel B. Woodward, Worcester.....	1,000
	Samuel Utley, Worcester.....	100
	Waldo Lincoln, Worcester.....	1,000
	Samuel S. Green, Worcester.....	1,000
	James L. Whitney, Cambridge (legacy).....	490
1911	Austin S. Garver, Worcester.....	100
	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester.....	2,500
	Thomas Willing Balch, Philadelphia, Pa.....	100
	William Lawrence, Boston.....	100
	Charles P. Bowditch, Boston.....	100
	Samuel A. Green, Boston.....	150
1912	James P. Baxter, Portland, Me.....	100
	Franklin B. Dexter, New Haven, Conn.....	100
	Justin H. Smith, Boston.....	100
	Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Worcester.....	200
	Samuel V. Hoffman, New York, N. Y.....	5,000
	Clarence M. Burton, Detroit, Mich.....	100
	Henry H. Edes, Boston.....	250
	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Malden.....	500
1913	Albert H. Whitin, Whitinsville.....	1,000

1913	Daniel Merriman, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Malden.....	500
	Miss Jane A. Taft, Worcester (legacy).....	1,000
	Miss Katharine Allen, Worcester (legacy).....	4,000
1916	Grenville H. Norcross, Boston.....	200
1917	Horace Davis, San Francisco, Cal. (legacy).....	5,000
1919	Samuel A. Green, Boston (legacy).....	5,000

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The number and value of the acquisitions of this Library each year depend chiefly upon the amount of income which the finance committee feels can be devoted to book purchase. There are certain funds the income of which can be used only for books and these funds in the past few years have yielded about \$1250 a year. In 1913-14, however, the general income for books, outside of the special funds, was \$1650, while in 1918-19, it had dwindled to \$420. The high cost of living, which to this library means cost of fuel, supplies, equipment, printing, and to a very slight degree, of salaries, has to be taken out of the book fund, the only one capable of standing the strain. We must continue to print the Proceedings, we must do the necessary binding, and we must keep our collections available for use, but we can curtail the purchase of books. We are continually "robbing Peter to pay Paul," and there are many Pauls, but unfortunately only one Peter.

As a result of this diminished book income, we have had recourse during the past three or four years to other methods in order to acquire the books needed to round out our collections and to fulfil our duty to researchers who come here from far and near in the quest of material which they do not find in other libraries. As books have been offered to us which we cannot afford to buy, we have turned to certain generous members who have made these purchases possible. During the past year our chief source of book income has been the money derived from the sale of the duplicate newspapers last fall, and this more than any other reason explains how the acces-

sions have measured in number and value with the totals of the past few years. Expressed in statistical form, the summary is as follows:

Bound volumes	3815
Pamphlets	5837
Maps, broadsides, prints, etc.	959
Unbound newspapers	5275

The pamphlet and periodical literature of the day forms an important part of the accessions. Certain members, such as Charles H. Taylor, Jr., Andrew McF. Davis, and Charles G. Washburn, send to the library regularly practically all of the current pamphlet reports, speeches, and other ephemeral material which they accumulate, and many other members send us items of historical value which are worthy of preservation. The early printed titles, however, do not come to the average person. These can be picked up only at auction, or from the bookseller's catalogue, or from an occasional individual who has inherited them from some ancestor, and the recent enhancement in the values of rare books has made scarce titles increasingly difficult to procure.

Some valuable items of Americana have been acquired during the year, but none so important as the file of the "Royal American Magazine," presented to the Society by Charles H. Taylor, Jr. This magazine was published at Boston from January, 1774, to March 1775, in fifteen monthly numbers, each number containing one or more engraved plates and an installment of Governor Hutchinson's "History of Massachusetts Bay." Since most of the plates were engraved by Paul Revere, the issues have been prized by collectors, who have frequently extracted the plates, with the result that no complete set has ever appeared for sale. The Brinley copy, which went to Yale, lacked two plates and fourteen pages. The Deane copy, which sold in 1898 for \$160, lacked one number and six plates. The Manson copy, which was the Deane copy improved, sold in 1904 for \$355 lacking five plates. The

Taylor copy is complete both in text and plates, and in addition is untrimmed and has most of the original blue covers. Since no complete set has ever been described and since there has been doubt regarding the existence of some of the plates, a list of the engravings in each number is here appended:

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| January, 1774. | "A View of the Town of Boston" (Revere).
"The Thunder Storm" (Revere). |
| February, 1774. | "Sir Wilbraham Wentworth" (Revere).
"The Night Scene" (Callender). |
| March, 1774. | "The Hon ^{ble} . John Hancock, Esq ^r ." (Revere).
"The Fortune Hunter" (Callender). |
| April, 1774. | "Mr. Samuel Adams" (Revere).
"The Hill Tops, a New Hunting Song" (Callender). |
| May, 1774. | "An Indian Gazette" (unsigned). |
| June, 1774. | "The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the
Bitter Draught" (Revere).
"The Hooded Serpent" (unsigned). |
| July, 1774. | "Spanish Treatment at Carthage" (Revere). |
| August, 1774. | "The Method of Refining Salt-Petre" (unsigned). |
| September, 1774. | [Engraving of a water-spout] (unsigned). |
| October, 1774. | "The Mitred Minuet" (Revere). |
| November, 1774. | "The Gerbua or Yerboa" (Revere).
"Mademoiselle Clarion" (Revers). |
| December, 1774. | "A Conference held between some Indian Chiefs and
Colonel Bouquet, in the Year 1764" (Revere).
[Engraving of bees and honey-combs] (unsigned). |
| January, 1775. | "A Certain Cabinet Junto" (Revere). |
| February, 1775. | "History of Lauretta" (Revere). |
| March, 1775. | "America in Distress" (Revere). |

The charges for most of these plates are entered in Paul Revere's Manuscript Day-Books, showing the cost to be about £3 each. The entries also show that he engraved the lead cut which was used on the titlepages in 1774 and after that on the front covers of the 1775 issues, and that he made the unsigned engravings in the issues of June, August, and December, 1774. We are much indebted to Mr. Taylor for providing us with so complete a set of this valuable magazine, especially since it was established by Isaiah Thomas, the founder of the Society.

A rare pamphlet purchased by the Society is entitled: "The Art of Making Common Salt, particularly adapted to the Use of the American Colonies," Boston, 1776, containing an engraved plate showing the method of extracting salt from sea-water. The subject matter of the pamphlet was first printed in "The Pennsylvania Magazine" for March, 1776, pp. 128-133, with a plate engraved by S. Aitken. It was then printed as a pamphlet of seven pages at Philadelphia, with the imprint of R. Aitken, 1776, and with the same plate by S. Aitken. The Continental Congress caused copies of this pamphlet to be sent to the different colonies, and the Massachusetts General Assembly voted to reprint 150 copies, which should be sent to the several seaport towns of the colony.

The Boston reprint closely follows the Philadelphia edition, but contains a plate by another engraver. In the effort to establish the name of the engraver, I caused a search to be made in the Massachusetts manuscript archives, but found no record of payment to either the printer or engraver. Although the engraving somewhat resembles Revere's work, it is probable that he did not engrave it, as he had only recently entered military service, and there is no record of his engaging in business during the early part of the year 1776. The search in the archives, however, did reveal the name of the author of the pamphlet. In the Massachusetts Archives, vol. 209, p. 47, is the following communication from Robert Treat Paine:

To the honorable the Council and House of Representatives of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay

The Congress at their last session Considering the importance to American Liberty that all necessaries of life & defence should be produced by the inhabitants of the united Colonies, among other things directed an enquiry to be made of the most practicable method of making salt: as I have the honour to be of that Committee I applied some attention to it, and having mett with a learned treatise of Dr. Brownrigg on the subject, I extracted the practical part of it, & adding a few observations I caused it to be inserted in the Pennsylvania Magazine & a number of Copies to

be detached, & have sent them to all the Colonies as far as Georgia; and I now do myself the honour to inclose some of them to your Consideration to be disposed of as in your wisdom may seem best.

I can but think there are many parts of our Colony where these works may be profitably erected, in the southern parts more especially.

It must afford great happiness to every Lover of the American united Colonies to defeat the cruel designs of their Enemies in any respect, & it will gratify me to have attempted it, tho unfortunately it should not succeed.

Hoping success to this & every undertaking to promote the welfare of our Colony

I Subscribe my self

your Honours

most Obedient Servant

Philadi. April 15th 1776.

Rob Treat Paine

Robert Treat Paine, who a few weeks later was to sign the Declaration of Independence, was much interested in science and inventions, and was on several committees of the Continental Congress to establish home manufactures. Although a college graduate and a man of distinguished ability, he apparently made no other venture in authorship except to bring out this one pamphlet hitherto not recorded under his name. The Society previously owned the first two editions of the treatise, and now fortunately possesses the third.

The section devoted to Spanish-Americana has been enriched by ninety-five volumes relating to Cuba, received through exchange with the Harvard College Library. From a London dealer was purchased Marban's "*Arta de la Lengua Moxa*," printed at Lima in 1701, and presenting the language of the Moxos of Bolivia, an excellent addition to our large collection of the source-books of South American linguistics. Mr. Richard Ward Greene, of Worcester, has presented several volumes of Spanish American interest including a file of the "*Mercurio Peruano*," 1790—1795. From Mrs. F. Spencer Wigley, of St. Christopher's, British West Indies, has come as a gift the "*Laws of the Island of St. Christopher*," printed on the island itself in 1791. No copy of this

rare example of West Indian printing is located, according to Sabin's Dictionary, and it does not seem to be in any of the catalogues of the leading collections of American laws. At the same time was obtained by purchase the "Acts of Assembly, passed in the Island of St. Christopher," printed in London in 1739, with the two appendices printed in 1740. This volume, although not so rare, is interesting, partly because it contains a beautiful emblematic copper-plate engraving of George II made by G. Van der Gucht. It was Gerard Van der Gucht who engraved the large portrait of Rev. Samuel Willard, which is generally found pasted in copies of Willard's "Compleat Body of Divinity," printed at Boston in 1726 and famous as the first folio book, outside of laws, printed in the colonies. The original copper plate of the Willard portrait still exists in the custody of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the reverse having been used in the Revolution for the purpose of printing the State paper currency. There has always been a question as to whether the engraving was originally published in the book and many bibliographers have deemed the volume incomplete without the portrait. The point seems to be settled, however, by the recent discovery by Mr. John H. Edmonds, State Archivist, of an advertisement in the Boston News-Letter of January 12, 1727, as follows:

Just Arrived from London, the Effigies of the Rev. & Learned, Mr. Samuel Willard, late Pastor of the South Church in Boston, and Vice-President of Harvard College in Cambridge, in New-England, curiously Engraven: To be Sold by Benja. Eliot, at his shop in King street, and Daniel Henchman at his Shop in Cornhill, Boston.

It is evident, therefore, that the portraits arrived from England shortly after the publication of the book, which accounts for the fact that they are generally pasted or laid in the copies, whenever found.

About three hundred genealogies of American families have been acquired during the year, partly

from book-dealers' catalogues and partly as gifts from the authors. The want of an adequate genealogical checklist, however, prevents a library from knowing what titles it lacks and from having a proper description of the books it desires to buy. Genealogies, outside of their value for family research, are useful in the study of American biography and history, and the effort should be made by this library to make its collection more nearly complete. Although we have a large and valuable collection, we are exceeded by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the New York Historical Society, the Long Island Historical Society, the Library of Congress, the Newberry Library, the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, the Wisconsin Historical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and possibly one or two others. For a library which has gathered one of the largest existing collections of historical literature relating to America, we should be somewhat better represented in this field. The lack of a Genealogical Fund has often been alluded to in former Reports.

In the acquisition of newspaper files we have made great strides in the past year. The availability of a fairly sizable fund derived from the sale of duplicate newspapers last year has made it possible for us to purchase many files of considerable importance. Money expended in this way is well spent, for the library is much used for early newspapers. Strange to say, it is the only place in New England, or in fact anywhere in the East, excepting Washington, where a fair representation of the newspapers of the country may be found. They are studied for all conceivable varieties of questions. Not only specific facts and dates are sought for, but long, intricate researches into the social or economic or political or literary history of the country are frequently made. One writer has spent most of the summer here tracing the influence of the "Spectator" upon American thought. Another has gleaned the facts regarding General Washington's

southern tour in 1791 in a manner which could be as fully covered in no other way. Another has reconstructed much of the history of the American theatre by a careful examination of early files. Even the modern newspaper, often abused by historians, has been used in many fields of thought. The attitude of certain important journals toward prohibition, editorial opinion relating to the late President Roosevelt, the development of resentment toward Germany during the recent World War are but a few of the queries which brought into service newspapers from every section of the United States.

The preservation of newspapers is one of our most important tasks, for in this way we can be of the greatest use to students all over the country. We could well serve as the central depository in New England for all newspapers which each library does not feel are required by their own patrons. Few libraries are able or willing to undertake the task of collecting, binding, and housing such bulky volumes. Historical students ought to have one place in New England where they would be able to find a fair proportion of New England newspapers, as well as the representative journals of other sections of the country. A querist from Hartford or Providence or Boston or Portland studying newspaper literature can much better be served by having such material under one roof, than by visiting a dozen or more different towns. As long as we are willing to undertake this task, libraries can co-operate by sending us their duplicates and the papers which are not of local use. If such newspapers command a ready money value, we at least should be given the opportunity of purchase. Several libraries in New England have already recognized the value of this central collection and have given us the first opportunity to complete our files. Yale University, the Connecticut Historical Society, the Rhode Island Historical Society, Brown University, the Providence Public Library,

the Newport Historical Society, Harvard University, the Boston Athenæum, the Essex Institute, the New Hampshire Historical Society, the Vermont Historical Society and many smaller local libraries have all co-operated in making our newspaper files more complete, and to them much of the value of this collection is due.

A list of the longer newspaper files acquired will show the scope of the year's accessions. Perhaps the most important files are the "New London Summary" 1762-1763, the "Norwich Packet" 1775-1783, the Chillicothe "Supporter" 1809-1817, the Lexington "Western Monitor," 1814-1817, the Albany "Argus," 1821-1841, and a number of Mexican newspapers published during the Mexican War, including the rare "American Star" of 1847-1848, issued by the American army of occupation. In this list is not included the Society's collection of camp and service newspapers of the recent war, numbering several thousand issues and containing almost complete files of the various editions of "Trench and Camp," published in over forty training camps in this country.

AMHERST, VILLAGE MESSENGER, 1800-1801.

AMHERST, FARMER'S CABINET, 1809.

CONCORD OBSERVER, 1819-1821.

PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE GAZETTE, 1795-1820.

PORTSMOUTH, ORACLE, 1799-1801, 1808-1810.

BOSTON, AMERICAN TRAVELLER, 1829-1830.

BOSTON, COMMONWEALTH, 1851.

BOSTON, DEMOCRAT, 1804-1805.

BOSTON GAZETTE, 1746.

TAUNTON SUN, 1830-1832.

NEW LONDON SUMMARY, 1762-1763.

NORWICH PACKET, 1775-1783, 1794-1796.

WINDHAM PHOENIX, 1795-1796.

ALBANY ARGUS, 1821-1824, 1828-1829, 1839-1841.

NEW YORK, CITIZEN, 1854.

NEW YORK, DAILY ADVERTISER, 1823-1825.

NEW YORK, EMANCIPATOR, 1842-1843.

NEW YORK, EVENING POST, 1821-1824.

NEW YORK, GAZETTE TIMES, 1846-1847.

NEW YORK, GLOBE, 1825.

NEW YORK, LEDGER, 1865-1869.
NEW YORK, UNION, 1846-1851.
NEW YORK, WEEKLY MUSEUM, 1794-1797.
ROCHESTER AMERICAN, 1842-1857.
UTICA, Y'DRECH, 1893-1917.
WESTCHESTER HERALD, 1852-1856.
MORRISTOWN, NATIONAL DEFENDER, 1864-1869.
PHILADELPHIA, CLAYPOOLE'S ADVERTISER, 1792-1793.
PHILADELPHIA, DUNLAP'S ADVERTISER, 1791-1795.
PHILADELPHIA, GENERAL ADVERTISER, 1795-1804.
PHILADELPHIA, JACKSON'S POLITICAL REGISTER, 1815-1817.
PHILADELPHIA, NORTH AMERICAN, 1861-1869.
PHILADELPHIA, POULSON'S ADVERTISER, 1803-1809, 1816.
PHILADELPHIA, PUBLIC LEDGER, 1838.
PHILADELPHIA, RELF'S GAZETTE, 1815-1817.
PHILADELPHIA, SATURDAY COURIER, 1833-1838.
PHILADELPHIA, UNIVERSAL GAZETTE, 1798-1800.
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND JOURNAL, 1789.
RICHMOND ENQUIRER, 1804-1806.
RICHMOND COMPILER, 1817-1818.
NORFOLK, COMMERCIAL REGISTER, 1802-1803.
CHILLICOTHE, SUPPORTER, 1809-1818.
LEXINGTON, WESTERN MONITOR, 1814-1817.
NASHVILLE GAZETTE, 1819-1821.
NATCHEZ, NEW SOUTH, 1872-1873.
MEXICO, AMERICAN STAR, 1847-1848.
MEXICO, ECO DEL COMERCIO, 1848.
MEXICO, MONITOR REPUBLICANO, 1847-1848.

The Society's collection of the reports and catalogues of American colleges has long been made an important feature, and within the past few years effort has been made to obtain nearly complete files for certain New England colleges. The burden of this effort so far as the collecting of the Yale Class Records is concerned has been lifted through the notable gift, from Professor Franklin B. Dexter, of his own collection. There is probably no college which has issued so large a body of biographical material relating to its graduates as Yale, and the Dexter collection numbers 219 volumes, many of them finely printed works of several hundred pages. There are twelve classes with biographical records previous to 1829, and with but four exceptions every

class from 1830 to 1919 is represented by one or more class books. It was through the kindness of Mr. Andrew Keogh, librarian of Yale, that the records of recent years were added to the Dexter collection and our indebtedness to him, as well as to the former member of our Council, is herewith recorded.

The desire, a few years ago, to strengthen our American engraving led to the formation of a bookplate collection. Gradually it increased until it became one of the three best collections in the country, and now, within the past year, one of these three collections, that formed by Frank Evans Marshall of Philadelphia, has been purchased *en bloc* and added to our own. Few collectors in the country were so successful as Mr. Marshall in obtaining early American plates, and the bookplates of the Presidents, signers of the Declaration of Independence, colonial Governors, and eighteenth century bibliophiles are here represented in great number. Most of the known plates engraved by Revere, Hurd, Dawkins, Doolittle and other early engravers are here and bear mute testimony of the artistic ability—or the lack of it—in the colonies. The great mass of labels and type plates, valuable chiefly in showing who were the book collectors of a century ago, swell the total into the thousands. Mr. Marshall was a keen student who gave a large part of his life to the formation of this great collection, and his notes and catalogues make a valuable addition, not only to our knowledge of bookplates, but also to the study of American biography.

The Marshall collection is now undergoing a process of arrangement and comparison with our own plates. It will be many weeks before we shall be able to know how many plates we shall obtain or to estimate the final size of our collection. It is certain, however, that the duplicate collection, made up from the sifting of at least four great collections, will rank in itself among the best in the country.

Through the kindness of Mr. Grenville H. Norcross the Society has obtained a fine bookplate engraved by Sidney L. Smith. The design of this plate attempts to show that the Society's scope covers the two Americas. The leading feature is a reproduction of the map of the Western Continent from the silver Nancy Globe discovered in the library at Nancy and drawn about 1525. It follows the engraving in the "Compte-Rendu" of the Congrès des Américanistes for 1877, vol. 1, p. 359. Below are the early flags of the three colonizing nations, England, France and Spain. In lower left corner is the DeBry portrait of Columbus, taken from our own copy of DeBry's *Great Voyages*, 1595, and in the right corner a portrait of Cortés from the woodcut in Paulus Jovius "Elogia" of 1575. The plate has a handsome border and is engraved in Sidney Smith's best style. The Society is much indebted to Mr. Norcross for the gift of so fine a plate.

With the exception of the rearrangement of the schoolbooks, due to the acquisition of about 2000 new titles, there has been no new project undertaken in the library during the year. There are many departments which need reclassification and cataloguing because of recent large accessions, but with our present income all we can do is to mark time, keep accessible the material which we have, and take care of what comes in as best we can. At present there is no special custodian of the newspapers and the work of inserting the numerous files acquired has fallen chiefly upon the librarian.

The President, in the Council Report, has spoken of the great need of a larger income for the Society. Everything in the library—books, binding, cataloguing, salaries, newspapers—all are not properly supported for want of funds. The need of a larger bookstack is imperative, and yet there seems to be no immediate prospect of meeting the situation. There are few organizations in the country which are as worthy of financial assistance as this Society. We

are performing a national historical task, and preserving material that is acquired by no other library. Every cent of income goes into the purchase of works relating to the history of America, to the publication of history and to making our collections of service. A legacy or a gift to this Society means the establishment of a fund of lasting and durable value for the study of the nation's history.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

Librarian

GREATER NEW ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BY FREDERICK J. TURNER

Greater New England may be defined as the region in which people of New England birth and ancestry lived in such numbers as to make them the most considerable single stock therein.

The purpose of this paper is to outline the results of some of my own researches and to correlate some special studies of others which cast light upon the significance of the historical movements which accompanied the extension of the New England element in the first half of the nineteenth century especially into New York and parts of the North Central states.

This involves consideration: (1) of the revolutionary changes which, in the parent section, accompanied the spread of its people, and (2) of the social, economic, and political aspects of the regions thus colonized in the West. Only the first part of the subject will be discussed in the present paper.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that in the generation between 1830 and 1860 New England's life was revolutionized, partly by the play of the forces which accompanied the age of steam production, the factory system, and the railroads, and partly by the outflow of her population to other regions, and the inflow of new peoples. These factors of migration are closely related, partly as cause and partly as effects of the new economic conditions.

Let us first attempt an estimate of the volume of the New England emigrants. By the census of 1850 it appears that there were in New York 206,630 persons of New England birth. In the states of the North Central Division of that date (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, and the Territory of Minnesota) there were 180,476 natives of New England. But it is capable of demonstration historically that central, western, and part of northern New York were settled by New Englanders chiefly between 1790 and 1820, and that from the counties most distinctively Yankee in their composition came New York's contribution to the North Central States. To be conservative, however, let us assume that only one-half of the New York element in the North Central States was of New England origin. In that case, we add 195,741 New Englanders, concealed as "natives of New York," to the figures for the New England people in the North Central States, and thus arrive at a total of over half a million New Englanders in New York and the North Central States combined. Except as stated, this ignores all persons of New England ancestry born in New York between 1790 and 1850. It also omits the considerable number of New England natives who had left the above states in the later forties and were reckoned in California, Oregon, and Utah. In 1850 there were in all over 13,000 such Far Western New England natives.

There were also over 30,000 natives of New England in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and about 21,000 in the South Atlantic and South Central States combined, or a total of 64,000 New England natives outside of New England and of the New York and North Central areas. Pennsylvania particularly had been subject to New England colonization from before the Revolution, and had in turn sent many colonists of this stock into New York and the North Central States. It will add to the margin of safety, however,

to leave to one side the Far Western, Middle State, and Southern Yankee element.

Thus far, with the exception noted in the case of New York, dealing with the New England people outside the parent division in 1850, we have found over a half million, counting one-half the New Yorkers in the North Central States as New Englanders by ancestry and omitting those in New York of New England ancestry. We may adopt a more indirect mode of arriving at a conclusion, and one more fairly indicative of the amount of persons of New England origin, rather than nativity.

Between 1790 and 1820 the migration from Southern New England, embracing Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, has been estimated by Mr. Percy Bidwell at 800,000 souls.¹ Where did this migrated element go? No doubt very much of it settled in Northern New England. But historical evidence makes it certain that there was a large migration to New York and the older North Central States, particularly in the Connecticut Reserve, and southern Michigan and Wisconsin and northern Illinois. In 1851 Horace Bushnell reached the conclusion that nearly one-fourth of the New York constitutional convention of 1821 were natives of Connecticut and that if those of Connecticut parentage were added, probably a majority of the convention was of Connecticut stock.² His study of Congress about 1843 convinced him that over one-fifth were of Connecticut birth and descent. Two-fifths of New York's delegation were of that stock. Of the ninety-six members of the Ohio legislature of 1822, whose

¹"Rural Economy in New England," in *Trans. Conn. Academy of Arts and Science*, XX, 241-399, especially 386. His method consists in applying the principles of W. Burdick, *Mass. Manual*, Boston, 1814, and Blodgett, *Economica*, 79. He adopts for Southern New England the rate of increase for the United States as a whole, and assumes that, but for migration, they should have had a like increase. This total increase for the period 1790-1820 was 145.6%. The Census of 1820 on this basis should have shown 1,681,673, instead of the 881,594 actually reported—a deficit of about 800,000.

²Bushnell, *Work and Play*, 219.

nativity is known, twenty-five were of New England birth. In the absence of census data prior to 1850 these figures may serve as straws to indicate the earlier tendency.³ In 1790 the population of Northern New England, (Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont,) was 323,850. In 1820 it was 778,477, an increase of only 454,627. If it had followed the rate of increase of the nation as a whole on the above basis, it should have shown an increase of over 471,500, and should thus have amounted to 795,385 instead of 778,477.

Whether this failure to reach the larger figure was due to migration from Northern New England, or (what is practically absurd in view of the well known fecundity of a pioneer population,) an abnormally low birth rate in Northern New England as compared with the United States as a whole, it is clear on the original assumption that 800,000 New Englanders had migrated to areas outside of the section between 1790 and 1820. For if the entire deficit of Southern New England, the 800,000 migrants, had gone to Northern New England, and if Northern New England had been unoccupied in 1790, they would have furnished somewhat more than the actual number found in Northern New England in 1820, leaving to be accounted for the natural increase of original Northern New England between 1790 and 1820, which by itself should have brought the total for Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine to nearly 800,000.

If these figures are correct, therefore, and the 800,000 lost New Englanders had doubled in the next thirty years, by 1850 there should have been 1,600,000 New Englanders and their descendants living outside the parent section. As we have found an actual number of 387,000 natives of New England living in 1850 in New York and the North Central States

³Of course, the Yankee may have been exceptionally successful in politics; but there are reasons for doubting that this is a serious limitation to the estimate.

alone, and as the Yankees had been migrating in large numbers for over half a century, it seems not improbable that there were in New York and the North Central States combined by 1850 over a million and one-half people of the New England stock. The outflow continued to be important for the next decade. By 1860 there were about 276,000 natives of New England in the North Central States, and about 178,000 in New York, a total of 454,000 or nearly half a million native New Englanders, not reckoning the progeny of the immigrants for some two generations born in the states west of New England. If we should take account merely of one-half of the New York element, in the North Central States, as in the estimate for 1850, the 273,000 thus obtained would raise the element to over three-quarters of a million in 1860, regardless of the other progeny of New Englanders in the North Central States.

It is, therefore, I conclude, conservative to estimate the part of Greater New England which had left the old section to dwell in New York and the North Central States at not less than a million and a half by the middle years of the nineteenth century.

In 1850 the native population of New England was somewhat less than 2,500,000. Adding the 1,500,000 wanderers, we get as the total population of Greater New England not less than 4,000,000. About 37.5 per cent, or well over one-third of the total stock were living outside the parent section. The 300,000 foreign born, chiefly Irish in New England, did not equal in numbers the 387,000 natives of New England in New York and the North Central States in 1850; but they furnished a partial replacement of the original stock, and this in itself is a fact of no little significance. In 1850 the population of Boston showed 68,687 natives of Massachusetts and 35,287 natives of Ireland; 88,948 natives of the United States and 46,677 foreign born. As the Irish had

been coming for over a dozen years in large numbers and their children were in part reckoned in the census as natives of Massachusetts, it is clear that a process had begun of no little significance in the history of the transformation of the center of Puritanism.⁴ In 1900 less than twenty per cent of Boston's population was native born of native parents, and in this category were most of the descendants of the Irish born in those earlier years in Massachusetts. Over a third of the total were native whites of foreign parents, and about the same proportion for foreign born. Three-fourths and more of Boston's population was of foreign parentage. The record of Providence, Worcester, and Fall River, to name only the cities of over 100,000 inhabitants was about as striking. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut each had more people of foreign birth and parentage than native whites. In 1916 the Mayor of Boston informed one of the present Harvard Corporation that the "Irish had letters and learning, culture and civilization, when the forebears of New England were the savage denizens of Hyperborean forests," that "the pestilent Irish" had "made Massachusetts a fit place to live in," that the "New England of the Puritan . . . was as dead as Julius Caesar" and that "this is the year 1916, and not 1620, 1720, or 1820."

If we retrace now the footsteps of the wanderers from New England by states, we find that in 1860 there were in New York and the North Central States about 41,000 natives of New Hampshire, 90,000 of Maine, 105,000 of Connecticut, 123,000 of Massachusetts, and 127,000 of Vermont. For every three natives of Vermont remaining in the state of their

⁴A census of Boston in 1845 showed that of a total population of 114,366, there were 73,290 born outside of the city, of whom 46,186 were natives of other parts of the Union, and 27,104 of alien birth. The 41,076 of Boston birth included 10,185 of foreign parentage. This shows that the foreign element outnumbered the natives of Boston, of native parentage. Shattuck, *Census of Mass.*, 1845, p. 37, cited in Priscilla H. Fowle, *Boston Daily Papers 1830-1850*, (MS. Radcliffe thesis).

nativity, more than two had left; for every two remaining natives of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, one had gone. The gain of population in the decade 1850-1860 was but three-tenths of one per cent in Vermont, seven-tenths in Maine, and two and one-half per cent in New Hampshire. In the next decade Maine and New Hampshire actually decreased.

It was Western and Northern New England that furnished the larger share of the expansion of Greater New England. The rural towns of the section were stagnant or declining, and New England was turning from the sea and from the country to the water powers and manufacturing communities. Her destiny became urban instead of rural. The agricultural intervalles and valleys in the midst of the sterile hills of New England had been overcome in their historic economic life and prosperity by the competition and attractions of the cheap and fertile lands of the West,—new and vaster intervalles for the moving population—and by the pull of the rising cities, such as Boston and New York, upon the more enterprising and ambitious of the farmers' boys. The canals and then the railroads made the competition keener and the way to the West easier. By 1825 the Erie Canal opened the road.⁵ Early in the thirties the cities on the western shore of Lake Michigan were reached by steamers; in 1842 railroad connection was established with Buffalo, and soon after with Dunkirk and with Ogdensburg; by the early fifties Chicago had railroad connection with the eastern cities; by the middle fifties the open prairies were crossed by rails to the Mississippi River.

We may now rapidly survey some of the results. First, what of the effect upon New England *morale*? In a volume published by the Boston Chamber of Commerce in 1911 edited by Mr. George French and

⁵See Lois K. Mathews, "The Erie Canal and the Settlement of the West," in *Buffalo Historical Society Pubs.*, XII.

entitled *New England*, the editor, after commenting on the pioneering activity of the section and its share in settling the West, says:

"The result was that there came over New England an era of halting effort, due to loss of primal vigor to the West and the newer sections . . . a drain of New England energy and initiative. . . . There has been a constant exhaustion of New England's vitality comparable only to the giving of her own life to her children by a mother. New England suffered, and suffered more acutely and fundamentally than ever will be estimated. The wholesale and continual transfusion of her best blood to the veins of the newer states could only mean the weakening of her own constitution and the limiting of her own development."

No doubt we should take exceptions to this view. It is clear that the section did gain new stimulus by the very process of extension, even as a robust mother gains by her growing sons, each contributing new contacts with life, new points of view. It is also clear that the migration from town to city within New England itself in the same period retained in the section many of the most originative and fertilizing of her people, who expressed the New England spirit in new ways, and it is clear that the loss was chiefly in the inland states and counties. It is also to be remembered that in the years between the War of 1812 and the early thirties, when the migrations to the West were becoming a matter of alarm to New England, and contemporaneously with the rise of Jacksonian democracy, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts broke down the political power of the Standing Order (the union of the Congregational Church and the Federalist governments), entered upon a freer, political and social era, and that literature and religion took a new birth.

At this point we meet a problem which has been solved in quite different ways by different writers. Henry Cabot Lodge has magnified the influence and importance of the New England element as a factor in the distribution of American ability by classifying

the names of those recorded in Appleton's *Dictionary of American Biography* according to the sections of their birth. He failed to give due attention to the emphasis placed by the editor of that work upon certain kinds of ability in which New England excelled; to the greater length of time in which New England was producing celebrities entitled to admission to its pantheon⁶; and to the fact that the babes and young children of New England parents who moved West with their parents and who grew up in a Western environment, were all included in his New England list. The rapidity with which the migrated New Englander took on a Western quality is phenomenal but well attested. The result, however, showed a remarkable monopoly of talent by the New England natives. On the other hand, Mr. Gustav Michaud, writing in *The Century* on the "Brain of the Nation" and using *Who's Who*, and correcting some of the faults of Mr. Lodge's method, though he also found a remarkable preponderance of such brains in the New England group, explained the disproportion by alleging that New England was the mecca of idealists in colonial days, and that it was the materialists, the men of action rather than of thought, the less imaginative, who migrated from New England to the West, thereby creating a Western society less able to produce men of talent, and leaving in New England a larger proportion of the neurotic, a class from which he derives the pre-eminent men of genius. I may remark in passing that both Lodge and Michaud have neglected the new environmental factor, that there are defects in their methods, and that the children of the pioneers brought up under Western conditions and ideals have a strikingly increasing ratio in recent issues of *Who's Who*, proportioned to population, and to periods within which ability could manifest itself. This seems to indicate either that, so far as heredity

⁶For example as late as 1850 less than 18 per cent of the population of Wisconsin were natives of that state, while in Massachusetts the percentage was nearly 69.

goes, there was no striking lack of imaginative and creative quality on the side of science and the humanities, as well as in the field of action, on the part of the migrated Yankee stock, or that the conditions of a new social environment were favorable to creative intellectual activity. But that is too considerable a topic to be more than referred to in this paper.⁷

There was, moreover, a counterbalancing element upon New England's *morale*, though it worked destruction to many of her old ideals and traits. New England gained a new life, and a new outlook by losing her former isolation and a certain narrowness of view. Thereafter New England was obliged to take account of the western wing of her people in shaping her policies; was obliged at critical times even to follow their leadership; and could never safely proceed on older lines of New England provincialism in party connection. Platforms, congressional measures, nominations, all reflected adjustments between the different wings of Greater New England and between them and the New York and Pennsylvania elements.

Thereafter the New England banker, railroad promoter, merchant, and manufacturer, also lifted his eyes to a farther horizon and followed with his vision the extending frontier of New England's western sons; he was tempted to build more largely, to see farther. Not seldom it was those New Englanders who had removed as young men to New York

⁷The contribution of the children of these pioneers has been notable. A return movement to the Eastern cities and to the faculties of leading Eastern universities by the men and women of talent born in the West prior to 1870 is one of the striking features of the history of leadership in the East. This element has achieved distinction not only in the field of action but also in science and the humanities.

Dr. Edwin L. Clarke, in *American Men of Letters, Their Nature and Nurture*, (Columbia University Studies LXXII), concludes, on the basis of his statistics, that in the decade of 1841-1850, when were born the writers of forty to sixty years later, the men of New England nativity who achieved distinction in literature still had supremacy. "but its lead had been appreciably reduced. The East North Central States showed the least relative decline in literary fecundity, a fact which may indicate that the future literary leadership of the country is to be theirs." It must be remembered also that among the natives of New England he reckons not a few who came as babes and young children to the West and grew up under the influence of its social environment.

and to the West, and had thereby broken the bonds of custom, who most effectively entered into these expanding opportunities. The very process of sifting by which other sections called away the youthful, the less satisfied, the more optimistic and adventurous, tended, it is true, to leave in a stronger position the more conservative in those regions of New England which were the most affected. But by the middle of the century, the history of New England's domestic commerce and manufacture and her political life in the nation shows an enlarged outlook and a more national attitude as the result of her new relationships with other sections.

In estimating New England's economic losses, we may apply some of the tests used in discussion of foreign emigration, and by the South in its appraisal of its own losses by migration to the West in this period. Professor Dew, of William and Mary College, writing in the thirties, pointed out that the emigration of the slaves from Virginia was compensated by their purchase price; and the encouragement to raise more of such property; but that the emigration of the whites was a dead loss to the South, for the cost of rearing the emigrant to about the age when he was self supporting,—the age when he usually left,—fell upon the parent state, and his productive capacity was lost to the state thereafter. Moreover the emigration from the state carried off free capital, injured agriculture, prevented improvements and reduced the value of land within the state by reducing the competitors for it. Madison contemporaneously made this the fundamental explanation of Virginia's decline. He assumed an average value of \$200 for Virginia's slaves, but they greatly increased in value by 1850.

If we take the foreign immigration test and estimate the value of an adult at \$1,000 and the number of adults at one-fifth of the New England migrated element, (which is too low because of the proportion

of young men who went,) we have 300,000 adults, or a loss of \$300,000,000. On the slave basis of \$200 average in family lots, the total would be the same. Supposing that each migrating family carried as little as \$200 cash and movables, this item would amount to about \$15,500,000 for the 387,000 natives of New England living in the West in 1850. It is likely that this reached at least double the sum.

It has been estimated that in Massachusetts alone between 1850 and 1870 farms were abandoned to the amount of 300,000 acres.⁸ If it had cost \$150 per acre to clear the ordinary woodland in the abandoned farm region,⁹ the net loss, after allowing for the value of the wood, would be \$43,000,000 for this state alone; but Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont showed similar abandonments, not to speak of the less thrifty and less enterprising cultivation on the part of the members of the family who remained to carry on farming where the fields were not abandoned. This is a complicated subject on which farther study is needed. Whatever the money value of labor withdrawn, cleared lands and houses abandoned, and cash and personal property removed, the social and spiritual losses to rural New England were even greater, for a very important part of New England's historic ideals, and of that ability which migrated both to the city, when the agriculture declined, and to the lesser manufacturing towns, as well as to the West, were developed in the rural communities.

On the other side of the ledger, immigration to Southern New England (particularly that of the Irish after the famine) helped to prevent a decline in population, but involved a replacement of stock. In 1850, as we have seen, about as many Irish natives lived in Massachusetts as there were natives of Massachusetts outside of New England.

⁸H. B. Hall, *Agriculture in New England*: MS. thesis in Harvard University.

⁹Johnson, *Notes on American Agriculture*, II, 452, so estimates it.

Even if we should accept the favorable estimates of the ultimate advantage to New England of this inflow of the Irish people, it implied the beginnings of a revolution in her historic society, and at the time it meant a great increase in pauperism and crime, due, no doubt, in a large part, to the poverty of the immigrant people. Penological and charitable institutions and societies took on a new development. With immigration also came later the replacement of the native labor class by the foreign workers in the mills. Hours of work became a burning question. Even before this replacement in the Lowell mills, about 1850, the hours were from 5 A. M. to 7 P. M. with a half hour out at noon, or thirteen hours work.¹⁰ Unfusing groups of capital and labor formed, in which nativity and religion served to emphasize antagonisms at the very time when capital employing labor was undergoing the transformation incident to the industrial revolution. Social homogeneity diminished. The mother section of Greater New England did not exhibit the free intercourse and mutual adjustment of different classes and nationalities observable contemporaneously in the states of the North Central group. An Irish traveller of this period, Grattan, wrote:

"All seem to agree that New England, taken on the whole, is the hardest soil for an Irishman to take root and flourish in. The settled habits of the people, the restrained English descent of the great majority, discrepancies of religious faith and forms, and a jealousy of foreign intermixture of any kind, all operate against those who would seek to engraft themselves on the Yankee stem, in the hope of a joint stock of interest or happiness."

As early as 1837 Boston newspapers told of the riot at a military review, when five companies left the field with the American flag flying, to the tune of Yankee Doodle, because an Irish company took part in the parade. A mob beat up this Irish company as

¹⁰See Commons, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, VIII, 141.

it left the Common. A few months earlier a riot had taken place between Irishmen and the fire department which attracted some 10,000 people; and several companies of light infantry and cavalry were required to break up the mob.¹¹ *The Pilot* was established in 1836 as the organ of the Irish-Catholic minority. It is significant of some lack of discernment in New England, however, that in the thirties and forties Protestant ministers like Lyman Beecher fixed their attention upon the West as the region into which Puritan money, missionaries and teachers should be poured to stem the apprehended tide of Catholicism.

It appears, therefore, that in compensating New England for part of her losses by westward migration, foreign immigration brought also fundamental changes in the later development of New England's social and moral life. In like fashion the industrial gains which offset the section's loss of agricultural prosperity were accompanied by revolutionary changes. In 1810 two-thirds of the people of Southern New England lived in townships of less than 3,000 inhabitants, and for the most part on farms. In 1860 only one-third lived in such towns.¹² The factory took the place of the household as the manufacturing unit. The little household industries in Southern New England had for over a generation been training artisans in the production of Yankee notions, sold by peddlers and others to remote regions. The development of the

¹¹Boston Commercial Gazette, Sept. 13, and June 12, 1837. Writing in 1842, Emerson says in his *Journal*, "Edmund Hosmer was willing to sell his farm five years ago for \$3800 and go to the West. He found and still finds that the Irish of which there are two hundred in this town [Concord] are under-selling him in labor, and he does not see how he and his boys can do those things which only he is willing to do; for go to market he will not, nor shall his boys with his consent do any of those things for which high wages are paid, as for example, take any shop, or the office of foreman or agent in any corporation wherein there seems to be a premium paid for faculty as if it were paid for the faculty of cheating. He does not see how he and his children are to prosper here, and the only way for them is to run, the Caucasian [sic] before the Irishman."

¹²Percy W. Bidwell, in *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, December, 1917, p. 816; Grace P. Fuller, *Introduction to the History of Connecticut as a Manufacturing State*, *Smith College Studies*, I, 53, 54.

factory system was based in part upon this pre-existing skilled labor, and, as the markets widened, the peddler was replaced by the merchant who applied his capital to the purchase of manufactured goods and marketed them where he could. A wider outlook for the business man appeared to West and South, at the same time that a self-conscious laboring class was evolved, when the old time intimate local relations of small manufacturer and his men were superseded.¹³ Problems of long hours, child and woman labor, and wages, emerged and engaged the attention of legislators contemporaneously with the clearly-marked development of the business leaders who seized the opportunity of interstate commerce to West and South.

New England had long been dependent upon other regions, especially the states of the North Central division, to which Greater New England had spread, for food and raw materials. In 1850 New England produced but thirteen quarts of wheat per capita in place of the five or six bushels needed. She raised only three and seven-tenths bushels of corn per capita. By 1860 Southern New England was almost wholly dependent on the other states for her bread stuffs.¹⁴ Between 1840 and 1870 the sheep industry of New England declined sharply, while that of the North Central States rose to the leadership.¹⁵ Thus one recompense to the farmer was withdrawn. He could not turn his arable land into sheep pasture. The construction of the Western railway which opened the Western markets to Boston only accelerated the

¹³Emerson records in his *Journal* in the spring of 1837 that he was as "gay as a canary bird with this new knowledge. It has been a sensible relief to learn that the destiny of New England is to be the manufacturing country of America. I no longer suffer in the cold out of morbid sympathy with the farmer. The love of the farmer shall spoil no more days for me."

¹⁴U. S. Census, 1860, *Agriculture*.

¹⁵See Chart IV in C. W. Wright, *Wool Growing and the Tariff*, and Chapter V; maps in H. C. Taylor, *University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin*, No. 16, 1911.

downfall of rural New England. Boston's Oriental commerce by way of the Pacific declined after the thirties, and in the forties an important part of the eastward trade to China passed into New York hands.

The capital which had formerly been invested in ocean commerce began to find new investments not only in the factories, the greatest of which were developed in this period by some of the very men who had been merchants in the commerce with the Orient,¹⁶ but also in railroads.¹⁷ Greater New England in New York and in the Middle West had an important share in these undertakings. Visions not only of connecting the Atlantic with the Great Lakes and the Mississippi but also of transcontinental lines that should open the Pacific and the shores of China passed before the eyes of the Greater New England promoters. The section itself tended to follow the trail of her pioneers to new industrial empires.¹⁸ But her shift in trade modified her interest both in foreign diplomatic questions and national domestic politics.

Of Greater New England in the Far West I shall not have time to speak. It may suffice to recall that in the thirties Nat Wyeth, the Cambridge ice man, with New England missionaries, opened an overland road for New England influence in Oregon; that

¹⁶For example, Francis C. Lowell. See Victor Clark, *History of Manufactures in U. S.*, 367, 451, and authorities cited there.

¹⁷A type is John Murray Forbes; see Pearson, *A Railway Builder*. There is abundant evidence of the importance and extent of this transfer.

¹⁸Writing in 1837 Emerson says in his *Journal*: "I listen by night, I gaze by day at the endless procession of wagons loaded with the wealth of all regions of England and China, of Turkey and of the Indies, which from Boston creep by my gate to all the towns of New Hampshire and Vermont. With creaking wheels at midsummer and crunching the snows, on huge sledges in January, the train goes forward at all hours, bearing this cargo of inexhaustible comfort and luxury to every cabin in the hills."

But five years later he writes: (1842, l. c. VI, 269) "The prosperity of Boston is an unexpected consequence of steam-communication. The frightful expenses of steam make the greater neighborhood of Boston to Europe a circumstance of commanding importance,—and the ports of Havre and Liverpool are two days nearer to Boston than to New York. This superiority for the steam post added to the contemporaneous opening of its great lines of railroad, like iron rivers, which already are making it the depot for flour from Western New York, Michigan, Illinois, promises a great prosperity to that city."

Yankee trading ships had long made both the Northwest coast and California and Hawaii familiar to Boston merchants; that in the late twenties Jedediah Smith, of New England stock, first explored the route from Salt Lake basin to California;¹⁹ that the last president of Texas was a Berkshire doctor; that the Prophet Joseph Smith and his leonine successor, Brigham Young, founded a theocratic commonwealth chiefly of Greater New Englanders in the deserts of Utah and thereby adapted the New England town and a much modified Puritan religious organization to the needs of an irrigation community, which spread over a region as large as several European states.

As industrial life took on greater breadth and intensity and as it sought western connections, New England, true to Puritan instincts, stirred by the growth of the West and by the colonization of her people in the North Central states, attempted to hold them to her traditional ideals and culture by collecting funds for schools and churches to be established in the newly settled western lands. There was a migration not only of men and markets, but of ideals and institutions. The home missionary movements and the organizations for promotion of both common schools and higher education are types of this interest. In all the states of the Middle West New England leadership in these directions was marked. Lawyers, doctors, editors, politicians, teachers, and ministers, all felt the call to these new fields and took a share, disproportionate to their numbers, in the origins and development of the institutions of society in the West. A sectional rivalry for ascendancy in these hinterlands of eastern civilization was under way, and even churches enlisted in the campaign and were modified at home by the new stimuli. But it must be remembered that the West itself deeply affected and even

¹⁹Men like the Bents, of Bent's Fort, the Gerrys, descendants of Elbridge Gerry, in Colorado, and a long list of California adventurers illustrate the picturesque side of the wandering Yankee, influential in this general period.

shaped these spiritual forces by the influence of its own society and ideals, and that many a New England missionary of Puritan civilization became so changed by his removal as to find New England itself no longer a congenial home. There was giving as well as taking on the part of Greater New England in the West. The unfolding of these influences belongs to another paper.

These western activities all had their influences upon New England's literature in the generation between 1830 and 1860. Her old interests and her old ways of thinking were modified and enlarged with the rise of Jacksonian democracy and the vision of a vaster destiny, as the American people found new and farther-reaching ways. Innovation gained new converts. New conceptions replaced the conception of the "Institutions of God" held by Cotton Mather and his spiritual descendants; "the hedge" was no longer so jealously guarded by the Angel of the Lord;²⁰ independence of thought grew as Greater New England formed.²¹

It may be, as has been claimed, that it was in part due to the formation of a leisure class and to the rise of new wealth that literature took a new life in these years. Certainly there were marked evidences of such changes, among the more amusing the appearance of a kind of Boston Blue Book, under the title "Our First Men" (1846), which limited this élite to those possessing over a hundred thousand dollars. But the connections between the spirit of the new literature and this rise of new fortunes is difficult to establish, and to a disproportionate degree the smaller cities had their part in furnishing the men of talent.

²⁰See Mather as quoted in my paper on *The First Official Frontier of Massachusetts* in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XVII, 269.

²¹"The yoke of opinion," wrote William Ellery Channing, to a western friend who had asked him to give an address, "is a heavy one, often crushing individuality of judgment and action," and he added that "the habits, rules and criticisms under which he had grown up had not left him the freedom and courage which are needed in the style of address best suited to the Western people."

Nowhere, perhaps, is the spirit of the new literature better expressed than in Emerson and his group; and theirs was a literature of revolt. The so-called Transcendentalists reflect many of the tendencies which I have outlined. Western confidence in the common man, its optimistic faith, its dealings with the common things of life in an idealistic spirit, its realization that America was another name for opportunity, its break with the past, and its emphasis upon the individual, its realization of the possibility of a new order of society, its sense of the spaciousness of the new America that was forming in the thirties and forties, and its yearning for a nation and a career commensurate with its spaces, find expression in Emerson's Journal and in various of his essays and addresses.²² Not only Plato and German philosophy, not only the Unitarian revolt within Puritanism itself, not only the native New England quality, but also the direct stimulus of Jacksonian democracy²³ and the shock of change within the society of New England which accompanied the formation of Greater New England, must be reckoned with to explain Emerson and his school.²⁴

A new *tempo* came into New England life as her people broke the crust of custom, moved to new lands, and shared more fully in the temper of the nation. The penny press, with a demand for greater rapidity

²²The case might be rested on his Phi Beta Kappa oration in 1837 on "The American Scholar" and on the address of 1844 on "The Young American;" but the Journals also give direct evidence of the influence of the westward movement upon his imagination and conceptions, at successive periods.

²³In his Journal (III, 308) in 1834, Emerson writes: "Sometimes the life seems dying out of all literature, and this enormous paper currency of Words is accepted instead. I suppose the evil may be cured by this rank rabble party, the Jacksonism of the country, heedless of English and of all literature—a stone cut out of the ground without hands;—they may root out the hollow dilettantism of our cultivation in the coarsest way, and the new-born may begin again to frame their own world with greater advantage."

²⁴Dr. H. C. Goddard, in the *Cambridge History of American Literature*, I, 348, has emphasized the essentially native character of the Transcendentalists; but the western influences of the time need further attention. They furnished the indirect background of the movement. It is the new note of enthusiasm and the directions of the idealism which requires explanation.

in the gathering and transmission of news, greater interest in the stock market and the police courts, and a new sensationalism and appeal to the masses, shocked the older journalism. Express companies were developed by leaders who later made them national institutions. In all directions was there acceleration and greater interest in the common man. New philanthropies, new endowments for the education of the people appeared. All of these and like changes of these revolutionary decades were in part symptoms of the times in general, but in part also, and to a degree which needs emphasis, they were part of the break-up of old New England which accompanied the formation of a Greater New England. She gained her life by losing it.

A GENTLEWOMAN OF BOSTON

1742-1805

BY BARRETT WENDELL

Years ago, when they had wax figures in the long since vanished Boston Museum, there was observed among them one marked "Catherine Wendell, a Beauty of the Last Century," or some such thing. Who she was nobody seemed to remember. The chances are that an old gown marked with her name had been found somewhere, put on a frame, surmounted by a wax head like those occasionally to be seen in shop windows, and then described as a portrait. Gown, head and all disappeared a good while before the last play was acted in the Lecture Room of the Museum. Even the memory of them has almost faded now. So nobody can tell whether she was the same Catherine Wendell who wrote some letters forgotten for more than a hundred years and lately found. One likes to fancy that she may have been. The letters are not remarkable to be sure, and after the fashion of the Eighteenth Century they are spelt and punctuated pretty much anyhow. Reduce them to formal shape though, without altering a syllable, and you begin to feel that the woman who wrote them, beauty or not, not only knew how to use the English language, but so used it through many years of declining fortune as to leave behind her traces of the quality which our ancestors used to call that of a gentlewoman.

When she wrote the earliest of the letters she was already an old maid, as things went in the Eighteenth

Century; for, still unmarried, she had reached the age of twenty-seven. And the rather hasty lines show that she was confronted with difficulties which she did not mean to yield to. She was the tenth of the fifteen children of John and Elizabeth (Quincy) Wendell, of Boston, and she was first cousin through both father and mother of the still traditionally remembered Dorothy Quincy, who married the celebrated John Hancock. When she was born, in 1742, her people held their heads rather high. A few years before, her paternal grandfather, a New York Dutchman, who had there come to grief in a money way, had moved to Boston, where his convivial qualities had made so agreeable an impression as to lure the Governor and His Majesty's Council to attend his funeral in state. A little later her maternal grandfather, the third Edmund Quincy, had died in London, where he had gone as official representative of the Province of Massachusetts; and the General Court had honored his memory by voting to put over him, at public expense, a fine monument in Bunhill Fields—for some reason or other never erected, so his unmarked grave has long been lost. Her father, educated in Boston, and a substantial merchant there at a time when Boston merchants, like those of old Italy, wore their swords, had worn his to such advantage that in 1740 he was elected, on Boston Common, to the command of The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. On one occasion, too, he is recorded by his friend Captain Goelet to have drawn it. He had given, in Goelet's honour, a dinner party, at the close of which the gentlemen had thought well to go out and clear their heads by a walk in the night air. Attracted by the sound of fiddles, they had presently entered a tavern, somewhere near the Common, to find a number of pretty girls dancing with youths of humbler condition than theirs. So out came the swords of the Captains and their friends, and away scampered the frightened youths, leaving the pretty girls to dance

with their betters as long as their betters chose. It is fair to add that the two Captains went to church together next Sunday morning, and gravely discussed the sermon afterwards. George the Second's Boston maintained the traditions of the Puritan fathers, among which few were more tenacious than that which demanded recognition for persons of quality.

When Catherine was about eight years old, her mother died, having meanwhile borne five more children, of whom two survived. Some three years later, her father married, Mercy, widow of Captain John Skinner, of Marblehead; this lady, who had Skinner children, though faultless in character and of high respectability, appears to have been less distinguished in origin than his first wife, Elizabeth Quincy, and to have brought no addition to his rather unstable fortunes. So the inheritance of his children,—consisting mostly of unimproved lands in Granville which had earlier been called Bedford, a little to the west of Springfield, given their mother by her father, Judge Quincy,—appeared to them important. Meanwhile, the family lived well; their house, on the corner of Tremont and Court Streets, was subsequently lifted up, to make room under it for the store occupied by the well-known grocer S. S. Pierce, and so remained there till Catherine had been safe in the Granary Burying Ground for more than seventy-five years. And of her nine elders seven survived till after she was twenty years old. These were Abraham, who went into business with his father, and died unmarried at the age of twenty-five; Elizabeth, who married a well-to-do Boston merchant named Solomon Davis; John, who took his degree at Harvard in 1750, and presently betook himself to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he lived on till 1808; Dorothy, on whom we shall touch by and by; Edmund, who early became a ship-master; Henry, who after a rather riotous youth died young at sea; and Josiah, who was lost at sea when little more than of age. There were

two younger children as well: Thomas, two years Catherine's junior, and Sarah, a year younger than Thomas.

Though no personal trace of her exists until her first remaining letter to her brother John, written in 1769, two or three papers touch on her surroundings. In June, 1752, Solomon Davis, already married to her eldest sister, adds to a business letter, addressed to her brother John in Portsmouth, this brief potscript: "Brother Richard Skinner [a son of her step-mother] and sister Dolly [her own unmarried sister] are with us, and join in love to you, as does your sister Davis. They say Richard courts Dolly." He did, and to Dolly's grief successfully. We shall meet her often again. Six years later, in 1758, her brother John, already five years married to Sarah Wentworth, of Portsmouth, grand-daughter of John Wentworth, Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire, and cousin of Governor Benning Wentworth, made a journey to Springfield in the interest of the whole family. The lands in Granville given their mother by Judge Quincy remained undivided. He secured an order from the Court at Springfield that a formal division be made—two-elevenths to the estate of his elder brother Abraham, who had been heir-at-law, and one-eleventh to each of the others. The division was made; Catherine thereby became a landed proprietor, though not yet of age, and Brother John collected from his brothers and sisters the sum of £61.18.0, probably in provincial currency, in return for which he rendered an itemized account of his expenses.

Brother John was enterprising. He at once bought, for £133.6.8, the two-elevenths assigned to the estate of Abraham, and a few months later he secured Henry's eleventh for £60.0.0. So he owned in 1759 four-elevenths of the Granville lands, originally belonging to his grandfather Quincy. Thus the matter seems to have stood on December 15, 1762, when Solomon Davis wrote him as follows: "About seven

o'clock this morning it pleased Almighty God in his Providence to summon your worthy father out of this world. The loss I sincerely condole. Under the circumstances you will no doubt think it necessary you should be here in person as the direction of his interests devolves on you. All your friends join in condoling your and their bereavement. As nothing will be done but what is absolutely necessary, it will be best for you to be here as soon as possible." So Brother John made post-haste from Portsmouth to Boston; and there was a grand funeral which cost £67.6.8, including £8.0.6 for Catherine's mourning, and about as much for that of three slaves, Caesar, Thomas and Phyllis; and the worthy father was laid beside his own in the Granary Burying Ground; and before the month was out Brother John was made administrator of his estate, which by and by proved insolvent. So all Catherine had seems to have been her eleventh of grandfather⁸ Quincy's land in Granville. The insolvent estate proved troublesome, and incidentally involved some interesting letters from that most excellent and popularly misunderstood magistrate, Thomas Hutchinson, concerning conflicts of provincial law; for, Brother John, the administrator, lived not in Massachusetts where the estate belonged, but in the then quite distinct province of New Hampshire. Brother Edmund, when his father died, was in London, commanding a ship bound for Boston; Brother Josiah was soon lost at sea, if indeed he had not been already; Brother Henry was soon to follow him. And there were disputes about advanced money. In May, 1763, Solomon Davis wrote the perplexed administrator: "As for the money you let Mr. Skinner and mother have, I have nothing to do with it, neither will I. We expect Brother Ned in about three weeks." By December this matter had come to law, and a detailed account of what the dead old gentleman had paid out for his step-daughter, Tabitha Skinner—which amounted to £625.13.6 "Old

Tenor"—was duly filed, and stays faintly interesting as evidence of what a Boston girl, of good condition, wore at the beginning of the reign of George the Third. Incidentally, however, this implies imperfect cordiality in the relations between Brother John and his step-mother together with the Skinner family, which by that time included his sister Dorothy. A letter from Richard Skinner, her husband, in April, 1764, shows that they were in a bad way as concerns both money and health; in point of fact, his habits are said to have been intemperate. All of which did not prevent Brother John from buying next August, for £64.0.0, the one-eleventh of the Granville lands which had been assigned to his sister Davis; thus he became possessed of five-elevenths of that Quincy property. The Granville matter seems confused, though. In July, 1768, some two hundred acres there were sold at auction, as part of the estate of John Wendell deceased, to one Timothy Robinson, for £87.5.6; and less than a week later this Robinson conveyed them for the same sum to Brother John. In October, 1768, Brother John, already administrator of his father's estate, was appointed by Thomas Hutchinson, then Judge of Probate in Massachusetts, administrator of the estates of Brothers Abraham, Henry and Josiah. Clearly, this eldest surviving brother was getting things, so far as he could, into his own hands. This last matter, though, appears chiefly to concern not the Granville lands but some other property, in Milton, inherited from Judge Quincy, which Hutchinson himself wished to buy.

Meanwhile, Brother Tom, the youngest of the three surviving brothers, by that time living at Marblehead, where the Skinners belonged, had been in Boston, and in some sort of money difficulties. It is all indistinct, but very plainly the family affairs were by no means prosperous. A letter from Uncle Edmund Quincy, however,—he was Mrs. Hancock's father,—implies that in 1769 fortune was smiling on Brother Edmund, who,

still a sea-faring man, had agreeable social qualities and a contract to supply masts to His Majesty's Navy, and on his Brother John, at Portsmouth. Between them they managed, before Edmund started on another voyage, to give Thomas Hutchinson some sort of title to the Milton lands. Edmund's voyage was not long; before the end of the year he was in Boston again and had made an excursion to Portsmouth. These two brothers, on the whole, were fairly well sustaining the family traditions; and so, to all appearances, was sister Davis, and the youngest sister, Sarah, who presently married a brother of the later distinguished Elbridge Gerry, and lived, like the luckless Skinners and the not too prosperous Brother Tom, at Marblehead.

Catherine, meanwhile, the only one of the family not yet married, seems to have taken up her abode with the Davises, in Boston; and, as sister Davis was apt to be in a family way, and otherwise not vigorous, to have taken considerable charge of the Davis housekeeping and children. She did not relish dependence, however. Her first letter to Brother John is short, simple and to the point. "I am in some little way to support myself" she writes; but to do so she needs money, and accordingly offers him her eleventh of the Granville lands for £300.0.0. In view of what he had paid for his other holdings there, this price looks hardly modest. What came of this offer does not appear. Brother John, though, clearly had an eye on Granville; for, in 1771, he bought of one Cotton Mather Stevens, a Portsmouth tailor, the rights in Granville which Stevens had inherited from his mother whose grandfather was a Mather; these cost only £19.0.0 in provincial money.

The next glimpse of Catherine, or rather of things close to her, is to be found in some letters from uncle Edmund Quincy, in the next year, 1772. They touch on the negro Tom, whose mourning had duly appeared in the funeral accounts of the elder John Wendell,

some ten years before. Tom, now thirty or forty years old, had been born in New York, as a slave, in the family of this John Wendell's grandmother, Mrs. Dekey, and had finally been sent to her grandson in Boston, partly as an inheritance, and partly that he should not be sold to strangers; he had been trained to the trade of a painter, and is described as skilful. Brother John seems to have claimed him as administrator, which was all right, and to have taken personal possession of him at Portsmouth, which may or may not have been. On May 11, 1772, Uncle Edmund wrote to Brother John thus: "The same day I received yours about your man Tom's desertion, he, after a fatiguing journey via Haverhill came to your brother Davis's house. This morning he has been with me and says and by all accounts he means honestly to return home if you have altered your mind touching his changing masters; on which errand he says he suddenly left you, thinking some person here might be likely to buy him, and here chose to be if he parted from you. I don't see any possibility of his leaving the town, as he knows nothing from me of being confined in gaol at Boston, and I think it's a pity to put him there, as if you sell him it will depreciate his value, and if you keep him it may sour him and thus render him less useful. He's a *slave*, a rank of the human species which begins to be more and more disagreeable to the people of this continent, particularly to the Northward, where *Liberty*, in its most genuine and proper idea, runs so high. Great Britain very wisely, many centuries past, banished slavery. America, which as Dr. Franklin says is already too blackened by it, can't easily rid itself of the evil. The most Southern provinces are averse. Those Christians who have them are called to do all they can to render their black servants comfortable but are further evangelically obliged to contribute everything in their power by precept and instruction, and especially by example, that after a life of tolerable

service here, their present slavery, with themselves, may pass into a life of perfect freedom. The future similar circumstance of both master and servant should weigh with all, and will weigh with the Christian master." Two weeks later he touched on the matter again: "I note what you say of Captain Miller not bringing your negro Tom at which you wonder, and I wonder as much that I have no answer to mine by post Monday last, giving [by which the good old gentleman probably meant *asking*] directions for sending Tom home either by land or by water. I fear you omit inquiring after a letter. Your boy, notwithstanding what Miller told you, would have come in him, had I or anybody else thought it proper to return your property by water without the least intimation of your mind touching his so coming. Now that you have shown yourself uneasy that he did not go by water, I shall order him on board the first that goes. For, [I] assure you, your brother Davis never objected to my sending him that I know—if he had you would have heard it from me last week. I note what you say about the piece of villainy in which Tom is suspected of privity at least, and hope Mr. Clarkson may find his money by T.'s help."

In three days more things looked less clear: "I sent for Tom," wrote Uncle Edmund, "to go on board *Fournal* or *Yeaton*. He prays that I would write about his really procuring a master here; he'd rather be in Boston; and so forth. I begin to suspect that the true reason is too deep a concern in the affairs of C[larkson]. Now what step is to be taken? If you would have him returned to you I shall upon your advice agree with the master to take him just as he is departing, and shall send him on board, upon notice, by a constable or some proper person."

Now all this came pretty close to Catherine. She had been a girl of fifteen or so when Tom arrived from New York, as a house slave, born in the family, to live at her father's. She was herself living with the

Davises when runaway Tom took refuge there. It is just conceivable that she saw in Tom's training as a painter some prospect of help towards her "little way to support" herself. And Uncle Edmund's next extant letter, written on June 15, shows that Brother John suspected her to have something to do with the wood pile in which his troublesome negro was skulking. "I must say" he wrote, "in justice to Captain Davis, your sister Davis and sister Katy that they never surmised any pretentions or desire to keep him with them, for which reason I'm sorry a thing of that sort was ever carried to you, as I find by divers of your letters mutual uneasiness has ensued from it. I would have a final embargo laid upon everything of that kind, that so peace of family may be preserved. You know in former years such peace was the very singular character of the Wendell family. May God continue it and increase it, upon this maxim if no other—that life is so very short and our enjoyments of each other so precarious that there is scarce a thing or subject to be mentioned which is worthy of a wise man or woman, and a philosopher, to disturb himself or herself with . . . Your man Tom is now in my office getting ready cheerfully to go on board with Dr. Little. *Sub modo suo*, he begs hard at the distance of seventy miles that you would not be angry with him, promising absolute subjection to the will of a naturally kind master, and that he will do everything to please him and his mistress also on all accounts. I have told him that I would hand his request to you but could promise nothing. I should be well pleased in being able to say as much in his favor as St. Paul wrote to his Brother Philemon concerning Onesimus, his servant. However, I know you'll weigh the hints already suggested, and take such steps as your prudence may upon the whole dictate."

So Tom went back to Portsmouth, where Brother John seems not to have sold him after all. And what

Uncle Edmund described as the "peace of family" which had been the "very singular character" of the Wendells, was apparently renewed. For in August Brother Ned, on a visit to Portsmouth, brought with him a friendly note from Catherine to "Sister Wendell," stating that £2.19.8 was the "balance of the caps sent you." Catherine's taste was evidently trustworthy, and Sister Wendell duly paid the little balance. Haplessly enough, though, this was among the good lady's last acts. In nineteen years she had borne eleven children, of whom seven survived. Four of them, as well as the mother, were ailing in September; and the poor lady with her eldest daughter, then eighteen years old, were not well enough to accept in October an invitation from Elbridge Gerry at Marblehead, who was of opinion that "in addition to the advantage of a ride by land, the salt air here would serve as a voyage to sea." And on the 17th of November, she rested in the Lord, leaving Brother John widowed at forty-one, with seven children under eighteen. He made haste to dispatch a "very just and good" character of her to Uncle Edmund, who duly arranged that it should appear, on one of the last Thursdays in the month, in Mr. Green's newspaper, where very possibly the curious may still find it; and letters of condolence came flowing in.

Uncle Edmund was perhaps prematurely solicitous about the orphaned children. Their "loss," he wrote, "can't easily be repaired. Yours possibly may, but I heartily advise you to be very cautious in the reparation. But as speedily as may be procure the most prudent, wise and good woman to instruct, guide and govern them under your auspices. This I only hint. I hope you are already provided, or may be soon with such an one."

Two or three weeks later, he recurred to this matter, with excursions into Latin and dubious French: "I hope this may find you and your bereaved children well, and wish if possible they may have their loss in

due time compensated. In repairing the same, as I may have hinted in my former, *Festina lente*. Regardez les qualitez de la person plus que [la] famille (toujours de la reputation) mais ce n'est pas necessaire d'etre riche. Remember Horace's banter in his first Epistle to Maecenas," and so on. Evidently, Brother John's connubial propensities weighed on his uncle's mind.

Catherine's condolence, though formally old fashioned now, looks more impulsive: "It is the confessed principle of us all," she wrote, "to believe whatever is right. Give me leave to send you the following, as they flow from a sympathetic heart: but at the same time [I] must beg, as they are very imperfect, you will view them with a partial eye:

Great God, whose just commands but thine
Could tempt or force me to obey?
Shall I Thy Sovereign will repine,
O Thou who tak'st my all away?
No! Let my wounded passion plead
For ease, when struggling sorrows throng.
My throbbing heart no more shall bleed,
Nor accents murmur from my tongue.
Thou art thy Maker's claim—not mine,
When He the awful summons sends
I must thy tender soul resign;
To some He gives, to others lends.
Then may we meet—in one unite—
Like kindred souls before the throne.
Auspicious Heaven, resplendent, bright,
Receive our souls; join them in one."

Now, unless I am all wrong, one of these sixteen lines is either a judiciously appropriated or else an admirably simple expression of genuine Christian resignation on the part of this Boston spinster. "To some He gives, to others lends" is good enough for Wordsworth or for Whittier. And to be one-sixteenth of a poet, in the twelfth year of King George the Third's dominion over his Yankee provinces, is to be something else than commonplace.

Three months later, in February 1773, she wrote a long letter to Brother John, who seems seldom to have written her; "I believe the cold has dropped into your ink-horn and deprived you of the use of it. I should be glad to know what is the reason that Sally [Brother John's eldest child] can't or rather won't write me. It would give me much pleasure . . ." The Skinners, she goes on to tell him, are in a bad way. Measles have broken up a school which sister Skinner had opened. Brother Davis is kind; Catherine herself does all she can; but the Skinners are reduced to dining on potatoes. "I sincerely believe her a good Christian" she writes; but, as to Richard Skinner, "I can't but be much incensed against him. He certainly must be void of all sensibility, or would exert himself and go to sea, as he has failed in other attempts. I have said so much already that I have made him my enemy." Brother John, she thinks, would do well to write sister Skinner affectionately—"I should be glad to know," she adds, "if [your children] have had the measles. 'Siah [probably a Davis child] is just got well of them, and I think the chance now in his favor of his getting rid of his other complaint"—whatever that may have been.

At this time Brother Ned was again in England. As to Brother John, Catherine evidently had little news from him, for in September she wrote him thus: "It is well for us on both sides, my dear brother, that there are public prints, for that is the only resource I have. On Saturday nights, when we have the paper, I just look under [the] Portsmouth head, [and] finding no mention I conclude you are alive. As to Mr. Wentworth, I've scarcely seen him since he has been here. My brother and sister" (Davis) "being out of town, I suppose he would not favor me with so much of his company. You see what little attraction is left in your sister. Poor Mr. Inman has lost a fine daughter with a throat distemper. The Londoners are in; I've heard nothing material, [probably

concerning Brother Ned still abroad.] My love to the children. I'm very sorry Sally thinks her aunt of so little consequence as not to write her."

The next remaining letter from her is sadly torn; but seems to have been written late in the summer of 1774. By that time Brother Ned, whose affairs in England were upset by the rising political troubles, had betaken himself to Antigua and there married a widow who in October primly answered a formal letter of congratulation, at just about the time when her husband sent home a small consignment of sugar and rum. Catherine begins by complaints of impoliteness on the part of one F. who commanded a ship bound to Portsmouth from Boston: "Would you believe it, he would neither take this to you nor let his negro, who spends [the] chief of his evenings in our kitchen. Upon my word, I grow exceedingly out of humor with American manners. He told Mr. D[avis] he wa'n't a going to spend his time with letters—there was a post and I might give it to him. But such a dog is unworthy [to be] the subject of a female pen; so I shall leave him; and continue to reply to yours." The reply implies two facts not otherwise recorded—that Brother John was extensively surveying womankind with a view to a second marriage, and that he was already attracted by a rather young cousin of his departed wife, named Dorothy Sherburne, who finally married him some four years later, and survived him nearly thirty years, dying in 1837.—"Firstly" she goes on, "you tax me with my silence on the worthy Miss H., my deserting you, and I don't know what all. But before I excuse myself on that head you are to answer my question: Who deserted first, you that choose a Doll for your amusement, or I that would not subject my brother, though a wanton widower, to the discernment of a lady who could see through his caprice, had I wrote her all I know? No, no, my dear; she's not to be sneezed at, I assure you. When sons believe their father is going to take a Doll, I begin to

think the truth of it too; and also that it's some sign of that dotage my brother talks of in others. No matter; once a man and twice a child. I shall talk the matter over with you, perhaps, ere this reaches you. Secondly, as to the W [idow], I an't seen her lately, but I hope she has more wit than her enemies—ay, and sense too,—or I should depose her from my love, which is really sincere. Thirdly, as to paper money. It's the devil's coin and they that fabricate it his commissioners. I suppose you have heard some of the commissioners have lately been concerned in counterfeiting a large sum—pretty devils! Fourthly, you ask me a natural though tender question: Have I heard from Antigua? I can only answer in the negative. I transiently heard he [doubtless Brother Ned, whatever he had been doing] was well. God continue it till I am no more, prays his still affectionate sister. Had I expected the worst of him, I thought there might be forgiveness expected. I wish much to know your opinion of natural affection—whether it is not put out of existence [in] these times. That it once subsisted I firmly believe, but such proofs against it as I have lately seen make me doubt its non-existence. Fifthly, you expected a long letter. Sixthly, I think you want to be disappointed, though I am sorry to put you to the double expense of perusing and paying for it. But I don't know another opportunity; and it will take only one act to pay it. I think on the whole you come pretty well off, [with] such a long letter from one who loves you in spite of your lies. Truth is worn out; all things become new.—Do bring with you Sister D[avis]'s age, also Aunt Dennie's." Sister Davis in point of fact, was then forty-five years old, and seemingly not young for her age; Aunt Dennie, born Sarah Wendell, was fifty-three, and perhaps well preserved; and Catherine herself was thirty-two.

The next year, 1775, as everybody knows, was troublous in American history, and ended with Boston,

still held by the British troops, besieged by Washington. The only remaining letter from Catherine, however, though written only three weeks before the Battle of Lexington, no wise implies these disorders. She addresses her brother as Amintor, signs herself Aminta, touches lightly on family matters, and is throughout in a bantering mood. Some aspirant for her hand seems to have turned up at Portsmouth. "If he's under forty" she writes, "a tolerable good fortune, an easy genteel address, just sense enough to discern I've none, good-tempered enough to let me have my own way,—tell him I'm the girl for him, and that I'm dying with impatience to see him." With her niece Sally, Brother John's eldest child, by this time well on to twenty-one, things looked less bright; a fickle young suitor of the girl is now reported about to marry somebody in Boston. Mrs. Bull, or some such name, who has lately had an accident, sends her love to Sally, and has given Catherine "a locket of hers and two nieces' hair" set in garnets. And Catherine is grateful to Sally for a present of embroidery. "The widow" she goes on, "I've seen but once since I wrote you. I can say no more of her than what I ever have: she's a worthy woman. I observe you mention your mills attract you another way. I would only say to that—when you want to add to your grist, saw, and bottling mills I think it probable you may find the wind and water mills this way at your service." One infers that Brother John's matrimonial surveys of womankind were thought not to be imprudently negligent of ways and means; though who beside Dolly Sherburne came within his range of observation nobody has remembered these hundred years. As for Catherine, despite the fact that embattled farmers were so soon to fire the shot heard round the world, she seems troubled only by her immediate concerns. She wants to write to Antigua, but seemingly can find no ship bound there. She owes £200.0.0, and would like to sell her land—

evidently a hint that her Granville property may be had cheaper than in 1769, when she offered what she held there for three hundred. And she is rather afraid that she may catch the smallpox, then prevalent in Boston.

The only trace of her in 1776 is on the 25th of May. By that time Boston had been two months in American hands; in two months more the Declaration of Independence had been signed. To escape the siege or the smallpox or both she had betaken herself to Barnstable—perhaps the longest journey from home she ever made—and there for the sum of £69.0.0 lawful money, she finally conveyed her Granville land to Brother John, who had meanwhile had other dealings in that region with Timothy Robinson, an illiterate person, but apparently shrewd. Her letter written on the same day, touches, in bantering terms, but serious mood, on Brother John's matrimonial projects. One gathers that he had almost if not quite proposed to the widow, and taken advantage of coyness on her part to withdraw; that the widow expected his advances to be renewed; and that Catherine rather thinks him in honor bound to renew them. "You don't think," she proceeds, "how I long to see you and the children. The shock of [the] distance I'm at from all my brothers and sisters often throws me into a state of despair. Sister Davis's late indisposition has been a shocking stroke to me, and the losing of some of my very valuable friends being an addition I have no pleasing time of it, I assure you. But, thank Heaven, her complaints have a little abated, and I trust I may find some new friends." And this is the last glimpse of Catherine Wendell under the Crown, getting on toward thirty-five.

By May, 1777, Brother John, who was meanwhile trying to sell some of his Granville holdings, and wanted to drive a hardish bargain with one Pratt there, seems to have been pretty nearly engaged to be married to Dorothy Sherburne, then about twenty-

five; she married him a year later. Catherine was again in Boston. She touches lightly on his matrimonial decision, is glad to be at home once more, and has had her things sent back from Barnstable. And that is about all. It was probably in this year, however, or perhaps toward the end of 1776, that sister Davis died, after some twenty-five years of happy marriage, leaving a son Edward a daughter Betsy, and other children. Under these circumstances, Solomon Davis clearly needed a new wife almost as much as brother John did. The British law against marriage with a deceased wife's sister had never prevailed in New England, where such marriages have always been usual and completely sanctioned by public opinion. Catherine had long lived in the Davis household, and seems to have been cordially liked there; she was already on the verge of middle-age—and in fact never bore children. So the next time we hear of her she had been married, in November, 1777, to Brother Davis, and everybody but Brother Ned, at Antigua, seems to have been happy.

Towards the end of February, 1778, she wrote Brother John her first extant letter signed by her married name. Part of it runs thus: "You expect a reply to what you ask—I mean what do I think of independence? I answer in a word: I firmly believe it will be the perdition of every one of us, even those whose very existence depends on keeping up the dispute. Instead of future generations rising up to bless them, I believe they will be cursed by the last who breathe on earth.—Now you have it. We are all already undone, threatened on every side with want, particularly that of bread, which is felt by all the poor and is breaking [out] in the families of the rich, if any such there is among us. America's downfall is rapid in its progress, and what was her boast now is her shame. She is divested of all her shining beauties: viz.—religion, public virtue, humanity,

compassion, brotherly love and charity. The widow, the orphan and the poor feel it; for them my heart aches. Boston was once remarkable and united by her hospitality, even [to] the inhabitants of distant climes; but now [is] such a prostitute to oppression, extortion, envy, malice, tyranny, hatred, and in short every sort of bitterness that it's now the object of contempt and ridicule. The source of all this I leave you to determine for yourself. I shall keep my own sentiments on the same. You see the danger of giving me a latitude in what you have endeavored to surmise. I could not speak my mind a great while before, nor would I [now] to any but you. Though, to be very serious, there is too much truth in what I've said, and it's a real truth. Several times we have been obliged to contend for a joint of meat."

In the spring of 1778, Solomon Davis thought well to be inoculated for smallpox, and Catherine suggested that Brother John should come to Boston to share his discomforts and immunities. So this, even without the reference to the French alliance, would pretty clearly be the year of a letter dated only May 10th: "I saw Mr. and Mrs. Quincy were come to town to receive some money; but that article being scarce here they could not get it, so I was obliged to put up with a promise of having it soon. I wish you had had the smallpox. Mr. Davis longs to see you, as does myself. It was very unfortunate I could not have got that letter [from] you. It would have gratified me exceedingly to have you under our roof and my care . . . I want to know what you think of our new alliance. That empire you saw rising in America comes with all the new fashions out of France. The fear of an establishment of the Popish religion among us was very alarming in the commencement of our disputes; but, thank Heaven, there can be no danger now. The taxes of Great Britian were insupportable, but owing to the wise interposition of our own legislators we are now taxed only once

in three months. You'll think I've got over my anxiety [about Mr. Davis's inoculation] since I begin to touch again on politics, but this [is] only an interval, I assure you.—But company just come in obliges me to throw aside my pen."

A fortnight later Brother John's nephew, Edward Davis, about to sail for the West Indies, wrote him as follows concerning Brother Ned's state of mind: "I sent you a letter which I received from my Uncle Edmund since I returned. [I] am afraid to show it to my parents, as he is very angry with those who consented to their marriage, but gives me a strict charge of showing it upon pain of never seeing him again . . . I should rather choose you would write about it before I show mine, as it is very severe—indeed so much so [that] I am afraid it will be attended with bad consequences. It's very unfortunate coming just at this time, when my father [is] under inoculation; and his family is unhappy for fear of its being unfavorable, but—thank God—he is in a fair way of recovery . . . In my letter he bids her adieu forever, and never looks upon her as a sister again. [I] must entreat your writing as soon as may be, as I wish for your advice in this disagreeable affair." It looks as if Brother Ned, whose personal morals were not austere, found himself—temporarily prosperous at Antigua—in unexpectedly stern accord with the marital principles of the Church of England, always the dominant religious body in the British West Indies.

What came of all this does not appear. The relation between Brother John and the Davises stayed very cordial. About the time of his announced engagement to Dorothy Sherburne his daughter Betsy, then eighteen years old, went to visit them in Boston; her aunt found her to need both clothes and education. Apparently the visit lasted until after Brother John's wedding, in August; for in a rather bantering letter shortly before that ceremony Aunt Catherine writes: "Betsy says her Aunt Davis is

cross. She does me justice." Poor Betsy, by the way, appears never to have enjoyed such clothes or such education as might have been wished. She ultimately married a Mr. Berry, of Rye, in New Hampshire, and there slowly fades from record.

She was still, or again, in Boston, though, as late as July, 1779, about a year after her father's marriage, when Solomon Davis writes that she is "heartily welcome while at my house." Meanwhile there are traces of many business relations between the brothers-in-law. These indicate both more commercial activity than might have been expected during the Revolutionary war and the persistence of correspondence with old commercial friends in England through France and Holland. At one time Brother John meant to despatch his son Daniel to Nantes, where the youth might serve as a means of communication with England; but whether the boy, who is reported as of engaging address, ever went abroad does not appear. He died, anyhow, early in 1780, not yet quite twenty years old. In the previous August, Solomon Davis had written brother John that a prize had just brought in some Jamaica sugar, which would thereupon cheapen; and that, as for himself, he would take no commission on any supplies bought for Brother John's family. Of Catherine herself there is no direct trace in 1779.

Her only remaining letter of 1780, written in March, concerns her nephew Daniel's death. "He had won my affections greatly," she writes. "The whole family were pleased with him on his late visit to us. I held him up as a pattern to ours—of sweetness and affability." She thereupon falls into verse, which contains no line such as redeemed her effusion concerning his mother's death eight years before. "May his virtues," she goes on, "still live in the soul of my young cousins." Ned Davis, away on a voyage, has been reported ill. As for Brother Ned, in Antigua, the clouds seem to have cleared, for she has just received intelligence from him, "who is very well and

lives very grand. . . . Pray present my love to sister Wendell, to whom I am at a loss to dictate a letter since my omission on a proper subject." (Sister Wendell had been brought to bed of the first of her eight children some two or three weeks before Daniel died) "I wish her happy in all her vicissitudes, and am sorry her joys are so soon turned into mourning. My love to Sally, Johnny, Betsy and the younger ones. May they live and be happy." Before this was despatched she had more news from Portsmouth, where Sister Wendell was ill; so she adds a postscript, four days later: "May we soon hear of her speedy recovery. [We] have not yet heard from Neddy [Davis]. I dread to hear. He is our greatest concern at present. May the frown of Heaven withdraw from you and yours with the returning spring."

There are two more glimpses of her, and her surroundings, though, in this same year 1780. The first is in a letter from Uncle Edmund Quincy, written toward the end of July; the good old gentleman had then reached the age of seventy-seven. Brother John had seemingly been on a visit to Boston. "I hope," writes Uncle Edmund from Cambridge, "this will meet your safe return home, and that you found your spouse in good health, with your children. The elder of whom, my agreeable grand-niece Sally, I had the pleasure of conducting hither Saturday last. [I] take this opportunity of felicitating you upon the kind and valuable gift bestowed on you and yours in such a daughter and sister; and it is my devout wish that the blessing may be continued, whether in a single or more connected state. You're sensible this is not a compliment: such things are out of my line. Your daughter tells me she goes tomorrow or next day to Marblehead with her aunt, and thence for Portsmouth. I wish her a safe and good journey, having charged her with my best respects to you and her Mamma, as she is styled." This Sally, I may add, then twenty-six years old, stayed unmarried four years more.

She then married Edward Sargent, a Portsmouth shipmaster; and some time later Elbridge Gerry wrote pleasantly of them both, who had visited him at Elmwood. But they seem by and by to have come to financial grief; and if they had children no trace of the family remains.

So Catherine must have seen Brother John and his agreeable daughter in July. Early in the autumn comes a real glimpse of her. Dorothy Sherburne, Brother John's second wife, had a brother Jonathan, six years her junior. Both their father and their grandfather had been members of His Majesty's Council, in New Hampshire. He took his degree at Dartmouth College, studied medicine, served as a Naval surgeon during the Revolution, and at his best had unusual literary faculty. His later life, however, was regrettable. He was financially irresponsible, he was increasingly given to drink, he made an imprudent marriage at the age of thirty or so, and when he died at eighty-nine, he had for years been literally a pauper. At twenty-six, however, in September, 1780, he was probably both presentable and entertaining; and he wrote from Boston as follows: "I have only time to inform you that after an agreeable journey I am safely housed in Boston. My reception by Mr. Davis and family was truly agreeable, and I assure you I am extremely happy under so hospitable a roof, where I experience every civility necessary to my happiness during my stay here. Mrs. Davis I was most agreeably disappointed in, having formed no particular idea of her before my arrival. I find her the most agreeable lady I ever knew, for her open and sincere disposition, her mind adorned with the most refined sentiments, and a heart replete with the noblest impressions of friendship, benevolence, sympathy and compassion. Perhaps you may admire my partiality, and the giving [of] my opinion so soon. I never knew my discernment to fail me, and my opinion once formed [is] ever after the same.—Ever since I have

been here I have been exercised with a very severe cold, and am this moment exceedingly indisposed, which may continually keep me under particular obligations to Mrs. Davis's and [her] family's benevolence. Mrs. Davis's love is not that of an indifferent friend but of an indulgent parent.—I spend my time very agreeably. Miss Betsy has a troublesome thumb, otherwise is well."

In 1781, there is no direct trace of Catherine beyond the beginning of an account with Brother John, which ran on for eight years, ending with a balance of £65.0.0 in his favor, for which he magnificently claimed no interest. One or two letters, however, touch on her surroundings. Among her near kinsfolk the most eminent were than the John Hancocks, with whom she was evidently on intimate terms. And on the 23rd of October, her husband wrote Brother John, in Portsmouth, as follows: "Governor Hancock mentioned to me that he had met with some difficulty about taxes of his lands in your government. He wished to get some gentleman to have the care of them. I mentioned that you had the care of Mr. Inman's lands, and that I knew no man more capable than yourself. I suppose he will write you by this opportunity. I wish you to do all in your power to serve him." Sure enough, Hancock duly wrote at the same time; and a considerable correspondence seems to have ensued. The relics of it among Brother John's papers, however, were long ago reduced to a rather large folder marked "Governor Hancock's Letters," and two stray letters, both of which excuse brevity on the ground of indisposition—apparently gout.

This episode suggests one or two comments. For years by that time, Brother John had been much concerned with the settlement of lands in New Hampshire and Vermont just as he had been with his own lands at Granville in Massachusetts, concerning

which he had recurrent dealings with shrewd Timothy Robinson, now and then a member of the General Court. Brother John sometimes acted for himself in these matters, but oftener as agent for other non-resident proprietors. The settlers in such remote regions presently organized town governments, taxed all lands within their town limits, and whenever they could manage to do so sold to themselves for the taxes lands belonging to non-residents. Whence arose manifold complications of title. This general state of affairs mixed up the claims of Hancock among others. But, to proceed, Hancock himself though politically and socially eminent, was thought slippery when it came to business. Among other details, he was made Treasurer of Harvard College in 1773 and held the office for four years. When his successor, Ebenezer Storer, tried to get the College account books from Hancock, he is said to have been met only with polite statements that such details could not properly be called for from a gentleman; and, in point of fact, the books were not found until they turned up in Hancock's private stable, after his death, in 1793. Such, at least, is the current story, sometimes supplemented by the never proved statement that at least on this occasion the eminent Boston patriot was little better than a defaulter. So the chances are that Brother John's dealings with him concerning New Hampshire lands repeatedly sold for taxes were not cloudlessly happy.

Hancock's letter of May 22nd, 1782, is here to the point. "I have only strength," it runs, "to acknowledge receipt of your several letters, and to thank you for your very great readiness to serve me; and in return command any services in my power. By flattering myself that I had far more recovered my health than I found by experience was the case, I exerted myself to too great a degree, and have taken such cold as to give me such a nervous pain in my head as has confined me to my chamber unfit for business

for several days past. But it seems now abating, and I am in hopes, if this prove an agreeable night of rest, I shall be current tomorrow; in which case I will perfect a power of attorney and reply to the particulars in your several letters, and immediately transmit them to you. In the meantime please to act for me as for yourself. You will soon hear from me. My best compliments, with Mrs. Hancock's, to you and family conclude me, Dear Sir, your obliged humble servant."

It is fair to add that later in the same year Hancock paid fifteen pounds to Sister Davis, in recognition of Brother John's order on their account. In November she wrote concerning this matter; "You do the Governor injustice, my dear Brother. He has not been able to hold a pen since I've been from Portsmouth. He desired me to inform you he approved your conduct, and whatever you were in advance he is willing to refund. He could write you no more if he had his hands. He had paid me the £15.0.0. which I've credited on the back of the note.—Do ask Betsy how the cap goes on. I have bragged much of her performance [and] wish to exhibit it . . . I wished to have shown the Colonel [whoever he may have been] every civility, but his frequent engagements have denied me the pleasure. I am sorry Boston so ill agrees with his health."

So the Patriot Governor fades out of the letters. At last peace was in sight, which turned Brother John's attention to his father's insolvent estate, still unsettled after one and twenty years, the intervening Revolution, and the Lord knows what fluctuation in the value of money and lands. The personal effects of the convivial parent seem to have been divided long ago, and duly charged to one or another of his numerous family. These accounts appear to have somewhat annoyed Catherine, who thus wrote of them in May, 1783: "In the first place, the silver porringer my sister had was my sister's by right. We all had one, with our names on them. She left hers till father's

death, as she had some of Mr. Davis's to use. I cannot think, my dear, in any justice he ought to pay for his own. The salts I admit were not, and therefore due; but Mr. Davis will dispose of them, I believe, and pay for them without you choose to take them. And as to my mother's picture and Grandfather Quincy's, I never knew they were to be paid for, nor could I ever [have] thought such a thing could be approved; but if it is to be paid for they must be sold to pay the money. I believe, my dear brother, it is the first instance [when] family pictures were ever sold.—" Incidentally, her mother's picture—the mate of the picture of Judge Quincy's other daughter Mrs. Edward Jackson, celebrated by Dr. Holmes as "Dorothy Q."—ultimately went to descendants of Brother Tom or sister Skinner; but what became of this particular replica of Smybert's portrait of Judge Quincy has been forgotten. In justice to Brother John, it is fair to add that, some twenty years before, certain portraits of his Wendell grandparents and of his Flynt ancestors—all trace of which has long been lost—had been duly appraised in the inventory of his father's estate. The details about the estate on which Catherine has touched, she adds, trouble Mr. Davis, who grows old. "His spirits are so much broke with his own and his children's misfortunes [that] I forbear giving him the least inquietude, lest nature should pay the price for it." So, without the old man's knowledge, she has privately borrowed money. "It behooves me to use all my weak endeavors to preserve that life which seems devoted to me and my happiness. I may with truth say [that] few women are blest with such a husband . . . I have heard from Brother Ned; he is like to recover by the use of the baths at Bristol." Some stray letters from England, at about this time, show that Brother Ned, whose grand living at Antigua had resulted in crippling gout, had betaken himself to the mother country and resorted for treatment, and probably for social distractions, to Bath, still a fashionable watering-place.

In October, things with Mr. Davis were no better. "He is so harried," she writes, "and his spirits so depressed, that I daily observe it affects his memory, though I choose not to let him know I notice it. I beg you would take no notice of it in any letters to him or me, as it may give him pain. My sole study is to make his few remains of life as happy and comfortable as I can, though that is but little. The weight of troubles overbalances all my efforts. . . . As to the porringer, you are certainly mistaken about [it] as we have but three in the house—one marked 'E. W. from Father', [the first Mrs. Davis was named Elizabeth Wendell,] one Mr. Davis's mother gave Solomon, and one we had from England with some other plate. If Sister Davis had taken any other than her own, it must have been here, for we have never parted with any plate—excepting a can—since she died, and I am certain none before." She goes on to resent the charges against her and her sister Sally, now Mrs. Gerry, for mourning at their father's funeral, in 1762, when they were minors. She is worried about money matters, and thinks of attempting business herself, to help Mr. Davis.

A fortnight later, she inquires about Granville lands, said to have been sold by Brother John without due authority from Brother Ned, whose affairs are in charge of harried old Solomon Davis. "I hear," she adds, "you have been to Salem. Sister Skinner, [Sister] Gerry and myself think it unkind you called to see none of us when so near."

In 1784, the only trace of her is a letter written early in March. "Are you so absorbed in farming," she begins, "as to forget your connections, or are you writing the history of our rising empire; or [are] all your faculties frozen up with the inclemency of the season?" After all, she adds, it is the same with all her brothers and sisters; she is "the only one left in our native spot." Cousin Sewall has written his father that Brother Ned "has met with great success

in a restorative medicine for the gout," and is about to embark again for Antigua. As for Brother Ned, himself, though he writes Mr. Davis on business, he won't answer her letters. "Sister Skinner," she goes on, "is in trouble by Tom Gerry's persecution and provocation." (Tom Gerry, a brother of Elbridge Gerry, had married Richard Skinner's sister Tabitha.) "She is obliged to quit her house; the family is like to be broke up. I hear Uncle Josiah Quincy was buried last night [at Braintree.] What is become of Mr. Davis's Co-horse or Co-something lands?"

In April, 1785, more than a year later, things looked rather less dismal. Brother John's second wife had just presented him with the fourth of her eight children; and his first wife, we may remember, had left surviving her, in 1772, seven out of her eleven. Childless at forty-three, and thus safe from at least one source of anxiety, Catherine wrote her brother as follows: "I congratulate you and my sister on her being safe abed. But pray let me ask you if you intend keeping up this fun? Why, you must build a large castle to contain your children. If you go on at this rate, you'll have as long a train of children and grandchildren at your funeral as an old gentleman mentioned in some of our late papers. Sally, I find, [his eldest daughter, by that time thirty-one years old] is setting out to follow your example. My love to her.—I have had an affectionate letter from Brother Ned. He had intended to come in the vessel; [he] has recovered so far as to be able to ride on horse-back; his business prevented, but [he] intends coming as soon as possible. . . . Mr. Davis is got into his spring dejection; [he] has been nicely young and in good spirits all winter, but is low now as possible. Betsy, [his daughter] is to be married soon." Betsy Davis married Dr. David Townsend, of Boston, who had graduated at Harvard in 1770.

In 1786, there is no direct trace of Catherine. Two letters in the autumn from her step-son, Edward

Davis, to Brother John imply, however, a little trouble. In October the nephew wrote his uncle, rather abruptly, requesting that he procure and forward to Boston a copy of some deed, recorded at Portsmouth, in which young Davis had a personal interest. Brother John, whose business habits were leisurely, had not attended to this matter by the 12th of November, when his nephew wrote him again, in such terms that the uncle endorsed the missive as "Ned Davis's impudent letter." Which does not look precisely serene.

There is little direct trace of her, either, during the next year, 1787. In November, however, Nathaniel Appleton wrote Brother John from Boston that he had so arranged a transaction concerning lands as to be able to pay Mr. Davis nine pounds, and to forward Brother John £11.7.4. This agreeable incident seems to have been unusual; or else the letters concerning favorable turns of business are all lost. Earlier in the year, too, Elbridge Gerry had written from Philadelphia a letter which details matters as interesting to Catherine as they were to Brother John. Their youngest sister, Sarah, had married Gerry's brother, John, who had died in 1786; and, with what Brother John had thought unseemly haste, she had proceeded to marry Captain Fiske, of Salem. Elbridge Gerry's defense of his sister-in-law runs thus: "I am very sorry to hear you are at variance with Mrs. Fiske. My candid opinion is that she acted wisely and judiciously, and I assure you she consulted me as her confidential friend. The fact is Mrs. Fiske did not want to form an early connection, knowing that all the friends of her late husband would be very much hurt, and that her own reputation would be affected by the measure. But as soon as it was known that Captain Fiske gave her the preference, the friends of a lady whom it was supposed he would have courted, urged him to push his suit to Mrs. Fiske, and in this way used every means in their power to break off the

match. She kept him at such a distance as to give him offense, and then they triumphingly said that he had left her and that her pride would be humbled. This was the language of a certain person who declared that he had intended to marry Mrs. Fiske, had she not treated him with such coolness when he hinted it to her before Captain Fiske made his advances. Thus, you see, your sister was reduced to this dilemma: either to accept Captain Fiske earlier by far than she or her friends thought decent, or by refusing him to see him form a connection with another lady, and all *her* friends triumphing in the success of their manoeuvres. She asked my advice, and knowing all the circumstances I did not hesitate to give it in favor of her accepting the offer. Indeed, after this I was under the necessity of writing a letter to Captain Fiske, to counteract the plans adopted against Mrs. Fiske. Thus I think you will see she was not culpable . . . This information you will consider as confidential, and intended to restore your affection for a deserving sister." What Catherine Davis thought about all this does not appear. Clearly, though, she must have thought about it a good deal.

In November she wrote Brother John, with a very bad pen. Brother Ned had sent from Antigua a present of tamarinds and oranges, some for Brother John, which had mostly spolt on the way. And Betsy (Mrs. Townsend) had lost a fine child.

The next year, 1788, reveals her more clearly again. On the 28th of January, after recurring to Brother Ned's oranges, she goes on: "This day is the anniversary of my birth, 46 years ago. My worthy parents gave birth to an insignificant creature. It being a day of reflection, I could not but contemplate the divine goodness in thus making me a monument of His sparing mercy, when I have so often provoked Him to cut me off as an encumb[rance] or as an unprofitable servant. I am easily mortified, my dear, when I reflect I have lived forty-six years in

the world and done no more good in it. May Heaven grant me wisdom and ability to devote my short remains to His more immediate service, is my fervent prayer.—Here I am sitting in my corner feeling as old as Sarah, and my Abraham is flying about making punch, and as full of spirit as the bottle he is now pouring out of.—You will laugh at this medley of a letter, but it accords with my feelings, so you must take it as it rises, and throw a veil of brotherly kindness over all its imperfections. As to its incoherence, you must impute [that] to old age. Sisters Skinner and Fiske have both been sick; all three of us confined together. As to news now, the Federal Constitution”—But what she thought of this we shall never know, for just here the bottom of her page is torn off and lost.

About a month later she writes again. Brother John seems to have been doubtful whether he had duly received all that Brother Ned had sent him. “In respect to the rum,” she says, “Neddy only sent a few quart bottles to Mr. Davis.” There is word, however, of a whole barrel, now presumably at sea, intended for Brother John. “The oranges had [al]most all got defective. I believe they were touched with the frost, but they have served to do much good among the sick. Mr. Davis, as he hates writing worse than ever, and as it gives him a dizziness in the head, wishes me to answer your letter for him. In respect to your proposal he says he can’t afford to touch upon law. He thinks this a dubious case and would not choose to engage in it.” (Apparently it concerned title to lands originally belonging to Judge Quincy, who had now lain for fifty years in his unmarked London grave.) “If you incline to try for it, and recover it, he will accept your terms . . . Sister Skinner [has] been sick all winter, but I dare say she will agree with us . . . You can write her upon it.”

Her next extant letter was written in August. Uncle Edmund Quincy had lately died at the age of

eighty-five. For nearly forty years he had frequently written to his nephew at Portsmouth. His letters imply him to have been a man of considerable accomplishment, high principle both public and private as well as religious, and active though not very powerful mind. In person he was thin and rather agile, long toothless, and prominent both of nose and of chin; and during his later years he was irreverently described in Boston as "old Daddy Quincy." Catherine's letter touches on his end.—"Uncle Quincy mentioned to me your not answering his letters three days before he died. I was much with him, and marked the upright man, for his end was peace. Though he did not think he should die, he was ready and willing. We grow so plaguy poor that we must begin to look out for what right we have in this world. Perhaps you will retort upon us to look our for our right in another. True, O King; I think that's most essential; but Solomon says there is a time for all things, and both are necessary. Your quotation is there is a time to get. I believe [you] for you keep getting and I believe will as long as Abram. I read the Major your letter wherein you say Uncle Quincy is gone to Father Abram's bosom. He desires I would tell you he believes that his bosom has been full long ago, and you nor he must not expect a chance on it . . . My love to Sister Wendell. Tell her [if] I were she I would run away from such an old creature without he would discard some of his love of the flesh. The flies plague me so I can write no more; so you must take this as your wife took you—for better or worse."

In November she was more troubled. "Our worthy Sister Skinner," she writes, "is very ill and in miserable circumstances. Her two sons are at sea, John is married, and Dolly has a young family and [is] not able to do for her as she needs. Judge Wendell has obliged her to quit her house, She has taken a small chamber in the house where Dolly lives. Her spirits are broke, and I am afraid [she] will soon fall a martyr

to affliction. She has ever been a child of affliction since she connected herself with Mr. Skinner; but as he is no more I desire to be silent. I shall write to Neddy [at Antigua] this week; he has a vessel here; he means to come in the spring himself. I have wrote to Sally. [Mrs. Fiske, at Salem.] We must try, my dear, to do something for our dear sister . . . This winter we are not able to do all ourselves, or I should not ask anyone. I am much disturbed about her. I hope I shall go down [to Marblehead, where poor Sister Skinner lay ill] tomorrow; I mean to. My whole soul seems harrowed up with perplexities.—I find age rapidly increases on my dearer self. He tries to his utmost to provide for his family, which is a hard task at his late period; but he has his health, thanks to the all merciful God, and so have I. This I prize as an inestimable blessing [which] demands my highest gratitude; but when age bows the head, we have no right to look for death at our elbows. I pray Heaven this may meet you all as your last favor left you—a customer to the butcher instead of the doctor.”

In 1789, there are only two letters from her. The first, in March, touches on business matters, tells that she has found a paper in the handwriting of her father, dead twenty-seven years before, relinquishing to all his children, “from Sister Davis to Tommy, [that is, from oldest to youngest by name] all rights in Granville granted by Grandfather Quincy to mother;” and so on. “You’ll see,” she adds, “by the papers that Colonel Fiske has met with a theft. We are all well, also Betsy’s family. I really wish, my dear brother, you would show us your face once more and bring your wife. I see no fun in forever staying at home begetting, bringing and training up. Novelty is the life of pleasure.” On the same day she wrote a letter on business for her husband, and scribbled at the bottom: “You see I am secretary, C. D.”

Her other letter, written at night, early in June, is less buoyant. Brother Ned, then fifty-four years old,

has arrived from Antigua; "He is a poor, shattered, unhappy man. He requires all my attention and art to keep him tolerably happy. His intellectual parts are much weakened as well as his body. He wants to, see you all, but is unable to undertake the fatigues of another journey yet. He only rode today as far as Cambridge, and is so overcome with it [that] I was obliged to send for a doctor, more to compose his mind than to relieve his body. I sometimes fear he is come to mingle his clay with his parents'. I am obliged to be all cheerfulness with him, when my heart aches for him. The reason, I find by his servant, he has not wrote you lately is [that] he was unequal to it. Should you indulge us with a visit to him, you must be cautious, and not see him suddenly. I should have wrote you, my dear, before, but my eyes and cares conspire to deny me that pleasure. I have not wrote Sisters Skinner and Fiske, nor has he seen them yet. I dread the scene, for he was so afflicted seeing me I thought he would [have] had a fit. I will save [my] eyes, and retire to my old gentleman, who is well, thank God. I am keeping the servants up."

There is little trace of her in 1790—only a hasty half page, dashed off one September Sunday at two in the afternoon, reporting Sister Skinner "with us and well," and enclosing for "perusal" a letter from Brother Ned, who had evidently managed to get back to Antigua, whence, to all appearances, he never emerged again.

The next year, 1791, reveals her more clearly. In February she writes that she has been thrown out of a sleigh; "I've been but a useless piece of furniture for some time. Sister Skinner has been very bad—not like to live. I went to see her, unable as I was, as she wished to see me. It hurt me to be obliged to leave her, but I could not stay. We endeavored among us to supply her with comforts. Her friends were all extremely kind, and—thank God—I hear she is getting better fast. She had a lung fever, and is in

a very uncomfortable room, poor creature. She is the daughter of misfortune, but bears it with Christian fortitude." It is perhaps fair to add that Sister Skinner survived them all, dying in 1822, at the age of eighty-nine.

After that, we hear no more of Catherine until the 11th of June, when both she and Mr. Davis were perplexed about the accounts and charges of the still unsettled estate of her father, by that time twenty-nine years dead. This is almost the last we hear of poor old Mr. Davis in this world. His end came without warning. One evening that same June, he went alone to sup with Governor Hancock. His wife was detained at home by a letter from "my dear William, [apparently a sea-faring son of Mr. Davis, who wrote from Antigua,] with particulars of his melancholy disaster, and the death of two of Neddy's family, one a natural son of his." Freed from conjugal observation, Mr. Davis appears to have supped imprudently; what he drank is not mentioned, but he ate more plum-cake and fruit than was good for him. On his way home, he was seized with a fit in the street. Carried to his house, and there helped by the doctor, he so far recovered himself as to go cheerfully up stairs; but once in his chamber he was again overcome by sickness, and instantly expired. "I can only say," she writes, "[that] in him I have lost a friend, a lover, and a husband. May I be prepared to meet him in a blessed eternity, where I hope he is." His estate proved hopelessly insolvent. "I am now thrown upon the world to rest my head. I trust God will enable me to do it, by giving me strength according to my day . . . If I could get a house and be settled this fall, it would be a relief to me not to be enforced to be turned out in winter. But may I be resigned to God's will in all things."

Two months later, she writes: "I more and more miss my cheerful and agreeable companion. I can truly say I now see the days when there is no pleasure

in them. Sister Skinner left me two days past to attend the last remains of Mrs. Gerry—Tabby Skinner that was. They have put her into mourning, and she thinks in gratitude she must stay with them till next week, when she will return to stay with me for the present. She intends writing you respecting your proposals, but she is too much broke to engage in any undertaking." So, apparently, Brother John was still in trouble concerning his father's estate. He was on such terms with his brother-in-law, "the Hon. John Fiske, Esq. of Salem," however, that at about this time he settled some claims of this gentleman by transferring to him certain drafts on correspondents in England. Whether these were paid does not definitely appear; one or two faint indications inspire fear that they may not have been.

In November Catherine was settled for the winter. Her stepsons Edward and William Davis had both got home from sea. She is anxious that Brother John shall send her precise statements of any land claims she may have. "Sister Skinner," she goes on, "spends the winter with me. Her health is very much impaired by her sufferings and I trust God will enable me to make her more comfortable than she was the two last winters. Her children have all wives now, and a man is commanded to leave father and mother for a wife, and most children are very willing to comply with such a pleasing command, especially where there is no expectation, and she—poor soul—has not a shilling but the bounty of her friends. My sons are very good to her, and do more for her than ever they did for me; but inasmuch as they do it for her, they show that respect to me and to their own mother that I love them for it. I don't mean to complain of them. They show me every respect, and we have all lived six weeks past in the strictest harmony together. While I am able to get my bread, I am willing to spare no pains. It is my allotment, and I hope ever to be

content with it. My daughter Betsy" (Mrs. Townsend) "has been very dangerously ill, and I fear will never be really well again; but, thanks to God, she is better."

The next year, 1792, was troublous. Through a good part of it she was still living in Mr. Davis's house in Tremont Street, but too poor to keep it. Her first extant letter was written in February, and there dated. It repeats old questions about shadowy titles to lands. "Isaac," it goes on, "has had a fit of the gout—his grandfather's legacy, he calls it." [The Wendells had a gouty strain through another century.] "I was most alarmed last week by a fire in the neighborhood. I packed up my goods and chattels, but was mercifully spared the removal of them."

In April, she writes, still from Tremont Street, that she is glad to hear of Brother John's decision not to move into the country, "as I think [town] must be more agreeable to Sister Wendell and the children—minds formed for social life. I think the country is dismal." She goes on to tell of her cousin, Aunt Dennie's son, who, "goes to sea, . . . is a worthy young man, has been unfortunate in having a sick family, and unsuccessful in business, but [is] very industrious and drives the nail that will go. This is character." She proceeds to touch on details, evidently connected with the never settled accounts of her father's estate, now thirty years dead. One Mrs. Kennedy says that "the glass was destroyed with her furniture in the time of the war. She is an old woman, and supports herself only by day labor, from a few charitable families that employ her from no other motive. I don't think it in her power to pay you." Then follows something about gloves—apparently those bought for her father's funeral, thirty years before. "I am sorry, my dear," she continues, "if by any stroke of my pen or conduct, I should give you or any one of my connections or friends the least pain. I feel too much myself to wound others. . . .

My dear deceased knew he ought to pay all his debts, and was honestly disposed to do it, were it in his power. That was the only affliction he had on earth, and I shall ever think was accessory to his death. But I must waive the subject; it's too much for me to dwell on . . . Sister Skinner has gone hence on a visit . . . What shall I do with father's books and papers? Shall I send them by Huntress?"

A month later, she writes: "Our dear brother Edmund departed this life [at Antigua] the 2nd of March, very suddenly. In him I have lost a most affectionate and attentive brother, who has shown me every attention that absence admitted of ever since the death of my dearer self." His last letters had asked her to come and live with him, it seems. "My house is sold," she goes on, "Captain Edward Davis has bought it. I remove as soon as I can get one. I can say no more. My full heart obstructs my sight."

Two letters in December, seven months later, give glimpses of her again. She has engaged in some business by that time: "I find I must work while the day lasts. I have no one to help me, and am growing older every day; and should I neglect making some provision for old age—should it please God to bring me to it—I have no other prospect than the Al[ms-house.] Sister Skinner is in need; every trifle helps clothe her. I expect to move in the spring . . . I wish to know if I may not send father's books and papers. I don't know what to do with them."

Only two days afterwards, she writes another request for clear statement of any land claims she may have. "The breaking up of my house and family," she goes on, "and the difficulty of getting a house is constantly upon my mind. But I won't burden you or any of my friends with my inquietude. I only wish that you would answer this as soon as possible, relative to the land, and accept and present Sister Skinner's and my love to every member of your family."

The only trace of her in 1793 is a letter written in

January, little more than a month after that on which we have just touched. "Surely," she writes, "the fates have conspired to tease me in the settlement of the estate, which I am heartily tired of and wish myself clear of. It has occasioned me so much knowledge of mankind that I am fully convinced that the most predominant principle of the human heart is self-interest. The books and papers have at last been sent by Mr. Sherburne." (Incidentally a few relics of them are still in the hands of Brother John's descendants) "My spirits," she concludes, "are rather depressed, and have been for some time. I will not burden my friends when I cannot entertain them."

In 1794, there are two glimpses of her. The first is a hasty letter, written in March. Members of Brother John's family passing through Boston have not found leisure to call on her. Sister Skinner is going to visit a daughter in Newburyport. Has Brother John ever heard from Brother Ned's widow? As for herself—Catherine—her eyes grow weak. The second is a letter from Sister Skinner, whose command of the pen, for all that she once tried to teach school, by no means approached Catherine's. In August, she wrote from Newburyport that Sister Davis had been very unwell, and like to die. As for the Skinners, Dick is about to sail on a long voyage, and Dolly is much as she was. The letter closes with an expression of regret, probably not shared by Brother John, that Sister Skinner cannot manage to pay him a visit.

By March, 1795, Catherine was living in Cambridge Street, and Sister Skinner still, or again, visiting at Newburyport. Poor Catherine, surprised by an unexpected debt, is "almost broken in spirit," and longs for the company of even forlorn Sister Skinner. But, "I a'nt so selfish as to wish her not to enjoy herself, and therefore shall endeavor to be patient till she inclines to come." A month or so later, "Sister Skinner wrote me she received the money. I shall

endorse it on your note. I hope if she comes to see you it will be soon, as I long to see her . . . I often compare her to the sow you tell of that must be pulled by the ears to the trough and by the tail back again; for she will not exert herself, though—poor creature—she has had enough to fix her as a statue . . . Brother Ned's estate, I am informed, won't pay four-pence on a pound. She [doubtless Brother Ned's widow at Antigua] is very dejected."

In 1796, we do not hear from her until September. Then she writes Brother John, from Cambridge Street, a letter of condolence on the death of the youngest, and last, of his nineteen children. A fine child of Isaac Davis, her step-son, she says, has just been buried from her house: "But I consider all children," she continues, "which are taken away, as only going from their earthly parents to be blessed in their heavenly parents' arms; and while their earthly parents are grovelling [in] the throes of the flesh and sin, their little purified spirits are hovering around, and look down with pity on those that gave them birth, that they still have to combat with the vicissitudes of this mortal state . . . Sally and Mr. Sargent [Brother John's eldest daughter and her husband] have passed the day with us. She appears to be very happy and has afforded us much pleasure. I sent for your son George but could not find him." A long postscript follows, much of which has been deliberately blotted out by Brother John. It seems to have concerned senile anger, on the part of the Honorable John Fiske, now styled General, with Brother John, by reason of disputes concerning land-claims owned by the shadowy and insolvent estate of the elder John Wendell, thirty-four years dead. The General's state of mind had involved more or less trouble for Sister Fiske.

So here or hereabouts seems to belong the undated draft of a long letter from Brother John to Dr. David Townsend, now for some years married to Betsy

Davis. "After my affectionate regards to yourself, Mrs. Townsend and [your] children give me leave to address a line to you as a gentleman of unbiassed principles; and as it comes from one who upon the verge of the grave [Brother John had reached the age of sixty-five] and expects to be accountable to God and his conscience, I hope it may have a weight at least in your mind, to convince you of the sincerity of my assertions. I have heard several times that it has been said by some of the children of my sisters that I have received and spent what was their parents'; . . . and many other things as false as God is true. If any one sister or their children will inform me of one single brass farthing that ever I received or disposed of which belonged to them any ways, By Heavens, I will give them a guinea for a copper." He goes on to detail certain legal proceedings, which have proved fruitless. "I lost," he adds, "£100.0.0 by taking administration on my father's estate, instead of getting anything. If these complainants will point out one single act of injustice which I have done to them, I will pay ten-fold their demands, so help me God! After such a solemn assertion, I hope they will make inquiries to satisfy themselves, without impeaching the rectitude of their kinsman." A long passage follows concerning the impudence of Edward Davis, which he so resents as to assert that none of his family "will eat his bread while they have any of their own.—I beg your pardon," he proceeds, "for giving you the trouble to read this letter, and you may wonder at my intrusion, as being . . . known to you only by some of these gross falsehoods. I have a sincere and respectful regard to my niece, your lady, whose deportment to me and my family has ever been genteel and polite, affectionate and dutiful; and it would give me pleasure to see you and her here, with some of your little folks, if your avocations would permit. . . [I] desire to let a gentleman of your discernment know that I challenge every connection in life to prove a single injustice that

ever I did to any of them. . . while I have the pleasure to recollect many acts of love and respect on my side. My love attends you and Betsy, and any branches of my family who remember that they once had an uncle by my name . . . I wish this letter may be read and known to any branches of my family who have felt themselves injured by me in thought, word or deed."

When this was written does not appear. In November, Catherine wrote Brother John a detailed account of how Sister Skinner, visiting her, had been seized with a fever. Charitable friends have helped. Sister Fiske has promised a little. Can't Brother John do something, too? The letter is brave and self-respecting; but one feels an undertone of something like despair.

What Brother John answered will never be known; but they got along somehow, for two letters from her in 1797 show no change in their relations. The first, hastily written in September, says that Judge Wendell—her father's cousin Oliver Wendell, grandfather of Dr. Holmes—thinks she has never sold her lands in Lenox, and asks Brother John what has become of them. These were probably a part of the thousand acres in Lenox bestowed by the General Court on the descendants of Judge Edmund Quincy when that worthy, representing the Province of Massachusetts Bay, succumbed to inoculation in London, fifty-nine years before. What became of them nobody now remembers. Her second letter, written in December, reveals her old self again. Brother John's son George, then twenty-six years old, has called on her. "I am much pleased," she writes, "with his frank, open and manly behavior. I should have known him only by the countenance of his Mamma which I think he has taken a large share of." She goes on to inquire again about the Lenox lands and to tell something of the confusion of the Davis estate. "I have walked out today," she continues, "for the first time in six weeks, though [I] still have a bad cough. Sister Skinner is

unwell with a cold. She is so young that she is very daring." (She was nine years older than Catherine, who was then about fifty-six.) "Poor I am a little wizened up old woman, as George I fancy will describe me. He acknowledges his disappointment in the ideas he had formed."

In 1798 there is no trace of her. Two letter of August in that year, however, touch on relations between Brother John and Sister Fiske of which she must have known. In 1780 we may remember, a promising son of Brother John, named Daniel, had died at the age of twenty. The next son born to him came into the world in 1783, and was given the same name. Though less carefully educated than the first Daniel, he seems to have been a youth of diligence and ability, who might have made good if exposure to cold in the course of attending to business had not prematurely ended his life, too, in 1807. At the age of fifteen he rather laboriously wrote to his Aunt Fiske, at Salem, as follows: "This day week my honored father, your brother, fell from his horse about a mile from here, and [it] was thought would not have survived the fall. But being attended by three doctors they found no bones broken, only his thigh to be bruised, and all its tendons and muscles so hurt that he will not be able to walk for a long time. He has laid in his bed upon his back ever since, and cannot raise himself up. The doctors pronounce him out of danger. The great number of gentlemen who have come to see him has been rather injurious, but as friends they were all agreeable except one, who was a deputy sheriff with a writ from you this day, which grieved him to the heart, and really hurt him as well as mortified him to be so exposed as that his credit runs so low with you as to put it out of your hands, which he could have secured to your entire satisfaction." He proceeds to detail the transaction involved which concerned a friend of Aunt Fiske, Colonel Pickman, of Salem, who seems to have transferred to

her, claims against Brother John. "My father," he goes on, "wishes for no favor but what honor and justice may indulge him with, but grieves that he has lost the confidence of his sister. He wishes you to believe his affection for you forgives the injury, as not intended by you, but the wound will go with him to his grave as a lasting monument of the force of money. He joins my mother and the family in our cordial regards, and if he could have sat up would have wrote you himself."

To this letter Aunt Fiske replied ten days later on her return from a "tour into the country"—"The relation of the catastrophe which befel my brother," she writes, "claims my pity and excites in me painful sensations. But your reflections, as unjust as unmerited, I shall pass over unnoticed, only observing that, whatever effect you may suppose money may have on some, its fascinating charms are not sufficient to induce me to do an unjust or an ungenerous action. I wish not to recriminate, and will only state facts, and leave your better judgment to rectify your too hasty conclusions, and not again impute to the cruelty of your aunt [what] proceeded from the avarice of a lawyer." She goes on to state the case from Colonel Pickman's point of view, who acted as guardian for the son of her late husband, and whom she conceives to have been actuated by the "nicest rules of honour"—"I wish," she concludes, "not to add expenses to or in any degree wound the sensibility of your respected parent, notwithstanding your insinuation, but heartily sympathize with him in his misfortune and sincerely wish him the consolation I cannot give. You will present my kind remembrance to your parents and to the several branches of the family."

Evidently the "peace of family" which up to 1772 Uncle Edmund Quincy had found "the very singular character" of the Wendells was no longer more than formally prevalent.

In 1799, Brother John was sixty-eight years old. Of his nineteen children, eleven survived—the youngest a boy who had reached the age of eleven. The eldest son was forty-two. Named for his father, he appears to have been of more active intellect, and rather better educated than his younger brothers. His letters resemble those of a college-trained man. In point of fact, however, he never went to college, perhaps because the Revolution occurred at just about the time when he would regularly have done so; he was for a while in the employ of his uncle Joshua Wentworth, who thought him a bit flighty; he appears to have been the son of Brother John who, failing to get a commission on the *Ranger*, under John Paul Jones,—an intimate friend of the father,—went before the mast rather than not go at all; and after the Revolution, he showed considerable enterprise in business, meanwhile corresponding with friends in Congress on political matters as well as social. Why he never married does not appear; his reason may very likely have been that he was never in a position to support a wife and family in the station to which he felt himself entitled. Particularly after the first Daniel's death, however, he was his father's chief reliance. In the spring of 1799, he made a journey to New York, where he did something towards establishing a futile claim to property in what was already Broadway. This claim was characteristic of Brother John, who held more or less valid title to a great deal of landed property, but had very little ready money. So the old man could hardly have had a more crushing blow than the sudden death of this eldest son in August, 1799.

Among the letters which ensued on this bereavement, two are worth recording. One is the bill of Dr. Lyman Spaulding, the chief physician in Portsmouth, who charged two dollars for "5 visits and advice during his last sickness." The other is what Elbridge Gerry wrote from Cambridge: "I sincerely

condole with you and your family on the melancholy occasion which you allude to. There are events beyond our control, the dispensations of a supreme incomprehensible Being, but nevertheless distressing in a high degree, in consequence of those attachments and affections He has implanted in our minds. You have, however, the heartfelt satisfaction of having, on reflection, discharged the duty of a parent."

Catherine wrote characteristically: "I once viewed death with a great deal of horror; but whether it is from the many trials I have had to conflict with, that have weaned me from the world, or whether it is from a foolhardiness I cannot say, but I feel perfectly resigned to leaving it, and can contemplate death with great composure." She goes on to say that she has not seen Brother John for eighteen years. She touches on troubles he has had with his daughters, one of whom appears to have been disordered in mind, and another to have fallen in love with an undesirable suitor. Sister Skinner is away on a visit to Newbury, Salem, and Marblehead. And then references to land claims turn up. "I assure you, my dear, with my weak frame I find it tough work to rub along," she continues, "but I don't wish to complain." Living, it seems, costs £300.0.0 a year, and she already owes a thousand pounds. But Captain Sargent's bitters have done her good, and she would be glad to have another bottle.

In October, 1800, writing from Cambridge Street, she is something like her old self again. Brother John has had a fever; so has Sister Skinner, and so has she. "You must now remember," she writes, "[that] you are an old man. You must put off the deeds of the body; go thy way, and sin no more . . . You often say you are coming to see me. You put me in mind of the brace of pigeons the Irishman carried as a present, and let them fly from the basket; and when he delivered his letter, [and] the person told him he found in his letter the pigeons were sent, [he said]

he was glad they were found in the letter, as he had lost them by the way." It is twenty years, she continues, since she has seen Brother John. This letter goes by "my two best friends, Mr. and Mrs. Scott." (This Mrs. Scott was her double cousin, Dorothy Quincy, widow of John Hancock, who had found in a second marriage less brilliant but calmer joys than had attended her first.) "She is like a sister," Catherine goes on, "[and] he my father, friend and protector. I wish all my friends would love him for my sake. They will inform you [of] my situation better than I can write it." . . . Sister Skinner, she adds, is at Newbury. The fever has cost \$40.00 for the doctor and \$12.00 for the nurse, besides medicines. And she owes Captain Scott £500.0.0 which she hopes to pay.

There is only one more letter from her, a much torn sheet written in February, 1803. Evidently she had asked Brother John for money; and it is fair to say that although rich in lands he could seldom lay hand on cash even for his own household bills. As for Catherine, her long dauntless spirit is almost broken. "What, my dear brother, have I done," she writes, "to merit your alienation? Could our venerable parents make but one visit to their offspring, and see the change, methinks their very souls would melt at the prospect. I am sure mine soars up to the regions where I think they dwell, and longs to unite with them in their humble adoration to the God of mercy. When I take a retrospection of our juvenile years, and view the harmony and love that pervaded our peaceful mansion, and [then] take a present view, I am lost in astonishment, and almost fancy myself in a delirium . . . May poverty never assail your mansion, may the poignant sting of an indigent, dependent widow, never be the lot of the partner of your wealth, is the prayer of a sister that forcibly feels them both, and only begs that she may be endued with patience till the heavenly mandate shall summon her to her

eternal rest. I must own, my dear, that I have not philosophy sufficient to combat with the trials of poverty and the indifference of my nearest connections." She has a heavy cough, getting worse. "Our poor sister is at Newbury. God knows how it is with her. I hear she has lost her son Richard. I hope she will be supported through her many trials, and have a happy issue out of them. I congratulate you [on] the preservation in the late calamity by fire; also on the marriage of your daughter, [which, alas, proved luckless,] and the enjoyment of health which Mr. Sheafe informs me you possess. God grant you and yours every blessing. Accept and offer my love among them, from that sister who once flattered herself she was beloved by you."

It was probably in answer to this letter that Brother John drafted one to her, which may or may not have been copied and sent. "I am as ready to answer, my dear sister, your letters as I am to receive them, or you [are to] write me, and I challenge all the world to produce an instance of my ingratitude or want of affection where the cause originated with me . . . I have a very valuable estate in outlands, yet I am like Tantalus up to the chin in water, yet cannot drink. I have some thousands of dollars due me which I cannot collect without distressing my fellow men, and I am wading through an almost finished race without the pleasure of enjoyment. Happy should I have been if a kind providence had permitted me to have been the sole support of helpless sisters, but a very large and dependent family has called for thousands more than I have had to help them. But, thank God, through the knowledge that I have an independent real estate, no person is distressing me." He goes on, at great length, to detail the circumstances concerning family lands which he has been accused of appropriating, to point out that not a penny has come to him from these, but that they have involved losses; and incidentally to resent the fact that "Mrs. Han-

cock, now Mrs. Scott" (doubly his first cousin) had offered to send him "Mr. Davis's wig, after his death." The draft of this letter, on the whole senile and peevish, breaks off in the middle.

Two or three more letters concern Catherine, however. In April, 1804, her step-daughter, Mrs. Townsend, wrote a touching appeal to Brother John, whom she supposed affluent. "I have ventured, without her knowledge, to inform you of her real, unhappy situation. A woman at her time of life, beyond the years of sixty, accustomed in the early part of it to live handsome and genteel, and by her industry in the latter to be above dependence, is distressing to a degree. She was obliged to give up everything to her creditors and renounce business two years ago. Ever since, she has been with Aunt Fiske and myself, excepting some visits to Mrs. Scott. The death of her sister and the repeated troubles she has met with have so racked and debilitated her constitution that she is totally unable to undertake any business that can maintain her without the assistance of her friends

. . . Aunt Fiske has left her one hundred dollars, which without a home, and no other means to begin with, is small. . . . Were it in my power to place her in affluence I would with pleasure do it; but our house is very small, our family large and our business on the decline. She has seriously talked of offering herself as housekeeper to any genteel family, which from her ill health she is unable to undertake. Were she to do that . . . I know you would be mortified, not only as her brother but as a man of fortune and benevolence."

Now, so far as records can tell us, Brother John was really a man of benevolence; and believed himself potentially a man of fortune. But he was land-poor. He had never had money enough properly to educate his children. He was lavish in signing notes, which kept him in constant hot water. He believed his lands to be worth a hundred thousand pounds sterling;

and today they are, and more. But when he died, in 1808, and his insolvent estate was somehow wound up by his young colleague at the Portsmouth bar, Daniel Webster, the whole property realized only about fifteen thousand dollars. So the long letter which he instantly wrote back to Mrs. Townsend, detailing his business perplexities, is unquestionably true. He had been unable, for years, to meet his own current expenses; and, in uncomfortable circumstances, he had been accused of heartlessness in not helping poor relatives. This he had resented—particularly when not informed of his sister Fiske's death, nor invited to her funeral. "Your Aunt Wendell," he goes on, "who is one of the best women in the world, heartily grieves at every misfortune in our family, and would heartily join you in anything which would relieve my sister; but, poor woman, although she knows my great sufferings by paying money as bondsman, she knows not half my afflictions."

In brief, he is actually unable to do anything; but before long two of his sons-in-law, Captain Sargent and Captain Randall, are expected in the port of Boston. When they arrive, Mrs. Townsend may consult with them. "In the multitude of counsel there is safety, and something may be devised for my distressed sister."

Whether anything came of this proposed family council does not appear. A letter from Dr. David Townsend, written on Sunday afternoon, April 7th, 1805,—almost a year later—finishes the story: "This day, after a few days' more severe illness than she usually experienced for many years of distressful infirmity, your sister Mrs. Catherine Davis expired about one o'clock. It becomes my painful duty to give you this information, because Mrs. Townsend's distress on the occasion prevents her from giving you a more circumstantial account of the event."

She was buried, the only one of her family left in their native spot, in the tomb, in the Granary Burying

Ground, where her parents lay and her grandparents. This place of burial was piously cared for by Dr. Townsend, and now bears his name as well as that of Major John Wendell.

As for Brother John, who died three years later, he lies in a large tumulus at Portsmouth, bearing his name and the epitaph "Sic Transit Gloria Mundi."

THE CONCILIATORY PROPOSITION IN THE MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION OF 1788

BY GEORGE H. HAYNES

In many respects the problem which at this moment engages the United States Senate resembles the problem which confronted the conventions in the several States, after the draft of the Federal Constitution had been submitted to them for approval.

Then, as now, the question was whether they should ratify a plan for a more perfect union. Then, as now, this plan had been formulated in an assembly whose delegates for many months had worked behind closed doors, in even greater secrecy than that which veiled the Paris Conference. Then, as now, the assembly had disregarded limitations which explicitly or traditionally curbed the competence of such bodies, and submitted a project which was genuinely revolutionary. Then, as now, there were the most violent attacks upon the methods, the motives, the characters of the delegates who had formulated the project. Then, as now, there was much talk of the rights of "sovereign States," and the most jealous anxiety lest that sovereignty be in the slightest degree impaired. Then, as now, the outcome of the assembly's labors was an instrument of compromises. As such, it was satisfactory to not one of the delegates who signed it, and its provisions were no sooner published than they called forth the bitterest denunciation. Then, as now, some delegates had refused to sign a compact which they deemed prejudicial to the States which they represented.

An historical analogy should not be "made to go on all fours." Certain fundamental differences between these two historic situations at once suggest themselves. Thus, Massachusetts, New York, Virginia, and their sister States had never been "sovereign States" in any proper sense of that term; they had all been British dependencies, had united in asserting and maintaining not their individual but their common independence, and for half a dozen years had been managing their governmental affairs under what professed to be "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union." Obviously the foundations for "a more perfect Union" were more firmly laid among those American States along the Atlantic seaboard than among the motley of widely scattered nations represented at the peace table in Paris.

Nevertheless, then, as now, the great question before the people and the conventions in the several States was: Shall we give our assent to this secretly-framed, revolutionary instrument of compromises, which may provide a more perfect Union, but which in so doing will inevitably impair the "sovereignty" of our own State? And then, as now, the greatest inducement to ratification of the new plan of union—which many feared might prove an entangling alliance—lay in the belief that disorders at home and the menace of war with foreign nations threatened evils which could be avoided only by entrance into some firmer bond.

It is not the present purpose to summarize the grounds of approval or of disapproval of the proposed Constitution in those anxious months which preceded its final ratification, but rather to call to mind the attitude as to ratification taken by several leaders, the *impasse* which seemed to have been reached by the beginning of the year 1788, and the "conciliatory proposition," the acceptance of which by the Massachusetts Convention pointed the way of escape.

In the several States there were not a few men whose

individualism or whose prime concern for the interests of their own States led them into fierce denunciation of the proposed frame of government. Thus in the Virginia Convention, says McMaster, Patrick Henry's speeches "were, in truth, a singular mingling of appeals to God and the American spirit, with such reasons for hating the Constitution as were every night hiccoughed out in the taverns or printed every week in the *Chronicle*. . . . Would Virginia give to Congress a right to collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises? Were Virginians about to abandon their country to the depredations of excisemen? Did they intend that any Assembly but the General Assembly should tax them, or any tribunal but the courts of Virginia adjust their disputes? . . . The new plan was a pernicious, an impolitic, a dangerous system. It was a great consolidated government . . . A standing army would do the will of tyrants. . . . These and a hundred other arguments, just as shallow and absurd, he continued for ten days to set forth, with all the eloquence and ingenuity of which he was master."*

But there were other Virginians of deeper insight and greater sense of responsibility. So thoroughgoing an individualist as Jefferson could not fail to find much that was repugnant in the proposed plan. Nevertheless, he felt it imperative that the Constitution be ratified. He declared: "It will be more difficult, if we lose this instrument, to recover what is good in it than to correct what is bad after we shall have adopted it." At first it was his hope that nine States would promptly ratify it, "in order to conserve what was good in it, and that the others might, by holding off, produce the necessary amendments.¹ In similar fashion, there are those today who would consider it a world catastrophe if the League of Nations should not come into effect, but prefer that

*History of the People of the United States, I, 491.

¹Letter, Paris, May 27, 1788.

other nations shall put the League into operation, while the United States, "by holding off," may "produce the necessary amendments."

Washington, who had presided over the secret sessions of the Constitutional Convention during those five anxious months in Philadelphia recognized clearly the danger of attempting to force amendments as a condition of ratification. Again and again his letters make this plain. Thus² a week before the Massachusetts Convention assembled, he was writing to Edmund Randolph:

To my judgment it is more clear than ever, that an attempt to amend the constitution, which is submitted, would be productive of more heat and greater confusion than can well be conceived. There are some things in the new form, I will readily acknowledge, which never did, and I am persuaded never will, obtain my cordial approbation; but I did then conceive, and do now more firmly believe, that in the aggregate it is the best constitution, that can be obtained at this epoch, and that this, or a dissolution of the Union, awaits our choice, and is the only alternative before us. Thus believing, I had not, nor have I now, any hesitation deciding on which to lean.

A month later³ he wrote to Lafayette:

Some respectable characters have wished that the States, after having pointed out whatever alterations and amendments may be judged necessary, would appoint another federal convention to modify it (the Constitution) upon those suggestions. For myself, I have wondered that sensible men should not see the impracticability of this scheme. The members would go fortified with such instructions, that nothing but discordant ideas could prevail. Had I but slightly suspected, at the time when the late Convention was in session, that another Convention would not be likely to agree upon a better form of government, I should now be confirmed in the fixed belief that they would not be likely to agree upon any system what ever; so many, I may add, such contradictory and unfounded objections have been urged against the system in contemplation, many of which would operate equally against every effective government that might be proposed. I will only say, as a further opinion founded on

²January 1, 1788. *The Writings of Washington*, (Sparks, 1835) IX, p. 297.

³February 7, 1788. *Ibid.* p. 318.

the maturest deliberation, that there is no alternative, no hope of alteration, no intermediate resting-place, between the adoption of this and a recurrence to an unqualified state of anarchy, with all its deplorable consequences.

To John Armstrong⁴ he wrote:

That the proposed Constitution will admit of amendments is acknowledged by its warmest advocates: but to make such amendments as may be proposed by the several States the condition of its adoption would, in my opinion, amount to a complete rejection of it; for upon examination of the objections which are made by the opponents in the different States, it will be found that what would be a favorite object with one State, is the very thing which is strenuously opposed by another. The truth is, we are too apt to be swayed by local prejudices, and those who are so fond of amendments, which have the particular interests of their own State in view, cannot extend their ideas to the general welfare of the Union. They do not consider, that, for every sacrifice which they make, they receive an ample compensation by the sacrifices, which are made by other States for their benefit; and that those very things which they give up, operate to their advantage through the medium of the great interest.

In addition to these considerations, it should be remembered that a constitutional door is opened for such amendments as shall be thought necessary by nine States. When I reflect upon these circumstances, I am surprised to find, that any person who is acquainted with the critical state of our public affairs, and knows the variety of views, interests, feelings and prejudices, which must be consulted in framing a general government for these States, and how little propositions in themselves so opposite to each other will tend to promote that desirable end, can wish to make amendments the *ultimatum* for adopting the offered system.

That improvement in the Constitution must come after, not before, its ratification he repeatedly urged. To Lafayette he wrote:

We are not to expect perfection in this world; but mankind, in modern times, has apparently made some progress in the science of government. Should that, which is now offered to the people of America, be found on experiment less perfect than it can be made, a constitutional door is left open for its amelioration.

⁴April 25, 1788. Ibid. p. 351.

To this same thought he recurs in a letter to Bushrod Washington:⁵

The warmest friends and the best supporters the Constitution has, do not contend that it is free from imperfections; but they found these unavoidable, and are sensible, if evil is likely to arise therefrom, the remedy must come thereafter. In the present moment it is not to be obtained; and, as there is a constitutional door open for it, I think the people (for it is with them to judge) as they will have the advantage of experience on their side, can decide with as much propriety as ourselves on the alterations and amendments which are necessary. I do not think we are more inspired, have more wisdom or possess more virtue than those who will come after us.

With this view Henry Knox was in entire accord. To Lafayette he had written, a few weeks after the draft Constitution had been published:⁶

In desiring that the proposed government may be adopted I would not have you believe that I think it all perfect. There are several things in it that I confess I could wish to see altered. But I apprehend no alterations can be effected peaceably. All the States represented agreed to the Constitution as it stands. There are substantial reasons to believe that such an agreement could not again be produced even by the same men.

The outcome of the Massachusetts's Conventions deliberations was awaited with keen expectancy, for it was generally recognized that her decision was likely to determine the Constitution's fate. Five States had promptly given their ratification, but there the movement stalled, and in Pennsylvania retraction of the ratification was being vigorously urged by the minority. The New Hampshire Convention had hardly met when it was adjourned, avowedly to await the Massachusetts verdict. Madison wrote to Washington that the decision of Massachusetts would involve the result in New York, and he added that an adverse decision would also probably embolden the

⁵February 7, 1788. *Ibid.* p. 318.

⁶October 24, 1787. F. S. Drake, *Life of Henry Knox*, p. 96.

Pennsylvania minority to set at naught the ratification in that State and make some rash but dangerous move against the new system.

With like expectancy the world today awaits the action of the United States Senate, which is to say whether the League of Nations shall have substance and reality. Is there a single signatory to the Treaty whose people will not clamor that alterations be made in its interest, if the United States Senate gives the cue in a conditional or qualified ratification?

How did the Massachusetts Convention face its similarly momentous decision? Opposition to the Constitution was known to be strong. It was the current report that from twenty to thirty of Shays's officers were members of the Convention. Edward Bangs wrote to George Thatcher (January 1, 1788): "Of upwards of 50 members for this (Worcester) county not more than seven or eight delegates are of my present sentiments, [i. e. favorable to the Constitution,] and yet some of them are good men.—Not all insurgents, I assure you." The Federalists saw clearly that the opposition to the Constitution was so widely distributed and so deep-rooted that ratification would be impossible unless the grounds of that opposition were frankly recognized and unless there were opened up a hopeful prospect for their removal. An agreement was promptly reached that no votes should be taken till the provisions of the Constitution had received thorough consideration. But the Federal leaders soon became convinced that defeat awaited them, unless votes could be won by some compromise. They took counsel together, and formulated their proposals. Theophilus Parsons, so his son later declared, wrote these resolutions, and every word of them. Then the problem was how to launch them in the Convention. It was essential that the proposal should "seem to emanate from some one who, if not an opponent of the Constitution, had at least taken no steps toward securing its adoption; from some one,

too, in whom the popular party had full confidence.”⁷

This combination of qualities was found in John Hancock, Governor of the Commonwealth and titular President of the Convention. “Up to January 30 his gout, a convenient disease which, as John Adams had remarked some years before, always seized him when there was anything unpleasant or unpopular to do, had prevented him from taking his seat in the Convention. Ten days before, Rufus King had ironically written: “Hancock is still confined, or rather he has not yet taken his seat: as soon as the majority is exhibited on either side, I think his Health will suffice him to be abroad.” Gerry’s biography also conveys the same impression. “The Governor” he writes,⁸ “has held his opinions in reserve; both parties chose to claim his vote. In this doubtful state of things, each was anxious to secure his influence, while they, who were not his friends, attributed his absence not so much to disease, which was the assigned cause, as to a desire of knowing which side should be taken for popularity.”

To the Convention’s President, absent in body and supposedly open of mind, the Federalist leaders therefore resorted. Gerry’s biographer gives a crabbed account of what he understood took place at that interview. They presented “a series of amendments, which had been the result of much anxious deliberation. These could not, indeed, be incorporated into the Constitution by the vote of a State, but they could accompany the ratification as the wish and expectation of this important member of the confederation, and be by that measure finally secured. They tendered to his excellency the honor of proposing them in Convention. The reputation of having devised this middle course, the credit of announcing

⁷So writes Prof. Samuel B. Harding whose monograph, “The Federal Constitution in Massachusetts,” gives an excellent account of the course of events attending the ratification in this Commonwealth. Harvard Historical Studies, 1896. See p.85.)

⁸J. T. Austin, *Life of Elbridge Gerry*, II, p. 73.

it, the imperishable glory of its success, they had deemed it respectful to offer to him, that to the fame of having given his official sanction to the declaration of his country's independence, might be added that of securing for it a permanent constitution of government." These glowing phrases are probably the product of Gerry's historical imagination, for he was an outsider. It seems evident that more definite allurements were presented,—for, a few days after the interview, Rufus King wrote to Henry Knox: "Hancock will hereafter receive the universal support of Bowdoin's friends, and we tell him that if Virginia does not unite, which is problematical, that he is considered the only fair candidate for President."⁹

Accordingly, January 30, Governor Hancock's health did "suffice him to be abroad." "The charm was irresistible. Wrapped in his flannels, Hancock . . . took the chair of the Convention, and a scene ensued more in the character of a dramatic representation, than of that serious and important business, which was the occasion of the assembly. In a speech, vain and plausible enough in itself, but sufficiently ludicrous to those behind the scenes, the Governor and President announced the anxiety of his mind, his doubts, his wishes, his conciliatory plans."¹⁰

To quote from the report of his speech, as given in the Debates of the Convention:

His situation had not permitted him to enter into the debates of this Convention: it however appeared to him necessary from what had been advanced in them, to adopt the form of government proposed; but, observing a diversity of sentiment in the gentlemen of the Convention, he had frequently had conversation with them on the subject; and from this conversation, he was induced to propose to them, whether the introduction of some general amendments would not be attended with the happiest consequences. For that purpose he should, with the leave of the honorable Convention, submit to their consideration a proposition, in order to remove the

⁹F. S. Drake, *Life of Henry Knox*, p. 98. (Feb. 3, 1788.)

¹⁰*Life of Gerry*, II, p. 75.

doubts, and quiet the apprehensions of gentlemen He should, therefore, submit them; for he was, he said, unable to go more largely into the subject, if his abilities would permit him; relying on the candor of the Convention to bear him witness that his wishes for a good Constitution were sincere. [His Excellency then read his proposition.] This, gentlemen, concluded his Excellency, is the proposition which I had to make and I submit it to your consideration, with the sincere wish that it may have a tendency to promote a spirit of union."¹¹

The essential feature of the proposal—"a scheme so simple, and yet so important in its results"—was that Massachusetts should give the Constitution an unqualified ratification, but should accompany that action by urging the prompt addition of specific amendments.

The effect of its introduction was instantaneous. No sooner had Hancock ended his speech when Samuel Adams took the floor. Up to this moment he had been neutral in the Convention, though known to be strongly opposed to some features of the Constitution. He began:

"Mr. President: I feel myself happy in contemplating the idea that many benefits will result from your Excellency's *conciliatory proposition*, to this Commonwealth and to the United States; . . . I have said, that I have had my doubts of this Constitution. I could not digest every part of it, as readily as some gentlemen; . . . Other gentlemen have had their doubts, but in my opinion, the proposition submitted, will have a tendency to remove such doubts and to conciliate the minds of the Convention and the people without doors. This subject, Sir, is of the greatest magnitude, and has employed the attention of every rational man in the United States; but the minds of the people are not so well agreed on it as all of us could wish. A proposal of this sort, coming from Massachusetts, from her importance, will have its weight. Four or five States have considered and ratified the Constitution as it stands; but we know there is a diversity of opinion, even in these States, and one of them is greatly agitated. If this Convention should particularize the amendments necessary to be proposed, it appears to me it must have

¹¹Massachusetts Convention, 1788 (Ed. of 1856) p. 225.

weight in other States where Conventions have not yet met.' He therefore moved that the proposition be at once taken into consideration by the Convention."¹²

Brought forward by John Hancock and immediately enlisting the support of Samuel Adams, the proposition was assured of the Convention's earnest attention. "On motion of a doubtful character" (to use Madison's phrase), it was promptly referred to a large committee, consisting of two members from each of the large counties, and of one from two small ones. It was characteristic of the spirit of the Convention that it was further agreed that "each county should nominate their own members, and that they should take one who had given his vote for, and one who had given his opinion against, the Constitution, in each county wherein two were chosen."¹³

Nevertheless, Madison reported to Washington: "We have a majority of Federalists on this committee, and flatter ourselves the result will be favorable."¹⁴

That forecast proved justified. The committee made no essential changes; they did little else than fill certain blanks which had been left in the original draft. In less than a week the Convention was ready for the final vote. On that very morning, Samuel Adams introduced a series of amendments—in the nature of a Bill of Rights—to be added to those reported by the Committee. In the words of the record of the Debates of the Convention: "But they not meeting the approbation of those gentlemen whose minds they were intended to ease, after they were debated a considerable time, the honorable gentlemen withdrew them." They were, however, promptly proposed by another member, whereupon Adams found himself constrained to vote against the measure

¹²Ibid. pp. 225-6.

¹³Benjamin Lincoln to George Washington, Feb. 3, 1788.

¹⁴Works of Madison, I, 376. Feb. 11, 1788.

which he had himself proposed. Of this peculiar episode Jeremy Belknap wrote that Adams¹⁵

"had almost overset the applegart by *intruding* an amendment on the morning of the day of ratification . . . It was apprehended this manoeuver lost the Constitution several votes. Some suspect his *intention* was to overset the whole; but 'Charity hopeth all things,' and I am seriously of the mind that it rather proceeded from vanity of increasing his *own* popularity, as Hancock had his, by the midwifeing the other amendments into the world. Had it not been for this step, the whole exertion had been in vain. Adams has made himself unpopular."

In a conciliatory speech, urging all to acquiesce in the decision expressed by the majority, President Hancock, February 6, submitted to the Convention the question of ratifying the Constitution. The vote stood: Yeas, 187; Nays, 168, so that it was carried by a majority of nineteen.¹⁶

Despite the narrowness of the majority, the vote was accepted as decisive and in the closing hours of the Convention many of the Constitution's former opponents acknowledged that many of their doubts had been removed, that they had been fairly outvoted, and declared their intention of going back to their constituents and trying—as one Worcester County member phrased it—"to infuse a spirit of harmony and love among the people". Throughout the Commonwealth the action of the Convention soon met with cordial acquiescence, even in the counties where opposition had been most pronounced.

What were these amendments, whose proposal had such a conciliatory effect, and in what form were they associated with the resolution of ratification? The essential portions of the resolution are as follows:¹⁷

¹⁵Letter to Hazard, Feb. 10, 1788. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections* Fifth Series, III, 17.

¹⁶It is interesting to observe that Worcester County's delegation proved impervious to argument. Only two or three of them had taken any part in the debates. In the final, vote their stand was exactly as Bangs had forecast it before the Convention assembled,—43 against ratification to seven in favor of it.

¹⁷Journal of the Convention of 1788. (Ed. of 1856) pp. 83-85.

The Convention, having impartially discussed and fully considered the Constitution of the United States of America . . . do, in the name and in behalf of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *assent to* and *ratify* the said CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

And as it is the opinion of this Convention, that certain amendments and alterations in the said Constitution would remove the fears and quiet the apprehensions of many of the good people of this Commonwealth, and more effectually guard against an undue administration of the federal government, the Convention do therefore recommend that the following alterations and provisions be introduced into the said Constitution.

The nine proposed amendments may be summarized as follows:

First. That it be explicitly declared, that all powers not expressly delegated by the Constitution, are reserved to the several States. (Cf. Article X, Amendments.)

Second. That there should be one representative to every 30,000, until the whole number of representatives reached 200.

Third. That Congress should exercise the power to regulate elections only when a State neglected or refused to make adequate provision therefor, or made regulations subversive of the rights of the people to a free and equal representation.

Fourth. That Congress should lay direct taxes only when the revenue from imposts and excises was insufficient.

Fifth. That Congress should erect no company with exclusive advantages of commerce.

Sixth. That indictment by a grand jury must precede trial for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, except in the land or naval forces. (Cf. Amendment V.)

Seventh. That in suits between citizens of different States the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts should be limited to causes wherein the matter in dispute was of a certain value.

Eighth. That in all civil actions between citizens of different States, every issue of fact arising in actions at common law, should be tried by a jury, at the request of either party. (Cf. Amendment VII.)

Ninth. Congress shall at no time consent that any person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall accept of a title of nobility, or any other title or office, from any king, prince, or foreign state. (Cf. Art. I, Sec. 9, Par. 8.)

Then followed the paragraph which set forth the future course to be pursued as to these proposals:—

“And the Convention do, in the name and in behalf of the people of this Commonwealth, enjoin it upon their representatives in Congress, at all times, until the alterations and provisions aforesaid have been considered, agreeably to the fifth article of the said Constitution: to exert all their influence and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a ratification of the said alterations and provisions, in such manner as is provided in the said article.” And with the formal notice of the assent and ratification of the Constitution this recommendation and injunction should also be transmitted to the United States, in Congress assembled.

The importance which at the time was attached to the Massachusetts Convention's action is evidenced by the eager comment upon it in the letters of leaders of the day. Hardly a week passed during its sessions in which Washington did not receive direct personal reports of its doings from his own correspondents in Boston, or from Madison and others conveying the news which had reached them. Washington's solicitude as to the outcome was very great. To Benjamin Lincoln¹⁸ he wrote: “There is no doubt but the decision of other States will have great influence here, particularly one so respectable as Massachusetts.” To Madison, a few weeks later, he wrote:¹⁹ “A rejection of the new form by that State (Massachusetts) would invigorate the opposition, not only in New York, but in all those which are to follow; at the same time it would afford materials for the minority in such as have already agreed to it, to blow the trumpet of discord more loudly.”

Nine days had passed after the ratification before Madison could relieve Washington's anxiety by this message: “I have at length the pleasure to enclose to you the favorable result of the Convention at Boston. The amendments are a blemish, but are

¹⁸Washington's Writing, IX, p. 311. Jan. 31, 1788.

¹⁹Feb. 5, 1788. Ibid. p. 312.

in the least offensive form."²⁰ To this, Washington replied: "The decision of Massachusetts, notwithstanding its concomitants, is a severe stroke to the opponents of the proposed constitution in this State."²¹ To Benjamin Lincoln he wrote: "The conciliatory behaviour of the minority will strike a damp on the hopes, which opponents in other States might otherwise have formed from the smallness of the majority, and must be greatly influential in obtaining a favorable determination in those States which have not yet decided upon it."²² To Henry Knox he sent the comment: "Had this (ratification) been done without its concomitants, by a larger majority, the stroke would have been more severely felt by the anti-federalists in other States. As it is, it operates as a damper to their hopes, and is a matter of disappointment and chagrin to them all . . . It will be very influential on the equivocal States."²³ In reporting the outcome to Lafayette, Washington wrote:²⁴ "Massachusetts adopted the constitution *in toto*, but recommended a number of specific alterations as an early, serious and unremitting subject of attention."

There were some who felt slight confidence in the course which had been here pursued. Thus Richard Henry Lee²⁵ wrote: "Massachusetts, I see, had adopted the plan, but proposes to insist perseveringly on amendments. If it were permitted an individual to question so enlightened an assembly, I would ask, why submit to a system requiring such amendments, and trust to creatures of our own creation, for the correcting of evils in it that threaten the destruction of those ends for which the system was formed."

²⁰Feb. 15, 1788. Works of Madison, I, p. 376.

²¹Virginia, Writings of Washington, IX, p. 330. March 2, 1788.

²²Feb. 28, 1788. Ibid, p. 328.

²³March 3, 1788. Ibid. p. 333.

²⁴April 28, 1788. Ibid. p. 357.

²⁵April 28, 1788.

But, on the other hand, the hitherto doubting Thomas Jefferson, when the news from Boston reached him in Paris, at once declared the Massachusetts solution far preferable to that which he, himself, had advocated, and expressed the hope that this example—this “noble conduct” of Massachusetts—would be “followed by the [States] who are yet to decide,” declaring that, if they did so, “it is impossible but that they must attain the essential amendments.”²⁶

Of the actual influence which the action of the precedent set by the Massachusetts Convention exercised, Professor Harding says: “The ratification of the proposed Constitution by Massachusetts was the turning point in the contest. Not only had that State influence enough to decide many who before had been wavering, but she had by her conciliatory proposition shown a way by which the Constitution might be saved, while at the same time the dangers would be obviated which many conceived would result from unconditional acceptance. . . . To the rank and file of the opposition in other States, as in Massachusetts, the idea proved exceedingly taking.

. . . The most striking testimony to the influence of Massachusetts in this particular, however, is found in the action of the Conventions themselves. Prior to the inauguration by Massachusetts of the practice of recommending amendments, the issue presented had been the bare one of acceptance or rejection. Of the five States which had already ratified the Constitution, not one had officially proposed a single amendment to that instrument. After Massachusetts had once pointed out the way, however, all this was changed: of the seven States which had yet to ratify, only one, Maryland, omitted to take such action.”

Great doors often turn upon small hinges. But for our Convention’s adoption of that “conciliatory proposition,” it would seem that the ratification of the Constitution would have been impossible. The only

²⁶Writings of Jefferson, (May 27, 1788) V. 20; (June 3), p. 23-5.

alternative, so Washington declared, would have been "a recurrence to an unqualified state of anarchy."²⁷ Yet hardly had the new government been put in operation than Americans' attitude toward the Constitution underwent an almost incredible transformation. Von Holst follows his account of the desperate struggle over the Constitution's ratification by a chapter entitled, "The Worship of the Constitution." Years later, Mr. Bryce observed: "It has long been the habit of Americans to talk of their Constitution with almost superstitious reverence."

Out of the 103 amendments suggested by the various States, the First Congress approved twelve, which were submitted for ratification. Ten of these forthwith were added to the Constitution. In these ten amendments we find traces of only three of those nine proposals which had been put forward in the Massachusetts Convention, under such critical circumstance. It may be doubted whether even these proposals, which did find their way into the fundamental law through what Washington called the "constitutional door," made any material difference in the development through which our government was to pass. As to the other six proposals, it needed but a few years' experience to prove some of them superfluous, some immaterial, and at least one preposterous. Our representatives in Congress speedily forgot that solemn injunction that they "exert all their influence, and use all reasonable and legal methods to obtain a ratification" of those precious amendments. Yet it was genuine statesmanship which formulated them to meet the anxious fears of Massachusetts opponents of the Constitution, and which secured their being put forward in such wise as not to delay or endanger the formation of that more perfect union the need for which was becoming so tragically evident.

The clock from the stairway yonder warns me that I have trespassed too long upon your patience. One

²⁷Writings, IX, p. 319.

hundred and thirty-one years ago, that very clock, in John Hancock's home, warned him that the time had come for him, wrapped in his flannels, to proceed to the Convention, to introduce that "conciliatory proposition." At this moment, as four generations ago, the opportunity to formulate and to secure the adoption of a new "conciliatory proposition," upon which shall turn the fate, not of a more perfect union of a few little American States but of the League of all the Great Nations of the earth, may lie within the grasp of another Massachusetts statesman, her senior Senator, an honored member of this Society.

When four generations more shall have passed, will meetings of this already venerable Society still gather in this Library, built to bid defiance to Time? Will John Hancock's clock still chime a reminder of its owner's part in connection with the ratification of the Constitution, and all the progress which that act made possible? Will the objections which today delay America's acceptance of membership in the League of Nations then seem momentous enough to justify her refusal to join the League, or to justify the qualifying of her ratification of the Treaty with such reservations as will force the re-opening of all the major issues at the Paris Conference, or to justify the withdrawal of America from all concern with the affairs of the other nations of the earth, except as Congress may decide that America's interests are involved? Will America's best service to the world then be seen to have required such withdrawal? Or, in comparison with the earnest seeking to attain a League of Nations which shall enforce peace and justice, will these anxiously debated present-day amendments and reservations seem as superfluous, as immaterial, as most of the nine suggested amendments which constituted that "conciliatory proposition" of long ago?

Who shall say? For Antiquarians what rôle could be less fitting than that of the prophet!

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NOTE

The thirtieth volume of the present series contains the records of the Proceedings of April 14, and October 20, 1920.

The reports of the Council have been presented by Henry Winchester Cunningham and Waldo Lincoln.

Papers have been received from Leonard Leopold Mackall, Gaillard Hunt, Henry Farr DePuy, Arthur Prentice Rugg, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Arthur Lord and Thomas Hovey Gage.

The volume contains the twelfth installment of the Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820, covering part of Pennsylvania, (A-N) prepared by Clarence Saunders Brigham.

Obituary notices of the following deceased members appear in this volume: Andrew MacFarland Davis, Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Richard Ward Greene, Henry Fitch Jenks, William Denison Lyman, Thomas McAdory Owen, and James Schouler.



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ALBERT SHAW, LL.D., New York, N. Y.

April, 1895.

THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D., Ravenna, Ohio.

CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD MOORE, A.B., Philadelphia, Pa.

April, 1896.

WILLIAM TROWBRIDGE FORBES, A.B., Worcester, Mass.

EDWIN AUGUSTUS GROSVENOR, LL.D., Amherst, Mass.

October, 1896.

GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, PH.D., . . Worcester, Mass.

ARTHUR LORD, LL.D., Plymouth, Mass.

April, 1897.

JOSEPH FLORIMOND LOUBAT, LL.D., . . Paris, France.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., LITT.D., Worcester, Mass.

April, 1898.

LEWIS WINTERS GUNCKEL, PH.B.,	Dayton, Ohio.
WALDO LINCOLN, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
EDWARD SYLVESTER MORSE, Sc.D.,	Salem, Mass.

April, 1899.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, LITT.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, LITT.D.,	Dover, Mass.

October, 1899.

RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
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April, 1900.

SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
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October, 1900.

EDWARD HOOKER GILBERT, A.B., . .	Ware, Mass.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.

April, 1901.

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
ALLEN CLAPP THOMAS, A.M.,	Haverford, Pa.
REV. WILLISTON WALKER, LITT.D.,	New Haven, Conn.

October, 1901.

GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., .	Cambridge, Mass.
SAMUEL WALKER MCCALL, LL.D., . .	Winchester, Mass.
ALBERT MATTHEWS, A.B.,	Boston, Mass.

October, 1902.

WILLIAM MACDONALD, LL.D.,	Berkeley, Cal.
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, PH.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.

April, 1904.

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,	New York, N. Y.

October, 1904.

DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE, A.M., . . Boston, Mass.

October, 1905.

CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM, A.M., . . Worcester, Mass.
WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES, Washington, D. C.

October, 1906.

WILLIAM KEENEY BIXBY, LL.D., . . St. Louis, Mo.
LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT, Worcester, Mass.

April, 1907.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, LL.D., . Cambridge, Mass.

October, 1907.

CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS, L.H.D. . . New Haven, Conn.
CLARENCE MONROE BURTON, A.M., . . Detroit, Mich.
HERBERT PUTNAM, LL.D., Washington, D. C.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, LL.D., . Cambridge, Mass.

April, 1908.

WILLIAM BEER, New Orleans, La.
FRANZ BOAS, PH.D., New York, N. Y.
GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL.D., . . Ithaca, N. Y.
PETER JOSEPH HAMILTON, A.M., . . San Juan, Porto Rico
CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH.D., . . Ithaca, N. Y.
WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, A.B., . . Cambridge, Mass.

April, 1908.

ANDREW CUNNINGHAM McLAUGHLIN, A.M., Chicago, Ill.
EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, PH.D., . New York, N. Y.
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE, Dedham, Mass.
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN, A.B., . Worcester, Mass.
SAMUEL BAYARD WOODWARD, M.D., . Worcester, Mass.

October, 1908.

GEORGE HUBBARD BLAKESLEE, PH.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
CLYDE AUGUSTUS DUNIWAY, PH.D.,	Colorado Springs, Colo.
MAX FARRAND, PH.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE,	Washington, D. C.
WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
ALFRED LOUIS KROEBER, PH.D.,	San Francisco, Cal.
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
MARSHALL HOWARD SAVILLE,	New York, N. Y.
ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER, PH.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.

April, 1909.

SAMUEL MORRIS CONANT,	Pawtucket, R. I.
WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO, L.H.D.,	Providence, R. I.
JUSTIN HARVEY SMITH, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.

October, 1909.

HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, PH.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
EDWARD EVERETT AYER,	Chicago, Ill.
HIRAM BINGHAM, PH.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM, A.B.,	Milton, Mass.
ROLAND BURRAGE DIXON, PH.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
FRANK FARNUM DRESSER, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
REV. SHEPHERD KNAPP, D.D.,	Worcester, Mass.

April, 1910.

GAILLARD HUNT, LL.D.	Washington, D. C.
ARCHER MILTON HUNTINGTON, LITT.D.,	New York, N. Y.
BARRETT WENDELL, LITT.D.,	Boston, Mass.
ALBERT HENRY WHITIN,	Whitinsville, Mass.

October, 1910.

ALBERT CARLOS BATES, A.M.	Hartford, Conn.
GEORGE FRANCIS DOW,	Topsfield, Mass.
CHARLES EVANS,	Chicago, Ill.
HOMER GAGE, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
SAMUEL VERPLANCK HOFFMANN,	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, LL.D.,	Princeton, N. J.

April, 1911.

THOMAS WILLING BALCH, L.H.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, PH.D.,	Northampton, Mass.
ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
CARL RUSSELL FISH, PH.D.,	Madison, Wis.
JOHN HOLLADAY LATANE, PH.D.,	Baltimore, Md.

April, 1912.

CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD, PH.D.,	Urbana, Ill.
LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.B.,	Milton, Mass.
ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES HENRY TAYLOR, JR.,	Boston, Mass.

October, 1912.

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, LL.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
LYON GARDINER TYLER, LL.D.,	Williamsburg, Va.

October, 1913.

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, PH.D.,	Berkeley, Cal.
REV. HERBERT EDWIN LOMBARD,	Webster, Mass.
BERNARD CHRISTIAN STEINER, PH.D.,	Baltimore, Md.
WOODROW WILSON, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.

April, 1914.

HOWARD MILLAR CHAPIN, A.B.,	Providence, R. I.
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, PH.D.,	Boston, Mass.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS, LL.B.,	Boston, Mass.
GEORGE ARTHUR PLIMPTON, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
ALEXANDER SAMUEL SALLEY, JR.,	Columbia, S. C.

October, 1914.

JESSE WALTER FEWKES, PH.D.,	Washington, D. C.
THOMAS HOVEY GAGE, LL.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
OTIS GRANT HAMMOND, A.M.,	Concord, N. H.
CHARLES FRANCIS JENNEY, LL.B.,	Hyde Park, Mass.
WILLIAM PENDLETON PALMER,	Cleveland, Ohio.
MILO MILTON QUAIFFE, PH.D.,	Madison, Wis.

April, 1915.

JOHN WHITEMORE FARWELL, LITT.B.,	Boston, Mass.
REV. SAMUEL HART, LL.D.,	Middletown, Conn.
IRA NELSON HOLLIS, Sc.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
HENRY EDWARDS HUNTINGTON, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS, A.B., .	Salem, Mass.
REV. HENRY BRADFORD WASHBURN, D.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
LEONARD WHEELER, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.

October, 1915.

JOHN WOOLF JORDAN, LL.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
ALEXANDER GEORGE MCADIE, A.M.,	Milton, Mass.

April, 1916.

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT, A.B.,	Danvers, Mass.
NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER, B.A.S.,	Milton, Mass.

October, 1916.

SOLON JUSTUS BUCK, Ph.D.,	Minneapolis, Minn.
WILLIAM LAWRENCE CLEMENTS, B.S.,	Bay City, Mich.
LAWRENCE PARK,	Groton, Mass.
ROGERS CLARK BALLARD THRUSTON, Ph.B.,	Louisville, Ky.

April, 1917.

HENRY FARR DEPUY,	New York, N. Y.
GEORGE ANTHONY GASKILL, A.B., .	Worcester, Mass.
JOHN THOMAS LEE,	Madison, Wis.
REV. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK, D.D.,	Boston, Mass.
ISAAC RAND THOMAS,	Boston, Mass.

April, 1918.

JAMES KENDALL HOSMER, LL.D., . .	Minneapolis, Minn.
ROBERT HENDRE KELBY,	New York, N. Y.
JOHN WOODBURY, A.B.,	Boston, Mass.

October, 1918.

ALFRED LAWRENCE AIKEN, A.M., .	Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON, A.B., .	Boston, Mass.
GEORGE WATSON COLE,	New York, N. Y.
JOHN HENRY EDMONDS,	Boston, Mass.
LEONARD LEOPOLD MACKALL, A.B., .	New York, N. Y.
SAMUEL LYMAN MUNSON,	Albany, N. Y.

XVIII

April, 1919.

JAMES ALTON JAMES, PH.D., . . .	Evanston, Ill.
FREDERICK WILLIAM LEHMANN, LL.D.,	St. Louis, Mo.
ALFRED CLAGHORN POTTER, A.B., . .	Cambridge, Mass.
HAROLD MARSH SEWALL, LL.B., . . .	Bath, Me.
ROBERT KENDALL SHAW, A.B., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL.D., . .	Cambridge, Mass.
WILLIAM THOMAS, LL.B.,	San Francisco, Cal.

October, 1919.

ROBERT DIGGES WIMBERLY CONNOR, PH.B.	Raleigh, N. C.
ISAAC NEWTON PHELPS STOKES, A.B.,	New York, N. Y.

April, 1920.

MERRICK LINCOLN, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE LEANDER SHEPLEY, A.M., . .	Providence, R. I.
JAMES BENJAMIN WILBUR,	Manchester, Vt.

October, 1920.

JOHN ADAMS AIKEN, LL.D.,	Greenfield, Mass.
WILLIAM GWINN MATHER,	Cleveland, Ohio.
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON, A.B.,	Charleston, S. C.

FOREIGN MEMBERS.

BOLIVIA.

April, 1910.

NAME	RESIDENCE
MANUEL VICENTE BALLIVIÁN, . . .	La Paz.

BRAZIL.

April, 1910.

JOSÉ CARLOS RODRIGUEZ, LL.B., . . .	Rio de Janeiro.
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April, 1919.

MANUEL DE OLIVEIRA LIMA, . . .	Washington, D. C.
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BRITISH GUIANA.

October, 1917.

JAMES RODWAY,	Georgetown.
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CANADA.

April, 1908.

NARCISSE-EUTROPE DIONNE, LL.D., .	Quebec.
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April, 1910.

ARTHUR GEORGE DOUGHTY, LITT.D.,	Ottawa.
WILLIAM LAWSON GRANT, A.M., . . .	Kingston.
WILLIAM WOOD, D.C.L.,	Quebec.

October, 1910.

GEORGE MCKINNON WRONG, A.M., .	Toronto.
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CHILE.

April, 1909.

JOSÉ TORIBIO MEDINA,	Santiago de Chile.
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COSTA RICA.

April, 1919.

ANASTASIO ALFARO, San José.

FRANCE.

October, 1896.

HENRY VIGNAUD, Bagneux, Seine.

October, 1917.

JEAN JULES JUSSERAND, LL.D., . . . Paris.

April, 1919.

SEYMOUR DE RICCI, Paris.

GERMAN EMPIRE.

April, 1875.

OTTO KELLER, PH.D., Stuttgart.

April, 1893.

JOHANNES CONRAD, LL.D., . . . Halle.

April, 1910.

EDUARD SELER, PH.D., Berlin.

GREAT BRITAIN.

April, 1882.

RT. HON. VISCOUNT BRYCE, D.C.L. . . Sussex.

October, 1892.

CHARLES HARDING FIRTH, LITT.D., . . Oxford.

SIR PAUL VINOGRADOFF, LL.D., . . . Oxford.

October, 1894.

HUBERT HALL, F. S. A. London.

October, 1901.

SIR ARTHUR HERBERT CHURCH, D.Sc., Shelsley,
Kew Gardens.

October, 1910.

ALFRED PERCIVAL MAUDSLAY, D.Sc., London.

October, 1913.

VERE LANGFORD OLIVER, Sunninghill.

October, 1915.

RT. HON. SIR GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN, LL.D.,
London.

HOLLAND.

October, 1895.

JOHANN CHRISTOPH VOLLGRAFF, L.H.D., Utrecht.

HONDURAS.

October, 1917.

ALBERTO MEMBREÑO, Tegucigalpa.

MEXICO.

October, 1890.

NICOLÁS LEÓN, PH.D., Mexico City.

April, 1907.

GENARO GARCÍA, Mexico City.

NORWAY.

October, 1906.

ROALD AMUNDSEN, Christiania.

PERU.

October, 1912.

FEDERICO ALFONSO PEZET, LL.D., Washington, D. C.

October 1920 .

JORGE M. CORBACHO, Lima.

PORTUGAL.

October, 1906.

BERNARDINO MACHADO, Lisbon.

WEST INDIES.

April, 1912.

FRANK CUNDALL, Kingston, Jamaica.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, LITT.D., .	New Haven, Conn.
ALFRED LAWRENCE AIKEN, A.M., .	Worcester, Mass.
JOHN ADAMS AIKEN, LL.D., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD, PH.D.,	Urbana, Ill.
HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, PH.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
CHARLES MCLEAN ANDREWS, L.H.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
EDWARD EVERETT AYER,	Chicago, Ill.
THOMAS WILLING BALCH, L.H.D. .	Philadelphia, Pa.
SIMEON EBEN BALDWIN, LL.D.,*	New Haven, Conn.
JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, PH.D. . .	Northampton, Mass.
ALBERT CARLOS BATES, A.M.* . .	Hartford, Conn.
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, LITT.D., .	Portland, Me.
WILLIAM BEER,	New Orleans, La.
ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL, LL.D., .	Washington, D. C.
HIRAM BINGHAM, PH.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
WILLIAM KEENEY BIXBY, LL.D.,*	St. Louis, Mo.
GEORGE HUBBARD BLAKESLEE, PH.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
FRANZ BOAS, PH.D.,	New York, N. Y.
CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON, A.B., .	Boston, Mass.
HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, PH.D., .	Berkeley, Cal.
CHARLES PICKERING BOWDITCH, A.M.,*	Boston, Mass.
CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, LL.D.,*	New York, N. Y.
CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
SOLON JUSTUS BUCK, PH.D., . . .	Minneapolis, Minn.

* Signifies life members.

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.
CLARENCE MONROE BURTON, A.M.,	Detroit, Mich.
EDWARD CHANNING, PH.D.,*	Cambridge, Mass.
HOWARD MILLAR CHAPIN, A.B.,*	Providence, R. I.
WILLIAM LAWRENCE CLEMENTS, B.S.,	Bay City, Mich.
GEORGE WATSON COLE,	New York, N. Y.
REUBEN COLTON, A.B.,	Boston, Mass.
SAMUEL MORRIS CONANT,	Pawtucket, R. I.
ROBERT DIGGES WIMBERLY CONNOR, PH.B.,	Raleigh, N.C.
ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, LL.D.,*	Boston, Mass.
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM, A.B.,*	Milton, Mass.
LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.B.,*	Milton, Mass.
HENRY FARR DEPUY,	New York, N. Y.
FRANCIS HENSHAW DEWEY, A.M.,*	Worcester, Mass.
ROLAND BURRAGE DIXON, PH.D., .	Cambridge, Mass.
GEORGE FRANCIS DOW,	Topsfield, Mass.
FRANK FARNUM DRESSER, A.M., .	Worcester, Mass.
CLYDE AUGUSTUS DUNIWAY, PH.D.,	Colorado Springs, Col.
WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
WILBERFORCE EAMES, A.M.,	New York, N. Y.
HENRY HERBERT EDES, A.M.,* . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
JOHN HENRY EDMONDS,*	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT, A. B.	Danvers, Mass.
CHARLES EVANS,	Chicago, Ill.
MAX FARRAND, PH.D.,*	New Haven, Conn.
JOHN WHITTEMORE FARWELL, LITT.B.,*	Boston, Mass.
JESSE WALTER FEWKES, PH.D., . .	Washington, D. C.
CARL RUSSELL FISH, PH.D.,	Madison, Wis.
WILLIAM TROWBRIDGE FORBES, A.B.	Worcester, Mass.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
WILLIAM EATON FOSTER, LITT.D.,*	Providence, R. I.
HOMER GAGE, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
THOMAS HOVEY GAGE, LL.B.,* . .	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE ANTHONY GASKILL, A.B.,*	Worcester, Mass.
EDWARD HOOKER GILBERT, A.B., .	Ware, Mass.
CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH, LL.B.,	Brookline, Mass.
EDWIN AUGUSTUS GROSVENOR, LL.D.,	Amherst, Mass.
LEWIS WINTERS GUNCKEL, PH.B., .	Dayton, Ohio.

GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
PETER JOSEPH HAMILTON, A.M.,	San Juan, Porto Rico.
OTIS GRANT HAMMOND, A.M.,	Concord, N. H.
WILLIAM HARDEN,	Savannah, Ga.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, PH.D.,*	Worcester, Mass.
BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE,	New York, N. Y.
SAMUEL VERPLANCK HOFFMAN,*	New York, N. Y.
IRA NELSON HOLLIS, Sc.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES,	Washington, D. C.
JAMES KENDALL HOSMER, LL.D.,	Minneapolis, Minn.
ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.
GAILLARD HUNT, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
ARCHER MILTON HUNTINGTON, LITT.D.,	New York, N. Y.
HENRY EDWARDS HUNTINGTON, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
JAMES ALTON JAMES, PH.D.,	Evanston, Ill.
JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
LAWRENCE WATERS JENKINS, A.B.,*	Salem, Mass.
CHARLES FRANCIS JENNEY, LL.B.,	Hyde Park, Mass.
HENRY PHELPS JOHNSTON, A.M.,	New York, N. Y.
JOHN WOOLF JORDAN, LL.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
ROBERT HENDRE KELBY,	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
NATHANIEL THAYER KIDDER, B.A.S.,*	Milton, Mass.
LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT,*	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
REV. SHEPHERD KNAPP, D.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
ALFRED LOUIS KROEBER, PH.D.,	San Francisco, Cal.
WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, A.B.,	Cambridge, Mass.
JOHN HOLLADAY LATANÉ, PH.D.,	Baltimore, Md.
RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, LL.D.,*	Boston, Mass.
JOHN THOMAS LEE,	Madison, Wis.
FREDERICK WILLIAM LEHMANN, LL.D.,	St. Louis, Mo.
MERRICK LINCOLN, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
WALDO LINCOLN, A.B.,*	Worcester, Mass.
HENRY CABOT LODGE, LL.D.,*	Nahant, Mass.
REV. HERBERT EDWIN LOMBARD,*	Webster, Mass.

ARTHUR LORD, LL.D.,	Plymouth, Mass.
JOSEPH FLORIMOND LOUBAT, LL.D.,*	Paris, France.
ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, LL.D.,*	Cambridge, Mass.
ALEXANDER GEORGE McADIE, A.M.,	Milton, Mass.
SAMUEL WALKER McCALL, LL.D., .	Winchester, Mass.
WILLIAM MacDONALD, LL.D., . .	Berkeley, Cal.
LEONARD LEOPOLD MACKALL, A.B.,	New York, N. Y.
ANDREW CUNNINGHAM McLAUGHLIN, A.M.,	Chicago, Ill.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, LL.D., . .	Philadelphia, Pa.
WILLIAM GWINN MATHER,	Cleveland, Ohio.
ALBERT MATTHEWS, A.B.,	Boston, Mass.
THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D.,	Ravenna, Ohio.
JOHN MCKINSTRY MERRIAM, A. B.,	Framingham, Mass.
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, Ph.D.,*	Cambridge, Mass.
CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD MOORE, A.B.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, Ph.D.* .	Concord, Mass.
EDWARD SYLVESTER MORSE, Sc.D.,	Salem, Mass.
WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO, L.H.D.,	Providence, R. I.
SAMUEL LYMAN MUNSON,	Albany, N. Y.
CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., LITT.D.,*	Worcester, Mass.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS, LL.B.,*	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM PENDLETON PALMER, . . .	Cleveland, Ohio.
VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,	New York, N. Y.
REV. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK, D.D.,	Boston, Mass.
LAWRENCE PARK,*	Groton, Mass.
GEORGE ARTHUR PLIMPTON, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
ALFRED CLAGHORN POTTER, A.B., .	Cambridge, Mass.
HERBERT PUTNAM, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
MÍLO MILTON QUAlFE, Ph.D., . . .	Madison, Wis.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D.,* . . .	Boston, Mass.
FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, Ph.D., . .	Cambridge, Mass.
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D.,* .	Worcester, Mass.
ALEXANDER SAMUEL SALLEY, JR., .	Columbia, S. C.
MARSHALL HOWARD SAVILLE, . . .	New York, N. Y.
HAROLD MARSH SEWALL, LL.B., . .	Bath, Me.
ALBERT SHAW, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
ROBERT KENDALL SHAW, A.B., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE LEANDER SHEPLEY, A.M., .	Providence, R. I.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, LL.D.,	Princeton, N. J.

JUSTIN HARVEY SMITH, LL.D., . . .	Boston, Mass.
REV. CALVIN STEBBINS, A.B.,* . . .	Framingham, Mass.
BERNARD CHRISTIAN STEINER, PH.D.,	Baltimore, Md.
NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON, A.B.,	Charleston, S. C.
EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, PH.D.,	New York, N. Y.
ISAAC NEWTON PHELPS STOKES, A.B.,	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, LL.D., . . .	New Haven, Conn.
CHARLES HENRY TAYLOR, JR.,* . . .	Boston, Mass.
HANNIS TAYLOR, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER, LL.D., . .	Cambridge, Mass.
ALLEN CLAPP THOMAS, A.M.,	Haverford, Pa.
ISAAC RAND THOMAS,*	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM THOMAS, LL.B.,	San Francisco, Cal.
EDWARD HERBERT THOMPSON,	Cambridge, Mass.
ROGERS CLARK BALLARD THRUSTON, PH.B,	Louisville, Ky.
ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER, PH.D., . .	Cambridge, Mass.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE,*	Dedham, Mass.
LYON GARDINER TYLER, LL.D., . . .	Williamsburg, Va.
DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE, A.M., . .	Boston, Mass.
SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
REV. WILLISTON WALKER, LITT.D. . .	New Haven, Conn.
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
REV. HENRY BRADFORD WASHBURN, D.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
BARRETT WENDELL, LITT.D.,	Boston, Mass.
LEONARD WHEELER, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
ALBERT HENRY WHITIN	Whitinsville Mass.
JAMES BENJAMIN WILBUR	Manchester, Vt.
WOODROW WILSON, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, LITT.D.,*	Dover, Mass.
THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP,	Boston, Mass.
JOHN WOODBURY, A.B.,*	Boston, Mass.
SAMUEL BAYARD WOODWARD, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.

PROCEEDINGS

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 14, 1920, IN THE HOUSE OF
THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

THE semi-annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society was called to order in the house of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, at 10.45 a. m., April 14, 1920, President Lincoln in the chair.

There were present:

Reuben Colton, William Eaton Foster, Charles Pelham Greenough, Francis Henshaw Dewey, William Trowbridge Forbes, Arthur Lord, Waldo Lincoln, Edward Sylvester Morse, George Parker Winship, Samuel Utley, George Lyman Kittredge, Albert Matthews, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Daniel Berkeley Updike, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, Worthington Chauncey Ford, Herbert Putnam, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Charles Grenfill Washburn, Wilfred Harold Munro, Justin Harvey Smith, Henry Winchester Cunningham, Frank Farnum Dresser, George Francis Dow, Livingston Davis, Archer Butler Hulbert, Rev. Herbert Edwin Lombard, Howard Millar Chapin, Samuel Eliot Morison, Grenville Howland Norcross, Thomas Hovey Gage, Charles Francis Jenney, John Whittemore Farwell, Lawrence Waters Jenkins, Rev. Henry Bradford Washburn, Alexander George McAdie, Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, John Woodbury, George Watson Cole, John Henry Edmonds, Leonard Leopold

Mackall, Samuel Lyman Munson, Harold Marsh Sewall, Robert Kendall Shaw, William Roscoe Thayer.

The Recording Secretary being unable to be present on account of sickness, on motion of Mr. Winship, Mr. Jenkins was elected acting Recording Secretary for the meeting, and the oath was administered to him by Grenville H. Norcross.

The acting Recording Secretary, read the records of the last meeting.

Mr. Cunningham read the Report of the Council. On motion of Mr. Norcross it was voted: That the Report of the Council be accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The President appointed Messrs. Norcross and Shaw a committee to collect, sort and count ballots for new members. The committee reported the election of the following:

RESIDENT MEMBERS

Merrick Lincoln, of Worcester, Mass.

George Leander Shepley, of Providence, R. I.

James Benjamin Wilbur, of Manchester, Vt.

The President stated that the roof of the Library building was leaking badly and that it was necessary that the dome should be covered with copper. It was voted: That the Council be authorized to expend such a sum of money from the principal funds, available for the purpose, as may be necessary to repair the dome of the Library building.

There being no further business the members listened to the following papers:

"A Letter from John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson" by Leonard L. Mackall, of New York, N. Y.

"William Thornton and Negro Colonization," by Gaillard Hunt, of Washington, D. C.

"An Early Account of the Establishment of Jesuit Missions in America," by Henry F. DePuy, of Easton, Md.

Messrs. Hunt and DePuy being unable to be present, their papers were read by Messrs. Putnam and Winship, respectively. On motion of Mr. Washburn it was voted: That the papers be referred to the Committee of Publication.

It was announced that the members would be entertained at luncheon by Mr. John W. Farwell, at his residence, 457 Beacon Street.

There being no further business, the meeting was dissolved.

LAWRENCE W. JENKINS,
Acting Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

IN accordance with the by-laws the Council makes its Report to the members on the progress of the Society for the past six months. Nothing of especial importance has happened that would call for extensive comment, and this report will be confined to a simple message to the members, to keep them informed on the work and aspirations of the Society. These reports in the past have often been used by their writers as a means of communicating a paper on some historical subject, which, though interesting and valuable, was not germane to the object of the report, and several members have expressed the wish that these reports might be more brief and confined to their business aspects, and that the essays on special topics might appear elsewhere at the meeting as separate communications. But when we are fortunate enough to have the report written by one of the older members it is of great value to have him include his reminiscences of early meetings and former members, for this infuses a real antiquarian breath, and puts the younger men *en rapport* with the atmosphere and traditions of the Society. A good example of this was in October, 1918, when the late Andrew McFarland Davis drew such a vivid picture of the old-time meetings with their devoted attendants sitting on the antique sofas and chairs around the Secretary's desk.

During the past winter the weather has been so severe and the means of travel so antiquated and uncertain that fewer people than usual have been able to go to Worcester and use the treasures in our building.

Sickness has for a portion of the time deprived the Society of the constant and devoted attention of two of our leading officials. Our President, started in the autumn for a long trip to the Pacific, which was cut short by a serious illness in southern California, from which he has but recently recovered, and we welcome him back to his accustomed chair, where we hope to see him for many a year, with renewed health and strength. And our beloved Recording Secretary after many weeks in a Boston hospital has but just returned to his home in Worcester, where he is daily improving, and it is a matter of deep regret to us, as I know it is to him, that he is not here present with us today.

The serious financial problems that harass all the world have not passed us by, and the heavy increase in the cost of all we need affects every department in the library. Our coal and all kinds of supplies have increased in cost, while our income coming from invested funds and the generosity of our friends has not kept pace with the increase. But even so, we have not been without donations and have received additions to our funds to an amount larger than in any year since the Centennial Fund of 1912. Following Dr. Samuel A. Green's bequest of \$5,000, which came to hand just at the time of the meeting last October, there was a gift of \$6,000 from Andrew McFarland Davis accompanied by the following letter:

CAMBRIDGE, DEC. 13, 1919.

DEAR SIRs:

When the portrait of Stephen Salisbury was painted I contributed to the Society two thousand dollars. When the John and Eliza Davis Fund was established I contributed one thousand and at a later date another thousand to that fund. It is my desire to have a fund established in the Society bearing my name, which shall ultimately be carried on the Treasurer's books at a capital sum of not less than ten thousand dollars, and in order that this desire may take effect I enclose a check for \$6,000 (say six thousand dollars), the annual interest upon which I desire to have added to the capital of the fund until the

same shall reach ten thousand dollars. After that date the annual income of the fund to be at the disposal of the Council for any current expenses. The allusion to previous contributions to the Society has no other bearing on the questions involved in the establishment of this fund than their influence upon myself. In each instance they represented a desire to aid the Society and a belief that it was the last contribution that I should feel myself able to make.

The benefactions of the Davis family are larger than those of any except those of the Salisburys and Isaiah Thomas.

In January last our associate William K. Bixby of St. Louis wrote that he had deposited to our credit in the St. Louis Union Trust Co. the sum of \$2,000 the interest of which trust would come to the Society each year. This gift adds to our already large indebtedness to Mr. Bixby for his gifts of valuable historical publications.

From Samuel L. Munson, of Albany, the Society has received a donation of \$1,000, to be added to the invested funds. This gift, all the more welcome because it was unsolicited, shows that our efforts to preserve Americana for the use of students are appreciated.

From our associate on the Council, Clarence W. Bowen, we have received the portraits of Theophilus Chandler and his wife, painted by Winthrop Chandler about 1770. Winthrop Chandler was an early New England artist of considerable merit and was the brother of Theophilus and the Reverend Thomas Bradbury Chandler. He was born in Woodstock, Conn., in 1747, and died in Thompson, Conn., in 1790. Some of his portraits in oils are preserved in each of these towns and in Worcester and Petersham, Mass.

This gift from Mr. Bowen is especially appreciated, as the Society at the present time is anxious to acquire early American portraits. In the old building on Lincoln Square there was little room for pictures, and those which we had seemed a large collection. But in

the new building, with its abundant wall space, excellent lighting and fine setting for portraits, we could hang to advantage many paintings. It seems quite strange that this Society, which for one hundred and eight years has been the object of many valuable gifts, has not received more colonial portraits by the better-known artists. Today we do not possess a single example by Stuart, Copley, Peale, Savage, Trumbull or a dozen other well-known painters who flourished previous to 1820. Therefore the Society stands ready to receive gifts of this character. It is an excellent opportunity for members and friends to place their old American portraits where they will be preserved and valued and where they can be seen by students. Often owners of such paintings have no direct heirs, or even if they have, they cannot see into the future and know whether the portraits may not in another generation or two fall into the hands of someone who will care little for them. And in this connection it seems eminently proper that this Society should make a collection of reproductions of all early American portraits, perhaps even coming down to the time of the Civil War which marked a period of great change in the character of this country. Almost all the early portraits have been photographed and most of them can be obtained of a uniform size (8 x 10), and these could be mounted on cards and placed alphabetically in a cabinet. Were it generally known that we were making such a collection, gifts would come to us. The writer knows of one gentlemen in Boston who now stands ready to donate a large number of these pictures. And if it were known that we had them, students and investigators would come to us to see them.

If we confined ourselves to portraits of Americans, we should be in a better position to preserve them, than are the great art museums that must collect pictures on all subjects and must lay stress on the artistic character of the picture more than on the

subject, and must also consider the question of re-arranging their collections from time to time, and possibly relegating to the storeroom or the cellar, such pictures as do not meet the ideas of the trustees or the public of the moment.

The Librarian reports that work in the Library has progressed satisfactorily during the winter. He states that a large number of gaps in the genealogical collection have been filled and that several valuable newspaper files have been obtained as will be chronicled in his report at the annual meeting. Miss Louise Colegrove, who has been an assistant in the Library since 1908, has left to take a position with the Worcester Commercial High School, her place for the present being filled by Miss Emma F. Waite.

A large collection of books, including several rare early imprints, has been received from the bequest of the late Dr. Samuel A. Green. According to the seventh article of the codicil to his will it was stated: "I hereby give and bequeath to the Massachusetts Historical Society such of my books as it may select, to the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, such of my books as it may thereafter select; to the Newberry Library of Chicago, such of my books as it may thereafter select, and the remainder of my books to the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society."

The material selected by us totaled 144 books and 219 pamphlets. Richard Ward Greene, just before leaving for Nassau where he died, gave to the Library, ninety volumes relating to South American history, and since his death there has been turned over by his estate, with the consent of Mrs. Greene, 110 volumes. This latter collection consisted chiefly of standard works on recent American history, and included a number of volumes from the library of our late associate, John Davis Washburn, the father of Mrs. Greene.

The Proceedings are somewhat in arrears and the Society is sorely in need of a member who will take the

place of the late Franklin P. Rice, whose knowledge of printing and whose interest in publication affairs made him of great benefit in the issuing of the Proceedings. The issue covering the meeting of April, 1919, is now in the bindery and will be sent to members very shortly. With a little effort and with an active chairman of the publication committee, it would not require much trouble to publish the October issue, and then the Proceedings of the semi-annual meetings could be brought out within two or three months after the meetings are held. The increased cost of printing, however, means that more money will have to be devoted to publication than in previous years if the same standard is adhered to.

Three members have died in the last half year: Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks, of Canton, Mass., on January 31; Richard Ward Greene of Worcester, on March 7; Andrew McFarland Davis, of Cambridge, on March 29.

Rev. Mr. Jenks a graduate of Harvard in the Class of 1863, was a Unitarian minister, and a member of several learned societies. He was elected to membership in April, 1901, was always interested in the Society, and a regular attendant at the meetings until ill health restricted his activities. The death of Mr. Greene is a great loss to the Society. Ever since his election to membership in October, 1916, and even before it, he was always ready to help the Library with work and with gifts. Because of his South American connections he was much interested in this field and presented many volumes of rarity and value relating to Chili, Bolivia, and Peru, his gift of the long file of the early Peruvian newspaper *El Mercurio Peruano* being of especial note. Having inherited a large collection of papers of the Greene family of Rhode Island, he had all of them sent to the Library some two years ago, and spent many hours of his time sorting and arranging them. The papers relating to Rhode Island were turned over to the R. I. Historical Society,

and the South American papers, chiefly the papers of Hon. Samuel Larned, chargé d'affaires at Peru and Bolivia from 1828 to 1837, were presented to this Society.

The death of Andrew McFarland Davis removes a most distinguished member and steadfast supporter and friend. At the time of his death he was the third in seniority on our membership list having been elected in April, 1882. His activity in historical research and his interest in Worcester made him a conspicuous candidate for administering the Society's affairs, and he was successively a councillor, since 1904, recording secretary from 1906 to 1909, and a vice-president since 1909. He was a constant contributor of historical literature to the Library, a frequent writer for the Proceedings and, as has been mentioned above in this Report, a generous donor to our funds.

At the meeting of the Council, held April 13, 1920, the following minute, prepared by Mr. Lincoln, was read and adopted:—

The death of Andrew McFarland Davis, senior Vice-President of the Society and a member of the Council since 1904, has deprived the Society and Council of one of its most liberal, enthusiastic and valuable members.

While health permitted he was a constant attendant at the Society's meetings, and never missed a meeting of the Council if possible to be present, even coming from a considerable distance while recording secretary, such was his conscientious regard for the obligations of that office.

Ever ready with advice as to the conduct of the affairs of the Society, and unsparing of criticism, when he disapproved of any proposed action, yet his advice and criticism were given in such a kindly spirit that he never gave offense, and rather increased the respect and affection with which he was regarded by the other members of the Council.

His satisfaction with the management of the Society's affairs was shown by his liberal gifts. With his brothers he established in 1900, the John and Eliza Davis Fund in memory of his parents. In 1906 he gave the library an oil portrait of Mr. Stephen Salisbury, Jr., by Vinton, but modestly declined to have his name mentioned as the donor, and, being recording secretary, was able to see that his wishes were respected. He

was again a liberal contributor to the John and Eliza Davis Fund in 1912, and his recent gift of six thousand dollars (\$6,000), but a few weeks before his death, bears renewed testimony to his interest in the Society and to his conviction that it was worthy of his support.

His death has left a vacancy in our hearts which cannot be filled, and, with gratitude that he was spared to us so long, we place on record this testimonial of our loving appreciation of the faithfulness with which he performed his duties as a member both of the Council and of the Society.

We have now upon our rolls fifteen who have been members for thirty years and six of these for thirty-five years. Of these last "venerable" gentlemen, one is the senior senator from Massachusetts; two of them (Messrs. Colton and Edes) are constant and devoted in their attendance at our meetings as they have been for many years, and, having become members in comparative youth, they may easily complete a half century upon our rolls.

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM,

For the Council.

OBITUARIES

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS

There can have been few of our members who have had greater inherited interest in our Society than our late associate Andrew McFarland Davis. His father, Governor Davis, was for thirty years, Councillor, Vice-President and President; on the distaff side, his grandfather, Dr. Bancroft, was a charter member (1812) and a Councillor or Vice-President for nearly twenty years, while his uncle, George Bancroft, was long a Vice-President and his elder brother, John Chandler Bancroft Davis, was one of our members. At the time of his death, Mr. Davis's name stood third in point of seniority on the roll of our membership.

Born in Worcester on the thirtieth of December, 1833, Andrew McFarland Davis was the son of Governor John and Eliza (Bancroft) Davis. His earliest inclination was toward a naval career. Being appointed Midshipman, he cruised more than once in the Mediterranean and other foreign waters, but the service at that time was at a low ebb, and finding that promotion would be slow, and that the life was not all that his youthful fancy had painted it, he resigned, and turning his thoughts in the direction of science, entered the Lawrence Scientific School, from which he graduated in 1854. He soon identified himself with railway affairs, especially with the Erie Road, bringing out the first freight schedule ever used in the United States. He was also employed in civil engineering in the South and Middle West, but after a short time, decided to study law, and was admitted to both the New York and Massachusetts Bars. Opportunity offering for him to enter into partnership with his brother, Horace, in the rapidly increasing business enterprises of California, he betook himself to San Francisco, where he identified himself with the best

interests of the city, serving on the School Committee and becoming President of the Board of Education.

About 1890, Mr. Davis returned to his native State and settled permanently in Cambridge. For a few years he was Vice-President of the Prudential Fire Insurance Company of New York, with offices in Boston, but thereafter retired wholly from active business.

Fuller leisure enabled him to devote himself to the antiquarian and historical pursuits which, although a man of uncommon catholicity of taste, were, after all, dearest to his heart. He was a frequent contributor to the Proceedings of our Society, as is shown by the following List:

Journey of Moncacht-Apé	1883
The Colony of Nox	1887
The First Scholarship at Harvard	1887
The Cambridge Press	1888
Site of the First College Building at Cambridge	1888
Early College Buildings at Cambridge	1890
The Lady Mowlson Scholarship	1893
Law of Adultery and Punishments	1895
Legislation with the Land Bank of 1740	1896
The General Court and Land Bank Litigants	1897
Benjamin Apthorp Gould	1897
Massachusetts Bay Currency	1899
Andros's Proclamation Money	1900
The Fund at Boston in New England	1903
Emergent Treasury-Supply in Massachusetts	1905
Was it Andros?	1907
The Shays Rebellion	1911

He also wrote several papers for the Narrative and Critical History of America, the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts. In 1903, he published "The Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate," and printed several papers connected with Harvard College in addition to volumes on Massachusetts Currency and Banking and similar subjects.

Mr. Davis married Henrietta Parker Whitney and was survived by two sons and two daughters.

In 1893, he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Harvard in recognition of his historical achievement and in 1895, he was elected to honorary membership in the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, a noteworthy fact in connection with the latter honor being that his maternal grandfather, Dr. Bancroft (H. C. 1778) was one of the earliest members of the same chapter, in which also were enrolled Mr. Davis's brother, Horace, (H. C. 1849), his sons, Bancroft Gherardi (1885) and Horace Andrew (1891) and his grandson, Hallowell Davis (1918), while his father (Yale 1812) was a member of the Yale Chapter.

The limits of this sketch give us little space to speak of Mr. Davis's character. In addition to his intellectual gifts he possessed business sagacity and acumen; and his father certainly bequeathed to him the qualities which endued the Governor with the well-known sobriquet of "Honest John." He was a most generous giver and the principles, the sterling integrity, the high aims and ideals which we of New England love to feel are peculiarly exemplified in her descendants, were in him strikingly apparent.

Mr. Davis died in Cambridge on the twenty-ninth of March, 1920. To him indeed was granted the "liberty to that only which is good, just and honest."

H. H. E.

RICHARD WARD GREENE

Richard Ward Greene, the son of Charles Collins Greene and Nieves Carmen Haviland Greene, was born at Timaya, Chile, South America, December 5, 1861, and died at the hospital at Nassau, Bahama Islands, March 7, 1920, after only a few days illness. He was a descendant of the distinguished Greene family of Rhode Island, of which the pioneer was Dr. John Greene, a native of England, who came to Massachusetts about 1635 and afterward followed Roger Williams to Providence, R. I. General Nathanael

Greene of Revolutionary fame was in his ancestral line, and "The Forge" at Potowomut, built by the son of Dr. John Greene, became Richard Ward Greene's summer residence. Mr. Greene's father was a native of East Greenwich, R. I., but going to Chile at a comparatively early age, as a mining engineer, he married and remained there the greater part of his life, serving his country as United States Consul for many years.

Richard Ward Greene was one of a large family and his father, wishing that one of his sons should know by early education and environment the results of what his ancestors had helped to create, and thus prepare him to maintain the family name and tradition in the old family home, sent him to New England when a mere boy, to be educated. The schools of Rhode Island and Massachusetts contributed to this education and he entered the Worcester Polytechnic Institute in 1883. Being offered a position in the insurance office of Hon. John D. Washburn, in Worcester, he left the Polytechnic, and the next year, 1884, became a partner in the firm at the early age of twenty-three, and in 1906, after the death of his senior partner, became head of the firm. He married April 23, 1884, Edith Putnam Washburn, the only daughter of Hon. John D. Washburn, who survives him.

Through early association with family records which were closely associated with the history of Rhode Island, and through living a part of each year in the old colonial family home, which contained much of historic and antiquarian value, he became deeply interested in colonial history, in early American portraiture, manuscripts and autograph letters, and acquired the true antiquarian enthusiasm for all that pertained to colonial days and to the early history of our country. In 1916, he was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society; in 1917, an honorary member of the Rhode Island Historical Society; and in 1918, a Trustee of the Worcester Art Museum. A few

weeks before his death, he had prepared plans for the restoration of the old Salisbury colonial mansion in Worcester, wishing to preserve it as a type of early colonial architecture and to make it, through acquisitions, a true reproduction of an early New England home.

Although Richard Ward Greene was a comparatively recent member of our own Society, he brought to it an enthusiasm, an interest, and a knowledge relating to Spanish South America, which were highly appreciated and promised much for the future.

L. N. K.

HENRY FITCH JENKS

Henry Fitch Jenks was born in Boston on October 17, 1842, and died in Canton on January 21, 1920. He was the son of John Henry and Mary Fitch Jenks. He was graduated from the Boston Latin School in 1859, from Harvard College in 1863 and from Harvard Divinity School in 1866. In 1867 he was ordained, and held pastorates at Fitchburg, Charleston, S. C., Revere, Lawrence, and lastly in 1885 at Canton, where he officiated as minister of the First Congregational Parish (Unitarian) until 1904 when he was made pastor emeritus.

Mr. Jenks was a member of many religious, genealogical, educational and historical societies. He was vice-president of the Boston Latin School Association, charter member of the Bostonian Society, trustee of the Canton Public Library and member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. To this Society, he was elected in 1901, and was a frequent attendant at the meetings until the last few years. He was the editor of the historical Catalogue of the Boston Latin School, and published several sermons, historical sketches and contributions to periodicals. He married on March 1, 1881, Lavinia H. Angier of Belfast, Maine, who with three sons survived him.

C. S. B.

A LETTER FROM THE VIRGINIA LOYALIST
JOHN RANDOLPH TO THOMAS JEFFERSON
WRITTEN IN LONDON IN 1779

BY LEONARD L. MACKALL

WHEN our President asked me to read a paper to-day, no doubt he hoped that I would produce one of those elaborately documented compositions, consisting of a quasi-legible text resting cautiously on a reinforced concrete foundation of bibliographical notes and other ballast, of which I have been guilty in print on various occasions and in very various fields. But this time circumstances have combined to prevent such a consummation—whether devoutly to be wished or not—and so, even at the risk of a great gain in interest, I shall take but a few moments of your time by reading what seems a very interesting and hitherto entirely unknown letter to Jefferson, written by his kinsman¹ and friend, John Randolph, not “of Roanoke,” but the Loyalist Attorney-General of Virginia, father of Edmund Randolph, the Patriot.

With rare exceptions, Latin quotations are no longer well received in polite society, but it is still customary for bibliophiles to cite the words of old Terentianus Maurus: “Habent sua fata libelli;” and it is well known that the fate of manuscripts is often still more strange than that of books. The present document qualifies in both classes.

Several years ago a catalogue of a well-known London firm dealing in books and manuscripts offered

¹John Randolph's father, Sir John Randolph, was a brother of Isham Randolph, whose daughter Jane was the mother of Thomas Jefferson.

two copies of Tucker's *Life of Jefferson* (London, 1837,) the first being described² as: "With a long A. L. S., 5 pp., 4 to, from John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson, on the affairs of the period (1773 [sic]) inserted"; and hence priced at 12s. 6d.—or 4s. more than the other! So I ordered the expensive copy, and was indeed much surprised when I received it and read the letter (which was loosely inserted and readily detached.)

Our John Randolph is described in Wirt's *Patrick Henry*³ as "in person and manners among the most elegant gentlemen in the colony, and in his profession, one of the most splendid ornaments of the bar. He was a polite scholar, as well as a profound lawyer, and his eloquence also was of a high order. His voice, action, style, were stately, and uncommonly impressive, . . . gigantic as he was in relation to other men" [except Patrick Henry in criminal cases]. As the (last) Royal Attorney-General of Virginia, he considered that his oath of office and his honor required him to support the Royal policy and the Royal Governor, Lord Dunmore, who indeed reported to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in Dec. 1774, that: "there are but too few even of the Council, and only the King's Attorney-General of all the Officers of Govt. who have discovered the least disposition to aid govt., contenting themselves with not subscribing associations, but at the same time adhering strictly to them and therefore giving encouragement to them."⁴

In short Randolph was a conscientious Royalist and

²No. 1255 in Catalogue 292 (June, 1912) of Maggs Bros.

³*Sketches of the Life & c. of Patrick Henry* by Wm. Wirt, Phila. 1817, p. 74.

⁴Dunmore's despatch, Williamsburg (Va.), Dec. 24, 1774, in Public Record Office, London, as no. 23 in C. O. 5/1353, page 59. (formerly: S. P. O. Va. 195). From the Geo. Bancroft Transcripts (N. Y. Public Library), Virginia Papers (Series II) vol. II (1768-75) p. 527 the above passage was used for a paraphrase in Chas. R. Lingley's *The Transition in Va. from Colony to Commonwealth* (Columbia Univ. Studies in History, Economics & c., vol. 36, no. 2) N. Y. 1910, p. 118. The Secretary of the Public Record Office has now kindly compared my transcript of the Bancroft transcript with the original, and also given me the present press mark, as above.

Loyalist, one of that large group of men, many of them noble characters, whom, in spite of Sabine's book, it was the custom to simply damn with no praise at all, until the comparatively recent researches of Van Tyne and others at length inaugurated a fairer method of procedure.

One of the more recent and most valuable publications in this whole field is unfortunately little known and but rarely accessible, since it was privately printed, not for sale, and (as I have only just succeeded in ascertaining) the edition was limited to one hundred copies, all told. I refer to Mrs. Whitelaw Reid's handsome quarto: *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists 1783 to 1785 being the Notes of Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, M. P., one of the Commissioners during that period. Edited by Hugh Edward Egerton, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. Oxford, printed for Presentation to the Members of The Roxburghe Club, 1915*, pp. lv, 422.⁵ Mrs. Reid not only printed this volume in memory of her husband (a member of the Roxburghe Club), but she also gave the original manuscripts on which it is based (from the Sir Thomas Phillipps sale of May 1913, no. 24424) to the New York Public Library. She generously presented a copy of the book to our Society also.

In connection with the claim of the Loyalist, Bernard Carey, Mrs. Reid's book carefully prints⁶

⁵With Mrs. Reid's permission, the Controller of the Univ. Press, Oxford, has answered my questions as follows (from his records): 100 copies were originally printed in April 1915; of these 55 were lost when the "Arabie" was torpedoed, Aug. 19, 1915. To replace these the whole book was entirely reset and 55 copies reprinted (finished Feb. 1916) without any change whatever, but a special printed slip was inserted, referring to the loss and the reprinting but giving no dates or figures. I have given these letters to the N. Y. Public Library, to be kept with their copy of the book. There are now (Nov. 1920) further copies of the book in the following Libraries: Harvard Univ., Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston Athenæum, Yale Univ., N. Y. Hist. Soc., Grolier Club, Am. Geographical Soc., Johns Hopkins Univ., Library of Congress, Dept. of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution (Wash.), W. J. DeRenne Georgia Library (Savannah; cf. Ga. Historical Quarterly, II, 82), Public Archives of Canada (Ottawa). Only two of these (M. H. S. and L. C.) are recorded in J. T. Gerould's useful census of Roxburghe Club Publications in Am. Libraries (Papers & Proceedings of the Am. Library Institute, for 1917, pp. 169-178).

⁶Page 24, from MS. I, 85.

the testimony, on Oct. 30, 1783, of our John Randolph, from which it appears that he was "Chairman of a Genl. Meeting of the American Loyalists out of whom a Committee was formed for the purpose of enquiring into the Claims of the Loyalists from that Province" i. e. Virginia. It is well known that Randolph went to England in (October), 1775; and it is also well known that Randolph's fondness for Virginia remained so strong that his dying wish was that he be buried there in the Chapel of William and Mary College, by the side of his father and brother—and his daughter Mrs. Wormeley, carried out this wish, as soon as practicable after his death in 1784.

We have recently learned that Randolph studied law in London, being admitted to the Middle Temple on Apr. 8, 1745, and was duly called to the bar on Feb. 9, 1750;⁷ but almost nothing definite seems to be known about him during the whole period of his last residence in England, except that he spent some time at the Scotch house of Lord Dunmore, that he lived in straightened circumstances financially, receiving a pension of only a hundred pounds, and that he died at Brompton, London, Jan. 31, 1784. He was born in Virginia in 1727.

In the opinion of Washington he was probably the real author of those spurious *Letters from General Washington to several of his Friends in the Year 1776. In which are set forth a fairer and fuller View of American Politics than ever yet transpired, Or the Public could be made acquainted with through any other Channel.* published by J. Bew, London, in May or June, 1777, soon reprinted in America, and now accessible in Worthington C. Ford's standard *Writings of Washington*, and better still in his admirable later⁸

⁷cf. C. E. A. Bedwell's list of Am. Middle Templars, in *Am. Hist. Rev.* XXV, 683 (July 1920).

⁸The Spurious Letters attributed to Washington, with a Bibliographical Note by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Brooklyn, N. Y.: Privately Printed, 1889, pp. 166; 500 copies printed. The remainder of this publication of the Historical Printing Club is now for sale by the N. Y. Public Library.

separate edition with a valuable preface and full notes quoting similar but genuine passages. The object of this book was of course to show Washington's fondness for the mother country, or, as Washington himself expressed it⁹ "to paint his inclinations as at variance with his professions and his duty;" but Col. Tench Tilghman, then in his military family and "well known to possess Washington's confidence" recorded in writing in 1778 that he suspected "Jack Randolph for the author, as the letters contain a knowledge of his family affairs that none but a Virginian could be acquainted with. The sentiments are noble, and such as the General himself often expresses. I have heard him declare a thousand times, and he does it every day in the most public company, that independence was farthest of anything from his thoughts, and that he never entertained the idea until he plainly saw that absolute conquest was the aim, and unconditional submission the terms which Great Britain meant to grant."¹⁰

Historians can scarcely regard any forgery as a permissible means to any end, and yet, if Randolph did write the spurious Washington letters, his intentions were no doubt really good. For he constantly had much at heart the hope of a reconciliation between England and America, and the earnest desire to aid in bringing it about as soon as possible. Ford calls attention to a manuscript at Drayton House, Northamptonshire, in the possession of the family of Lord George Germaine, dated 4 August, 1780, unsigned but endorsed "Mr. Randolph's Plan of Accomodation" as being "undoubtedly drawn up and submitted to the British ministry by the loyalist

⁹This expression is here quoted from Washington's formal repudiation of the spurious letters in the form of a letter to the then Sec. of State, Timothy Pickering, dated: 3 March 1797. Ford (Sp. Letters, p. 26) says that it "is written by Timothy Pickering, and merely signed by the President." Various other comments by Washington to similar effect are also quoted by Ford, e. g. pp. 11, 13, 15, 24, 26.

¹⁰Tench Tilghman to James Tilghman, Valley Forge, 24 April 1778, quoted by Ford, Writings of Washington IV, 134, and Spurious Letters p. 32.

refugee from Virginia."¹¹ Some such political accommodation was the avowed object of the letter of 1779, which I am about to read. Randolph may also have written the anonymous pamphlet *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia, Printed in the Year M,DCC,LXXIV*, just reprinted by the Bibliographer of Virginia, Earl Gregg Swem,¹² from the only known copy (in the New York Public Library) on the title-page of which his name as author is written in an apparently contemporary hand. Randolph's 1779 letter says "I put my own thoughts in Writing that I might see how they would stand on paper," but it makes no mention of their publication. Is not this omission perhaps significant? There is at least no striking resemblance between the letter and the (earlier) pamphlet.

Though Jefferson was seventeen years younger than Randolph, they had been very intimate friends for many years, and he remained a close friend of the family after Randolph's death. In 1771 Jefferson recorded in amusingly ultra-formal style an agreement with Randolph whereby, if Jefferson died first, then Randolph was to get £800 worth of Jefferson's books; but if Randolph died first, then Jefferson was to get Randolph's violin and music or £60 worth of his books! When they approached the parting of the political ways Jefferson wrote to Randolph, 25 Aug. 1775; "Looking with fondness towards a reconciliation with Grt. Britain, I cannot help hoping you may

¹¹Ford, Sp. Letters p. 34. No doubt the reference is to Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, 9th Report, Part III, Appendix (1884) p. 103. The new edition entitled: Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the MSS. in the possession of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville of Drayton House, Northamptonshire, vol. II (1910) p. 174 states further that the Randolph MS (marked also "Brompton Row") forms 22 pages.

¹²*Considerations on the Present State of Virginia*, attributed to John Randolph, Attorney General, and *Considerations on the Present State of Virginia Examined by Robert Carter Nicholas*, Edited by Earl Gregg Swem, Assist. Librarian, Va. State Libr., Sixty-three copies printed for Charles F. Heartman, in New York-City, 1919 (Heartman's Historical Series No. 32). Swem's Preface refers to Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biogr. XV, 149 (Oct. 1907) besides Conway's Edm. Randolph, and the Recollections of Ralph Randolph Wornaley, Rear-Admiral, R. N., N. Y. 1879 (priv. pr.) cf. also Am. Hist. Ass. Ann. Rept. for 1892 p. 115.

be able to contribute towards expediting the good work." and "It would be certainly unwise, by trying the event of another campaign, to risk our accepting foreign aid, which, perhaps, may not be obtainable, but on condition of everlasting avulsion from Great Britain. This would be thought a hard condition, to those who still wish for reunion with their parent country. I am sincerely one of those, and would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any other nation on earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of those, too, who rather than submit to the rights of legislation for us, assumed by the British parliament, and which late experience has shown they will so cruelly exercise, would lend my hand to sink the whole Island in the ocean." Later, on Nov. 29, 1775, when Randolph had sailed at last for England, Jefferson wrote to him again, but more sternly. Both these letters were printed in Jefferson's *Writings* in 1829, and are now so readily accessible as to make further quotation here superfluous.

Randolph's Loyalist attitude of course made him intensely unpopular with the Virginia patriots. Mrs. Randolph assures us¹³ that "Americans did come down to Williamsburg with an intent to hang him, but were prevented: He had done everything in his power to oppose their measures;" and the new 1779 letter refers expressly to "the Insults I receiv'd" and "the unmanly & illiberal Treatment; which the more delicate Part of my Family met with"—which shows that his wife and two daughters had not been spared. It is therefore a real tribute to Randolph's high

¹³Page 611 of vol. 58 (from vol. 54 of the originals) of the N. Y. Public Library Transcripts of the Audit Office (P. R. O.) papers on Am. Loyalist claims. cf. C. M. Andrews, Guide to the Materials for Am. Hist. to 1783 in the Public Record Office, II, 259-263 (Carnegie Institution, Wash. 1914). Pp. 607-616 give the Memorial of Mrs. Ariana Randolph, dated Feb. 20, 1784, and also her Evidence on Jan. 31, 1786. I have accepted her statement that her husband quitted Virginia in Oct. 1775 and arrived in England in Nov., but the further statement that he died on June 30, 1784 is certainly a clerical error, for the Gentleman's Magazine of Feb. 1784 (p. 152) recorded his death at Brompton on Jan. 31st, as usually given. Possibly Jan. 30th may be the correct date. He must have been dead before her Memorial was written, Feb. 20th.

character and manliness that when it was feared that Lord Dunmore might send to Mt. Vernon to seize the wife of the new American Commander-in-Chief, Lund Washington wrote to the General: "Surely her old acquaintance, the Attorney, who with his family is on board his ship, would prevent his doing any act of that kind."¹⁴

We now come at last to the new letter from Randolph to Jefferson, written in October, 1779. I need merely add that the original cover is addressed to: "His Excellency Thomas Jefferson Esq. Governor of Virginia," and that the MS. is accompanied by a memorandum dated April 23^d, 1840, reading: "I found this letter amongst the papers of Sir Edward Walpole K. B., directed to His Excellency Thomas Jefferson, &c." and signed: J. W. Keppel. Evidently it had never left England, and remained there unknown.

The actual words are new, but the sentiments sound, *mutatis mutandis*, strangely similar to much that has been written during the present War.

Dear S^r.

The Letters, with which you some considerable Time ago, honour'd me, got to Hand; tho' from their appearance, their Contents were known to many, before they reach'd the Person, for whom they were intended. The gloomy Cloud, which hung over our public affairs, & the general Suspicion, which prevail'd at that Time, recommended Caution, & prevented my answering them. But, as matters *now* are fully understood, & the Ultimatum seems to be fix'd between the contending Parties; if *You* are not unwilling to read, *I* am under no Apprehension, in delivering my Sentiments to you.

¹⁴Ford's Writings of Washington III, 278; also in Sparks III, 196 (who reads: "an act"). Probably it was the fact that Randolph and his family were on the same ship with Lord Dunmore at this time which led to the current statement that they all returned to England together. As noted above Mrs. Randolph testified that her husband and family had left Virginia in Oct. 1775, but Dunmore remained there for many months longer, as is proved by numerous documents.

Mr. J. Power,¹⁵ who is just arriv'd from Virginia, informs me, that you have been lately elected Successor to Mr Henry, who presided over your Colony for three Years, the utmost successive Time allow'd for holding that office. I must take the Liberty to say, that your Constituents could not have chosen a man of greater abilities to conduct their affairs, than you possess; & permit me to add my Hope, that Futurity may speak as favourably of your Moderation.

If a Difference in opinion, was a good Ground for an Intermission of Friendship, Mankind might justly be said to live in a State of Warfare; since the Imperfection of human knowledge, has render'd Mens Minds as various, as the Author of their Being has shap'd their Persons. The Man who condemns another, for thinking differently from himself, sets up his Judgment as the Standard of Conception; wounds the great Liberty we enjoy, of thinking for ourselves; & tyrannizes over the Mind, which Nature intended should be free & unconfin'd. *That Tyrant*, I can not suppose *You*, to be. The Liberality of Sentiment, which ever distinguish'd you amongst your acquaintance, when you were upon a Level with them, has not I hope, forsaken you since you have been rais'd to a Sphere, which has made you, superior to them. Should I therefore be so unfortunate, as to make any observations, which may not meet with your approbation, for the Honour of your Understanding, treat them with Benignity. I will allow you in such Case, to consider them, as the overflowings of a mind, too zealous in the Cause in which it is engaged; but I must demand of you to admit, that they are the legitimate offspring, of an uncorrupted Heart. But, before you pass Sentence, I shall call on your Candour, to give them a fair Hearing.

When our unhappy Dispute commenc'd, (tho it arose from Circumstances, which left an opening for an honourable accomodation, yet) I saw that it was big with Mischief, & portended Ruin & Desolation, *Somewhere*. I thought that it behov'd me to reflect with the utmost Deliberation, on the Line of Conduct, which I ought to pursue, on so critical an Occasion. I clear'd every avenue to Information, & laid myself open to Conviction, let it come from what Quarter it

¹⁵Evidently this is "Jack Power, Esq.," of Tappahannock, Essex Co., who left Va. in June 1779 and arrived in London in Oct., via Holland, according to his *Memorial & Evidence among the Audit Office papers on Am. Loyalist claims.* cf. N. Y. Public Library Transcripts vol. 59, pp. 98-105 (from vol. 56 of the original) cf. note 13, above. Power states that he had practised law from 1763 to 1774 when his practice had ceased due to his unpopularity as Loyalist; and that he lost "a very good Library and Book cases supposed at £200." He appears as witness in the Reid Roxburghe Club vol. p. 35 from MS. I. 135. Perhaps he was related to James Power on whom there is a note in the Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biogr. XV, 381 (April 1908).

would. I read with avidity every thing which was published on the Subject & I put my own Thoughts in Writing, that I might see how they would stand on Paper. I found myself embarrass'd by a thousand Considerations, acting in direct opposition to each other. In this Situation I had no Resource left but to submit myself solely to the Dictates of my Reason. To that impartial tribunal I appeal'd. *There* I receiv'd Satisfaction; & from her Decision, I am determin'd never to depart.

Si fractus illabatur Orbis,
Impavidum ferient Ruinæ¹⁶

Adversity is a School, in which few Men wish to be educated; yet, it is a Source, from whence the most useful Improvements, may be derived. When the Mind shrinks not from its approach, it offers a Season for Reflection, calls forth the Powers of the Understanding fixes its Principles & inspires a Fortitude, which shews the true Dignity of Man. In that School I have been tutored; from its Tuition I have drawn those advantages; & I am unalterably resolved, that all other Motives shall give way, to the fullest & most *unequivocal* Enjoyment of them.

The Insults I receiv'd from a People (whose Interest I always considered as my own)—unrestrained by the Influence of Gentlemen of Rank gave me much Uneasiness: But, the unmanly & illiberal Treatment, which the more delicate Part of my Family met with, I confess, fill'd me with the highest Resentment. As there is Nothing which I forget so soon as an Injury; & as animosity never rankles in my Bosom, I have cast the whole into oblivion. There let it lie buried; for Implacability belongs only to the unworthy.

Independence, it is agreed on all Hands, is the fix'd Purpose of your Determination. Annihilation is preferable to a Reunion with Great Britain. To support this desirable End, you have enter'd into an alliance with France & Spain, to reduce the Power of this Country, & make Way for the Glory of America. What effect this Connection will have on you, or this Kingdom, Time alone can discover; But be it remembered, that France is perfidious, Spain insignificant, & Great Britain formidable. The united Fleets of the House of Bourbon, lately cover'd the Seas, & paraded off Plymouth. A Descent was threaten'd, & universally expected. The british Fleet was then in a distant Part of the Channel, & there was nothing remain'd to defend this Kingdom, but the internal Strength & Valour of its Inhabitants. The-Space of three Days remov'd the alarm, by producing a fruitless Departure

¹⁶Horace, Carmina, Bk. 3, Ode 3, lines 7, 8.

of this mighty Squadron. Soon after this, the two fleets came in Sight of each other, (a great Superiority in Number lying on the Side of the Enemy) & a bloody Carnage was expected to follow. The british Fleet in the Evening, form'd themselves into a Line of Battle & brought to, imagining that the combin'd Fleet, wou'd in the Morning begin the attack; but when that Period arrived, there was not an Enemy to be seen, from any one of our Ships. On which, our Fleet steer'd into Port, & there has continued unmolested, ever since. Individual Ships have been taken, but all our valuable Fleets from every Quarter of the Globe, for the present year, are arriv'd in Safety; yet, our Ports are filled with French & Spanish Ships, & our Gaols with their Subjects.

Admiral Keppels Engagement off Brest about 15 months ago, tho' a shameful one, as he had it in his Power to strike a Decisive Blow & omitted it, was converted into a meer Party Business here. His Conduct is now, very generally reprobated; The City of London has withheld the Golden Box, which the Rage of Party had prepared as a Present for him. Yet ill as he is supposed to have behav'd, the french Fleet sustain'd such Damage on that Occasion, that it did not come out of Port, for near a twelve Month after. History does not furnish us with Instances of greater acts of Heroism, than have been exhibited in the Course of the last Summer, in some of our naval Engagements. National Party is very much on the Decline, & the Safety of the State, seems to supercede all other Considerations.

The Junction of the Spaniards, was more a matter of Joy in England, than a Terror. The fingering of their Gold, is no small object with a commercial People. When his Catholic Majesty's Rescript was deliver'd at St. James's; & became known, instead of lowering, the Stocks immediately took a Rise. And the Dutch, who have already an immense Property in our Funds are still buying in, notwithstanding the various Difficulties, with which this Kingdom is surrounded. This Sr is a Short, but true Narrative of the State of british affairs, in Europe.

It must be confess'd, that the French have gain'd advantages in the West Indies; but it may be observ'd, that they have recover'd no more than what they lost in the last war. In Contests between great Nations, Events must be uncertain, & no Party can expect an uninterrupted Series of Success. Disappointments sometimes beget Exertions, which may give a new Face to affairs. When the Troops, which are to be sent for the Protection of our Islands, arrive, & the Ships are on float, which the succeeding Spring will produce, there will unfold to us, Truths, about which, we at present, may form

very different Ideas. The French may boast of their Prowess in Desteings Engagement with Barrington, but few think here, that the Glory of the british Navy was in any Degree diminished in that Encounter.

How far the French have been useful to you in America, you must be better qualified to determine, than myself: Yet, I cannot avoid expressing my Wish, that you had never entered into any Engagements with them. They are a People cover'd with Guile, & their Religion countenances the Practice of it on all of a different Persuasion. They are educated in an Aversion to the English & hold our Constitution in the utmost Detestation. They have the art to insinuate, & the Wickedness to betray when they gain an admittance. Laws they have none, but such as are prescrib'd by the Will of their Prince. This is their only Legislature. They know your Coast, are acquainted with your Manners, & no Doubt have made Establishments amongst you, A Footing in ye Northern Province is what they most devoutly wish to obtain. As a means to effect their Purpose, they have suffered you to run in Debt to them, & as a Security for the Payment of it, they say that your Lands are answerable. If you are not able to satisfy their Demands, how will you have it in your Power to frustrate this Claim? But if you are able to discharge the Debt, how will you recompense them, for the Services, which they will urge that they have rendered to you. Your Trade is of no Consequence, it is not an object with them. Nothing but a Partition of your Country will silence them. When that happens, you may bid adieu to all social Happiness; the little Finger of France will be more burthensome to you, than the whole weight of George the 3^d his Lords & Commons. Can it be imagin'd that a Prince, who is a Tyrant in his own Dominions, can be a Friend to the Rights & Privileges of another People? Can it be Policy in him to waste his Blood Treasure, in reducing one Rival in order to raise another, more formidable perhaps, than his ancient Competitor? Your good Sense I am persuaded, will not suffer you to cherish such an opinion. & you cannot be so wanting in Discernment, as not to see the base Design of this treacherous Nation. If France engaged in this Quarrel, for no other Purpose, than to fight your Battles, & vindicate your injured Rights, her Generosity will lead her to confer all the Benefit of her Conquests, on you. When you become invested with the possession of their acquisitions, you may then believe them to be your Friends, but until that happens, you ought to consider their Designs as dangerous, & not suffer yourselves to be deceived by such an artful & despotic People. But let us suppose in theory, what, facts I am convinced will not verify, that the Powers now contending

with G. Britain are too great for it to withstand. What do you imagine will be the Sentiments of the other States of Europe on this Subject? These Potentates stand in such a Relation to each other, that as a Security to the whole, a Ballance of Power must be preserv'd amongst them. G. Britain has always held that Ballance. How dangerous a Neighbour w'd France become, if her principal opponent & the great arbiter of Europe should be overwhelm'd? The Empress of Russia sees with a jealous eye, the strides which the French are taking towards universal Monarchy. The King of Prussia is too old a soldier, to suffer a Rival to strengthen himself, on the Ruins of an old & natural ally. The Dutch are govern'd too much by their Interest to see it in Danger, & never to make an effort to preserve it. The Danes are the fast Friends of England. All these Nations wou'd have taken a decided Part long before this, had the Situation of G. Britain made it necessary: But the Truth is, our Councils are as vigorous, our Resources as great & the national Firmness as inflexible, as they have ever been, even in the most flourishing Periods recorded in the History of this Country. If you regard the assertions of a set of men, who are distinguish'd by the appellation of *the Opposition*, you must I own form a different opinion, from that which I have endeavour'd to inculcate. They will tell you that the Glory of England is pass'd away, its Treasures exhausted, & that the Kingdom stands on the Brink of inevitable Destruction, owing to the weakness & wickedness of administration. Believe not, my Friend, such Prophets. The Luxury of this Nation, & of Course its Expenses, are unbounded. These Excesses must unavoidably make Mankind necessitious. The Department of a Minister, is lucrative & alluring. The King, in order to silence the Clamour of Party, having frequently chang'd his Servants, has by this means excited an Idea, that Noise will always procure a Removal of the Ministry. It is for this Reason, that they who have a Chance for the Succession, ring such alarms thro the Nation, in order to throw an odium on them, & get them out of their Places; yet these very People who are the authors of so much Turbulence, don't think as they speak. Some join in the Cry; others suspend their opinions, till they receive more convincing Proofs; & a third, thinking that Government ought to be supported strengthen as far as they can, the Hand of their Rulers. But still, the great Machine moves on, the Ministry keep their Places, & look as if their Possession w'd be of long Duration. But a Change wou'd be of little Service to the Nation; for if it silenc'd one Party, it would open the Mouth of another; &

the Kingdom be just in the same Situation that it is in, at this Time, & has been for many years past.

If you form an opinion of our public affairs, by the Picture which is drawn of them in our daily Exhibitions, I acknowledge, that you must conceive my account of them to be, chimerical. But whoever wishes to avoid Error, must steer clear of an english Newspaper. There are of daily Papers publish'd in the year, 27. Millions. The Types, the Ink, the Paper & a Stamp distinctly pay a Duty to Government. Judge then what a Revenue these Publications must produce. It is for this Reason, that Ministry throw no Impediment in their Way; for punishing the Libels they contain, wou'd reduce their Number, & lessen of Course, the Emoluments arising from them. I have often thought, that the Toleration of such indecent Compositions, was a Reflection on Government but it is a Maxim in England, that as soon as Evil produces Good, it ceases to be an Evil.

The short Representation of the british affairs, which I have given you above, is intended to prepare you, for one important Question, momentous not only to America, & Great Britain, but to Europe in General: Wou'd it not be prudent, to rescind your Declaration of Independence, be happily reunited to your ancient & natural Friend, & enjoy a Peace which I most religiously think w'd pass all Understanding? I can venture to assure you, that your Independence, will never be acknowledg'd by the Legislative Authority of this Kingdom: The nation w'd not agree to such a Concession; & your suppos'd Friends who are so lavish in your Praise on other occasions, wou'd on this, be against you. Every Immunity, which you can reasonably ask for, will be granted to you; the rapacious Hand of Taxation will never reach you. Your Laws & Regulations will be establish'd on the solid Basis of the british Constitution; & your Happiness will be attended to, with all the Solitude, which belongs to an affectionate Parent. Reflect, I beseech you, on what I have said. Let not the flattering Possession of Power, which may be wrested from you in a Moment, stand in Competition with the Good of your Country, which you have now an opportunity of making, as lasting as Time itself. But if you still persist in your Resolution, never to listen to the voice of Reconciliation, Remember, that I, who know your Situation, & wish you every Degree of Happiness, tell you, that what you take to be the End, will be only the Beginning of your political misfortunes.

I must now put a Period to a long letter, the writing of which, is a very unusual Labour to me. How you may receive it I know not. Be that as it will, I shall enjoy one Consolation, which is, a quiet Conscience. I see such Determination in

Government, to proceed to the last Extremity with you; such a Disposition in the Powers of Europe to go to War; & such Mischiefs hovering over America, that I shou'd think myself an Undutiful Son, & criminally guilty, if I did not impart to you, the Distress I feel on your account. Let our opinions vary as they will, I shall nevertheless retain a very sincere Regard for you. How far your Politics may be blended with your Friendships, I cannot tell; but as I have ever preserv'd my Esteem from improper Mixtures, I shall subscribe myself, now as I always have done,

Dr. Sr.

Your very affectionate Friend &
humble Serv't

JOHN RANDOLPH

London.

Cannon Coffee House
Spring Gardens,
October 25, 1779

WILLIAM THORNTON AND NEGRO COLONIZATION

BY GAILLARD HUNT

IN the Caribbean Sea, stretching eastward from Porto Rico, lies a group of about one hundred small islands, some mere rocks in the sea furnishing no sustenance for human beings, and some of larger size where a few planters raise sugar and cotton. These are the Virgin Islands discovered by Christopher Columbus on his second voyage in 1494, and named by him in honor of the Eleven Thousand Virgin Martyrs of St. Ursula; but this pious name did not prevent them from being, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the favorite resort of those picturesque desperadoes, the pirates of the Spanish Main, who found in their numerous inlets and harbors which were dangerous to pursuing navigators a safe refuge from the consequences of their crimes. The largest of the islands is Tortola, the Turtle Dove, a beautiful little domain, twenty-four miles long and five miles wide, with rich valleys and a range of high hills. Travellers seldom go to Tortola now, planting is unprofitable, the island is almost deserted; but in the eighteenth century it flourished, and a few planters and numerous black slaves lived there prosperously and contentedly. In 1756 the whole population of the island was 460 white persons and 3,864 negro slaves.¹

Chief among the planters was an English Quaker

¹The Development of the West Indies, by Frank Wesley Pitman, Ph. D., Yale Historical Publications, 1917, p. 383.

named Thornton and over his household presided his young wife, Dorcas Downing Zeagurs.²

On May 27, 1761, their son William was born. I have fixed the year approximately by circumstantial evidence; for he never disclosed it and there are no vital statistics for Tortola. When William Thornton was two years old his father died, and when he was five he was sent to his father's relatives, his grandfather and aunts, in Lancashire, England, to be educated. In 1777, when he was sixteen, he was apprenticed to a Doctor Fell of Ulverstone, England, to learn the business of a doctor, who was also then an apothecary, a dentist and a phlebotomist. Thornton attended Doctor Fell's shop, learned to make boluses and plasters, how to bleed people and how to pull their teeth out, and before he left Doctor Fell he had earned several sixpences and shillings with his lancet and forceps. After three years with Doctor Fell he went to Edinburgh to take the finishing course in medicine for which the University at that city was famous. He entered in 1781 and took his degree in 1784. After a brief return to Tortola he went to Paris to continue his scientific studies and there he learned a great deal and made many pleasant acquaintances. By this time he had formed the definite idea that he was to be a leader in the world, but to obtain this leadership a large private fortune was needed and he determined to acquire it by marriage. In 1787 he came to America and made a considerable stay in Philadelphia and Wilmington. It was at this time that he addressed himself to Governor John Dickinson, of Delaware, and asked the hand of the Governor's daughter in marriage. The Governor was rich and had married an heiress himself, but he rejected Thornton's overtures because he thought his daughter was too young to marry, she being only sixteen years old. The lover could not

²Thornton Papers, Library of Congress MSS. Unless otherwise stated these papers are the authority for this paper.

wait for her to grow older, and went back to Tortola in April, 1788. He intended to settle in America, however, and had been naturalized as a citizen of Delaware on January 7, 1788. When he reached the West Indies he met another heiress, whose initials only have been preserved, Miss R. H., and became engaged to her. Shortly before the day set for their marriage she ran off with another man. This mortifying circumstance threw Thornton into a fever and he was very ill. As soon as he had recovered sufficiently to travel, he came back to America to mend his health and heart. Neither was permanently broken, for he was soon in good physical condition, and in October, 1790, within a year from the time he was jilted in the West Indies, he was married in Philadelphia to Anna Maria Brodeau. Two failures to secure heiresses had somewhat diminished his matrimonial ambitions, but his wife was not portionless. Her mother was a French woman, a widow of high social position in Philadelphia, clever and influential, and Thornton's position in Philadelphia, and afterwards in Washington, was strengthened by her support. Although her daughter was hardly older than Miss Dickinson was when the Governor rejected Thornton, Mrs. Brodeau was not afraid to entrust her happiness to Thornton's care. In fact, she was pleased with the match, for she saw that her son-in-law was a remarkable man, and she yielded, as others did, to his charm of manner and conversation, his sprightliness and enthusiasm which made him more like a Frenchman than an Englishman.

At the time of his marriage he was thirty years old, of medium height, with regular features, brown hair and English complexion, an aquiline nose, active in body and abnormally active in mind. There was hardly a man in America who had received a scientific education equal to his, for the Americans who studied abroad usually went through a classical course only, but Thornton, having received a rudimentary classical

education, had studied medicine and chemistry and then botany and other branches of natural science. The young man was no adventurer, nor was he penniless, for the plantation yielded him an income which was, however, not always certain. By nature he was a fearless idealist and believed that the New World would welcome plans and projects which in Europe would go unheeded.

In 1793 the American Philosophical Society awarded him the Magellanic gold medal for his essay entitled "*Cadmus; or a Treatise on the Elements of Written Language, Illustrated by a Philosophical division of Speech, the power of each character, thereby mutually fixing the orthography and orthoepy, with an Essay on the mode of teaching the surd or deaf, and consequently dumb, to speak.*" It was a treatise upon the elements of written language and the application of a new system of letters and spelling to the teaching of the deaf to speak. Much of the argument has become familiar to later generations in the literature concerning Volapuk, Esperanto, simplified spelling and visible speech.³

Before Thornton attracted attention in this field he had become the patron, friend and coadjutor of John Fitch.⁴ He made John Fitch's steamboat a success. Twenty years later he swore that Robert Fulton had stolen the plans of the boat. It was soon after his experiments with the steamboat began that he invented a steam cannon which drove twenty-four bullets successively in two minutes through a plank an inch thick, but this rapid-fire gun he considered to be more curious than useful. In 1792 his plans for

³CADMUS, or a Treatise on the Elements of Written Language, Illustrated by a Philosophical Division of Speech, the Power of each character thereby mutually fixing the Orthography and Orthoepy. Cur nescire, pudens prave, quam descire malo? Hors Ars. Poet. V. 88. With an Essay on the Mode of Teaching the Surd or Deaf and Consequently Dumb to Speak. By William Thornton, M.D., Member of the Societies of Scots Antiquaries of Edinburgh and Perth; the Medical Society and the Society of Natural Hist of Edin. the American Philosophical Society, &c., Philadelphia, Printed by R. Aitken & Son, No. 22, Market Street, M.DCC.XCIII.

⁴William Thornton and John Fitch, by Gaillard Hunt, in *The Nation*, May 21, 1914.

the new Capitol building at Washington were accepted. He had previously designed the Philadelphia Library Building. Subsequently, he designed several other buildings including some beautiful private houses, a few of which are still standing. The history of his connection with the Capitol building has been written by Glenn Brown. A full account of William Thornton, the Architect, has yet to be written. He studied architecture for the first time when he drew the plans for the Capitol, but architecture was never more than a recreation with him. He gave up the practice of medicine before he left Philadelphia for Washington and never regularly resumed it. The fees were much smaller in this country than they were in the West Indies, but, apart from that, he felt an aversion for many branches of a general practitioner's duties, and in those days there were no specialists. He took an interest in agriculture and had a farm near Washington, but he never followed farming as a profession. He was a prolific writer, a printer of pamphlets, a contributor to the newspapers, and letters flowed from his pen in endless numbers, but he never wrote a book and he could not be called an author. His writings cover a bewildering multitude of subjects—negro colonization and emancipation, a national university, landscape gardening, somnambulism,⁵ South American independence, the breeding of horses, city building, George Washington, to mention only a few. Of no circumstance in his life was he as proud as he was of Washington's friendship. The intimate association began in Philadelphia in 1792 and when Tobias Lear ceased to be Washington's private Secretary the following year Thornton aspired to succeed him. The President's reply to him saying he had chosen his wife's kinsman, Bartholomew Danbridge, was warm and friendly in tone. Washington appointed him a Commissioner of the new federal

⁵See in *Harper's Weekly* for Oct. 1, 1910, "The Remarkable Case of William Kemble," based on one of Thornton's papers.

district in 1794, moved to the selection, doubtless, because he wished him to have oversight of the construction of the building he had designed, because he believed him to be a genius in planning generally, and because he had confidence in him and a personal liking for him. He and Commissioner Thornton tramped together over the ten miles square and he lent a willing ear to Thornton's projects, liking them none the less because many of them were Utopian. Thornton told him how a philosophical society must be founded; how there must be a national university on a novel plan which should include mechanical as well as classical and scientific education; how there must be an agricultural institution on a comprehensive scale—that government, art, science, learning, mechanics, husbandry, all must have their central point in the new city which this modern Cadmus hoped to build.

Thornton fairly revelled in the intimacy with Washington. He wrote to his friends in England about it; he planned to become Washington's Boswell and to record his daily sayings and doings; but he appears to have abandoned the idea—at any rate he has left us no notes to indicate that he even started to carry it out. The friendly letters which Washington and the family at Mt. Vernon wrote him survive as conclusive proof that he did not exaggerate his position. At Washington's request he wrote out his ideas on the subject of the national university and they were printed in 1796 under the title "Public Education." He designed the General's handsome house on North Capitol Street between B and C streets, and supervised the building, being often intrusted by Washington with large sums of money to pay for the work as it progressed. He helped Washington's nephew, Lewis, in planning his country house. Mrs. Washington appealed to him on occasion as a physician and often intrusted him with those

small household commissions which are a sure sign of intimacy.

After Thornton had served as Commissioner of the District of Columbia for five years, the office was abolished and he became Superintendent of the Patent Office, then under the Department of State, serving from 1802 up to the time of his death in 1827. His activities as a citizen were numerous. He served as a justice of the peace; was an officer in the militia; was one of the founders of the Columbian Institution, the first society for mental improvement organized in Washington; he was one of the organizers of the Washington Assemblies in 1800, the first effort to give form to the society of the place; he painted amateur portraits; he wrote verses; he entertained a great deal. He became interested in South American politics and was a correspondent of several of the leaders in the struggle for South American independence. In 1815 he printed a pamphlet entitled "Outlines of a Constitution for United North and South Columbia, Addressed to the Citizens of North and South Columbia"—a fantastic plan for uniting the whole Western Hemisphere under one government with the capital on the Isthmus of Darien. He wanted to be a minister to one of the South American republics.

He was a contentious man, and the habit grew on him as he grew older. He was a writer of long, explanatory, circumstantial letters, all true enough but doubtless wearisome to receive. He quarreled with his fellow Commissioners of the District, with Fulton over the steamboat, with Latrobe over the Capitol. He importuned Congress on many subjects, the Secretary of State over the Patent Office, the President on Appointments to office and public questions. He became a man with grievances and claims. I have read a great many of these letters and they seem convincing that he was right. Nevertheless, I can imagine how sorry his correspondents were

to receive them, how reluctantly they read them, and how difficult they found it to answer them, knowing, as they did, that he would be sure to write more long letters in reply.

He was an unconquerable man and he never grew old. When he died on March 28, 1828, at the age of 67, he was still planning, still contending, still hoping for that leadership and success which he had resolved should be his when he started out in life.

I have said that Thornton wrote on negro colonization and emancipation, and his connection with this subject I shall now develop by several of his surviving papers.

I must turn first to another West Indian, who like Thornton was born in the Virgin Islands, who was also a Quaker, a physician, an emancipationist and a scientist of varied accomplishments and great curiosity. John Coakley Lettson had already made his mark in London when Thornton came upon the scene, being some seventeen years older than Thornton, and to him Thornton appealed for assistance in his plans for helping the negroes to be free and the free negroes to become useful members of society.⁶ For Thornton's benefit Lettson obtained an account from Granville Sharp of his experiment at Sierra Leone. Granville Sharp was a philanthropist and pamphleteer, a sympathizer with the American Revolution, a friend of General Oglethorpe and a most effective friend of the negroes. It was he, in fact, who brought about the litigation in England which resulted in the British declaration that a slave became free as soon as he landed on British soil. Sharp's letter of October 13, 1788, to Doctor Lettson, told how Sierra Leone had been bought for a trifling sum from King Tom, a negro chief. The King not only sold his territory but his subjects as well. He was in the slave trade, and did, in fact, sell some of the free negro colonists when their

⁶Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late John Coakley Lettson, M.D., LL.D., etc., by Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, F. L. S. London, 1817.

number became few and they could not resist him. To Sierra Leone, Sharp and several others, with the aid of the British Government, sent some four hundred wretched negroes early in 1787. They were the remnant of those American slaves who had been incorporated into the British Army and Navy during the American Revolution, besides some runaways who had found refuge in London. They started on the voyage much debilitated by long waiting on ship-board and by drunkenness from the rum which was served to them as a part of their rations. Only two hundred and seventy-six got to Sierra Leone. A few months later only one hundred and thirty of these were still in the Colony.

Doctor Lettsom's friend, Henry Smeathman,⁷ a scientific explorer who had lived for several years on the West Coast of Africa, was the originator of the Sierra Leone experiment, and when Thornton heard in 1786 that Smeathman intended to visit Africa he wrote to Lettsom, Nov. 18, 1786, that he would like to go with him. He said that he wished to emancipate the slaves on the plantation in Tortola, but as only half of them, some seventy or eighty, belonged to him he would have to take his slaves away. Where could he send them? To their own country, naturally, but in that country some one must protect them from their relatives, the natives, and from their own helplessness. Thornton wished to be that protector. Before removing his slaves from Tortola he intended to allot to them some land and require them to pay him for it gradually before they were emancipated. He hoped in this way to arouse in them habits of independence. He said that in Africa a commonwealth should be founded. He worked out his plan in detail. It

⁷Smeathman wrote: *Plan of Settlement to be made near Sierra Leone on the Grain Coast of Africa, intended more particularly for the service and happy establishment of Blacks and People of Colour to be shipped as freemen under the Direction of the Committee for Relieving the Black Poor, and under the Protection of the British Government. By Henry Smeathman, Esq., who has resided in that country nearly four years. London 1786.*

included, as he was then a Quaker, disarming the inhabitants and the making of inviolable treaties of peace with all the world. His activities extended to the free negroes in America. He told Lettsom, February 15, 1787, that he found many free negroes in Rhode Island who were desirous of going to the Guinea Coast and who approved of his project to transport them thither. He learned that there were a great many free blacks in Boston. The American blacks were anxious to know if Sierra Leone was a British colony or an independent settlement. If it was a colony they would not go, but if it was independent they would go and Thornton would go with them. They changed his plans by insisting upon the right to carry arms for their self-defense; otherwise they might be captured and reduced to slavery again. Thornton could get 2,000 to go with him. The blacks in Newport were organized as the "Union Society", and more than seventy had signed as ready to join him. Going to Boston he grew warmer in his plans. May 20, 1787, he wrote that hundreds were ready to go from that place. He discussed his project with Samuel Adams, who approved of it. Thornton wished to dedicate himself to "this grand affair," as he called it. Returning to Philadelphia in July, 1788, he was still full of his black commonwealth, but the expedition to Sierra Leone having sailed, he would wait to hear how it turned out. If it failed he would organize another expedition. If it succeeded his American blacks would join the new settlers. They would go in prodigious numbers if the settlement was free and not a colony. The free blacks had petitioned the legislature of Massachusetts for vessels and equipment to take them to Africa. If it was necessary, Thornton would fit out transports himself for that purpose. In 1789 began his correspondence on the subject with the French emancipation society, "Les Amis des Noirs," but he appears to have derived only moral encouragement from that source. He thought he

could do more good in Africa than he could anywhere else on the globe, but he must have the "superintendence of the undertaking." (To Lettsom Nov. 13, 1789.) He was then a bachelor, and had no ties to deter him from personal risk. On June 15, 1790, he was still ardent for his plan. After that we hear no more of his desire to go to Africa. He was married in October of that year. His attention was now engrossed by his explorations in the elements of written language. He was writing a dictionary of the English language, giving all the roots of words and their true spelling, which had never been properly given. By 1794 he was telling Lettsom about the new capital, which he thought would be "one of the most elegant cities in the world." (January 8, 1795.)

When Thornton was deep in his colonization plans he laid them before Samuel Adams, as we have seen, and he approved of them, and he found encouragement and assistance from James Madison who wrote out for him certain considerations which he incorporated in his letter to the President of the "Société des Amis des Noirs."

J. DOTY TO WILLIAM THORNTON

[Tortola] [1786]

Dear Sir

I informed you I would transmit to you early intelligence of the determination of the members of the House of Assembly on your address to them, and the letter to me which accompanied it. Yesterday submitted both to them, and according to the usual form, the further consideration of the Subject matter was ordered for the next meeting. In the mean-time it may not be improper to state to you, the Ideas which this Subject seems to have given rise to, in the minds of some of the members. It is not extraordinary that a plan, which has for its object, the establishing a Colony of free blacks, in a tropical climate, for the purpose of Cultivating the usual articles which are the produce of the West Indies, and promoting the Interests of Freedom among those people, should not be a very popular one in this Country. And some of the Members of the Assembly seem to be of opinion that such an establishment

should it be carried into effect and be successful, will eventually be highly injurious to the Interests of the West India Islands, and therefore ought not to be countenanced by them. There are some other Gentlemen, who seem desirous of knowing, to whom the Colony intended to be established at Sierra Leone is to be made Subject; whether it is to be absolutely a dependency of Great Britain, or whether it is intended to be only placed under the protection of that power, and as to matters of Government, Commerce, &c to remain in a state of Independency. I must confess it appears to me, that a discussion of this subject at large, in this, or any other of the Islands, will be a fruitless, and futile, undertaking, as the establishing, and ultimate existence and success of such Colony, will depend upon causes, which these Islands can very little Influence or control, but were this not the case, I can conceive that the establishment of a Colony of free people of colour in Africa, may not only, not be injurious to the Interests of the West India Islands, but may even be rendered beneficial to them, for if to the free Blacks who it is intended shall be removed from North America to Africa, the plan is so extended as that the free people of colour in the Islands may be added, the community without an Act of injustice might be disencumbered of a class of people, who it is universally acknowledged are highly injurious to its Interests. These people are, in the Islands, in a situation more ineligible than they are on the Continent of North America, and probably would most willingly emigrate to another Country whose policy would not make it necessary to restrict them, in the rights of Citizenship. In the Islands they can scarcely be said legally to possess any visible permanent property, in some of them they are not allowed to possess the smallest quantity of Land in fee, nor beyond a very small number of Slaves, and in others where they are permitted by Law to hold a small quantity of Land in fee, they are prohibited from planting any, but certain Articles of cultivation. In this Island, their legal right to hold property within it, is a more liberal one than in most others, but even here, they cannot possess more than eight Acres of Land, nor more than fifteen Slaves. In one of the Windward Islands of this government it is at present or was lately in contemplation, to pass a Law, prohibiting any free person of Colour, from keeping a Huckstering shop, and from retailing Rum and other spirituous liquors, in any of the Towns in the Island, and as this business has hitherto constituted a principal object of employment with these people, should such a Law pass the Legislature, many of them will be deprived of the means of subsistence, at least until they have adopted some other object of employment. They are not eligible to

the holding any publick office of trust, or profit, in many of the Islands, nor have they a Vote in the election of any publick officer, and in some of the Islands (particularly in the foreign) they are prohibited from following any but certain Trades and employments. In the French Islands their situation is much worse than in the English, if the late revolution in the government, has not operated to their advantage, and in the Danish & Dutch, they are but little removed from mere Slaves.

Without reasoning as to the Justice of the distinction which is universally made between the white Inhabitants and the free people of colour, and the very great distance at which the Law has placed the one from the other, it is sufficient that the policy of the West Indies, will never suffer these poor people to emerge from their present humble state, or to possess the equal rights of free Citizenship. To these causes, and their consequent poverty it is to be attributed that in general in the Islands, they are an Idle, profligate Race, and very Injurious to the Interests of the rest of the Community of which they are Members, and they probably will ever remain so, until they are placed in a situation, where they can enjoy the rights and immunities of free citizens. Where the right of possessing property to any extent, may operate as a spur to the acquiring it by an exertion of honest industry, and where, finding a fair reputation will be an essential prerequisite in the acquirement of office, and the good opinion of the Community, it will be their Interest to be careful of their moral conduct, and to preserve a decent appearance.

The House of Assembly stands adjourned to tuesday next, on which day, or at any subsequent meeting, I shall be happy in communicating to the members, any further information on this Subject, which you shall think proper and necessary to be submitted to their consideration.

I am

Sir

Friday Morning

with great Respect

Your most obedient Servant

J Doty

Doctor Thornton

General Outlines of a Settlement on the Coast of Africa particularly that part under the Appellation of the Tooth-Ivory Coast. In the Language of the Blacks *Quaqua*.—[by Thornton].

This part of the Coast is chosen because it enjoys as good Air as any of the Windward Coast, is not so subject to pestilential Fevers as the Grain Coast, because it does not contain large Rivers.⁸

It does not abound so much with Minerals as the Gold Coast, therefore the Water will probably be better. It is equally luxuriant with any part, for Nature providing always with a Bountiful Hand has placed there the largest Animals with which we are Acquainted, (the Elephant), and the Sugar Cane grows there, naturally, in the most rich manner as Food for them. The Natives are much more numerous than on any other place on the Windward Coast, for they have generally been more peaceable, and have not yet got into the refined Species of Traffic i. e. for Men.

The European powers have no Forts there, & cannot on that Account be jealous of a Settlement that promises not to interfere with their immediate Views. They could be supplied with Grain on one side, and Gold Dust for a medium in Traffic on the other.

1. The Country must be visited, and Lands purchased of the Natives, making a Settlement in a peaceable manner.

2. The Courts of England, France, & the States of America to be visited that a Treaty of Commerce with them & the Africans may be established. This Treaty not to exclude them from a free Trade with any other power, or with the whole World: And that any Vessel which may be built in Africa or owned there, shall have free admittance into the ports which receive their Commodities. If any power shall encroach upon the Liberties of the Settlement the most formal & fixed Resolution shall be taken never more to trade with that power till Restitution be made, and the other powers in treaty will doubtless protect from Insults their commercial Allies. The Americans having no Settlement in the torrid Zone would be much benefitted by such a Treaty. No power would ever be jealous, as this Settlement would be one founded in perfect peace, and therefore incapable of assuming or dictating to any other. The Articles of Commerce would be, to Europe, Cotton, Indigo, Gold Dust, Ivory, Gums, Dying Wood, Drugs & Spices; to America the same with the addition of Sugar & its products; Cocoa, Coffee &c. as they have no Colonies that would interfere with such productions, and as their chief dependence is on the Agriculture of their own Country, might be supplied with some Manufactures of Africa.

⁸There are instances where the Rivers on the Grain Coast have risen during the Rainy Season 150 feet perpendicular from the Bed and when the Sun dries them up the Stench is intolerable.—Bennett. [Note in the MS].

3. Blacks who are now free in America & Europe, or who may be made free in the West Indies hereafter, to be taken to the New Settlement carrying with them such Utensils as will be requisite to cultivate the Lands, and also to form the necessaries of Life. The West India Negroes will be well acquainted with the culture of Sugar, Cotton, Indigo, Cocoa, Ginger, Coffee, Rice, Corn, (Indian & Guinea) and raising such live Stock as is peculiarly adapted to the torrid Zone. The Negroes of the Northern Countries, who have been amongst Christians (a sect which the poor West India Negroes know little of, except by Name) would be easily induced to live a regular Life, and by their Example the rest, as well as the Natives, might become a sober religious People. The northern Negroes too, by the Example of Industry which they have been accustomed to behold in the lower Classes of the White Inhabitants of those Countries would easily, by introducing their acquired Habits & Customs, bring to Industrious Lives the ignorant & slothful of the warm Country of Africa.

4. The Lands already purchased from the Natives might be divided into portions or Estates according to the number of their Family. These might be taxed in a very light degree, for the support of—

5. Schools & religious Houses, which are to be raised by the public Stock.

6. Such a Trade might be opened with the Africans that into this Settlement great Riches would be drained from the other parts, and the European Powers, particularly Great Britain & France and also the States of America, would find their Advantage in opening an extensive Commerce with it.

7. A Code of Laws to be framed for the mutual good of each Member of the Community which Code must be signed by every Individual, and executed by the Sentence of a Majority of Judges, a Jury, or single Judge, according to the nature of the Crime and Circumstances.

8. That such valuable Vegetable productions, as do not naturally grow in that part of Africa, be imported to the most proper nurseries appointed for the general Good of the Community, and their culture could then be extended with the demand.

9th To buy the Slaves that are brought from different parts and more fully to answer the purpose particular Ships may be stationed upon the Coast to receive them, and prevent their being offered to trading Vessels, and to free every person thus purchased, making him a member of the Community and giving equal privileges with the rest. If he have a Wife, or she a Husband, or they have Children or Friends in the

Country whence they were brought, by having permission to return and invite such Friends or any other persons to this Settlement of Peace, and paying their own Ransom by working or by Commerce, with Interest, the Community would increase rapidly, and as any province is rich only by the number of its Inhabitants such a Settlement would doubtless soon acquire an immense property. By this mode Thousands would annually be rescued from the most oppressive slavery, or Death, would be adopted into a Family of Peace on Earth, and taught Doctrines of Him, the King of Kings who has promised peace to his followers, in Heaven. The price which each would give for his Freedom would so much exceed any Sum that could be offered with Advantage by the Slave Traders, that in a little time the Traffic would cease. What heavenly pleasure must dilate every Breast that has been instrumental in delivering from oppression the poor defenceless Captive, and restoring tranquillity to his Family. The power that created you as Instruments would never leave you! What happiness awaits him who calls a Soul from Bondage under the promise of the most high, but my Friends what infinity of happiness shall be theirs who deliver from bondage & call unto Christ so many Thousand Souls!

W. T.

To the Black Inhabitants of Pennsylvania, assembled at one of their stated Meetings in Philadelphia. [Draft by Thornton].

It is in Contemplation by the English to make a free Settlement of Blacks on the Coast of Africa, which they have already begun, and have purchased a Tract of Land twenty Miles square at Sierra Leone for the intended Settlers.⁹ They are desirous of knowing if any of the Blacks of this Country be willing to return to that Region which their Fathers originally possessed, and finding many in Boston, Providence and Rhode Island very desirous of embarking for Africa, wish also to be informed if any of the Blacks in Pennsylvania are inclined to settle there. They would on landing be entitled to Estates, or certain Tracts of Land, and possess them for ever.

The Place intended for this Settlement is at the mouth of the River of Sierra Leone, which is navigable back 240 Miles. It is situated in about 10 Degrees East Long: of Tenerif, and 8 Deg: North Lat: Sir George Young of the British Navy who visited this Place gives the following Account of it. "St. George's Bay, in which the first Township is formed, is,

⁹See Substance of the Report delivered by the Court of Directors of the Sierra Leone Company to the General Court of Proprietors on Thursday the 27th March, 1794. London, 1794.

without exception, as fine a Harbour as any in the World; that the Mountains abound with Brooks of fresh Water; and are covered with the most noble Forests of all kinds of Timber, and with perpetual verduer; that when he ascended those Mountains, and looked about him he had never been so agreeably struck before with beautiful Landscapes of Wood and Water; and that he found the Air so cool upon the Mountain that he could have borne his great Coat with pleasure."

The Blacks who form this Settlement should be a free and independent People, governed by their own Laws, and by Officers of their own election. Their Ports would be open to trade with the whole World, whereby they would have the Advantage of procuring every thing at the cheapest Rate, which would not be the Case were the Settlement monopolized as a dependent Colony, by any power either of Europe or America; but it is imagined the Slave Trade will be soon abolished, and that the Europeans and Americans will co-operate in the establishment of this laudable Undertaking.

It is requested that those who may be disposed to embark for Africa will sign their Names, Ages, Trades and Families, &c., in the following, or a similar manner.

Names	Ages	Trades	Families
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The immediate Exports from Africa to Europe would be Gold Dust, Ivory, Cotton, Dying Woods, Gums, Drugs, Spices, Fruits and Preserves, Wood for Cabinets, &c. Oil of Palms &c, Indigo, Tobacco, Rice and Wax; to America the same, except the four last Articles, but with the Addition of Cocoa, Coffee, Sugar & its products &c, as the Americans have no Colonies with which such productions would interfere.

WILLIAM THORNTON TO ÉTIENNE CLAVIÈRE [1788]

Mons.^r [Étienne] Clavière

President de la Societe des Amis des Noirs

Respected Friend

Thy Letter with which I was lately honored is truly interesting & I perused it with must satisfaction, and think myself highly obligated for this favour: I am happy that your Nation while engaged in a noble struggle for her own Privileges was not inattentive to the rights and happiness of the most oppressed of the human Race. While the Voice of Liberty was heard in every Street, and acclamations of Joy rent the Heavens, you listened to the voice of humanity, in the midst of gladness, the cry of the afflicted in a distant Land pierced each Heart of Benevolence. The Sum of your Happiness is not yet complete

for Tears of Sorrow continue to flow from the Eyes of Slaves, and the God of Man cannot delight in the freedom of one who binds another to administer to his pleasures. Let that nobleness of Character which has distinguished your People rouse you to assert for the Africans those privileges that are claimed so loudly by the French! then will their solemn appeals to Heaven and to Earth for the Rights of Man be marked with consistency, requiring that *all* Men are *equally* entitled by Nature to the same Favours! Thus shall each name that dignifies your Society do honor to human Nature, and when the Trumpet of Fame has done sounding the names of Heroes, your Names will be heard with secret Joy in the most remote Ages, and Time will hand them over to Eternity.

I am happy that you approve of the Men with whom I propose to form a Settlement in Africa, though you think it will be necessary to form a concert of opinions and of actions between the different powers of Europe in favour of the plan previous to the attempt to form the Establishment: if however we consider that even with all the disadvantages of inexperienced Superintendents, appointed over a lawless Banditti and not very satisfactorily equipped, the English made an Essay, and as I have lately been informed not unsuccessfully, we might, with reason, hope that with such Men as I had the honor of proposing to you, properly provided with Necessaries & Arms, a free Settlement might be established upon the most solid Basis; for it does not appear that either the continuance of Slavery in other places, or even the Slave Trade affected the Settlers at Sierra Leone materially and, as the Traders seek only to take the Men, not the Country, they would have no Inducements to attack the free Blacks who were trained to Arms, and who were determined to sell their liberty only with their loss of Life. The Blacks of the Eastern States of North America still continue anxious to embark for Africa. They even addressed the Legislature of Massachusetts, and received an Answer truly worthy of that noble-spirited People, signifying that they were willing to grant the prayer of their Petition, in furnishing Ships with Stores, Implements of Labour, and Necessaries for the Coast of Africa, as soon as a proper place could be secured to them, either by Grants made by the African Princes, or in Consequence of Negotiations with any of the European Powers.

I am incapable of expressing my admiration of your spirited and excellent address to the Bailliaes or Districts entitled to send Delegates to the states Genl: It speaks the Language of Magnanimity, but though its justice may stare every slave dealer in the Face, and each sleeping Conscience be awaked to its Sense of Guilt, it withdraws behind the impenetrable Veil

of Interest, and the Mind is afraid to give way to conviction. A total and immediate abolition of Slavery may indeed be pregnant with some Danger to Society, but there can be no inconvenience in a gradual Emancipation to commence as soon as general Safety will permit it. You expect the abolition of the Trade: I sincerely hope that the Voice of a few Slave Traders, the most despicable of human Beings will not be suffered to dictate the most unchristian of practices to your enlightened Nation so justly famed for humanity and generosity: But whether or no you succeed in this praiseworthy attempt to abolish a traffic in the human Species let me urge the immediate consideration of the plan for forming a Settlement in Africa. The English will no doubt co-operate with you, and the Americans are willing, What can be urged against it that will not shrink before Resolution? If the Colonies preserve their unjust Titles to hold Slaves, how will they interfere with Africa? If the Slave Trade be still permitted even on every part of the Coast, what Madman would run headlong into danger to take them, knowing the dispositions of regularly disciplined Men in Arms especially if the terror of retaliation in Slavery were threatened by the Victors on both sides? If you be afraid that the surrounding Kings might be instigated by the Traders to destroy and captivate the Settlers, Laws might without difficulty be enacted to prevent under pain of Death any Traders from making Slaves within a few Degrees North and South of the Settlement—Prudence is to be admired, but no difficulties ought to overcome the Minds of Men engaged in the Cause of Virtue. Liberty is now alive: Let her not die *till she visit another Quarter of the Earth*—You are not immortal, and know not who shall succeed you. The Sun shineth today—to-morrow may never come.—No political objection can be urged against the Plan. The Manufacturing Nations of Europe, particularly France and England, will be benefitted by procuring raw materials, at a cheaper rate, exchanging for them manufactured articles. America also will find great advantages in the Productions of Africa. The immediate Exports from Africa to Europe would be gold Dust, Ivory, Cotton, Dying Woods, Gums, Drugs, Spices, Fruits and Preserves, Wood for Cabinets &c. Oil of Palms &c. Indigo, Tobacco, Rice & Wax; to America the same, except the four last Articles, but with the addition of Sugar and its products, Cocoa, Coffee, &c. as they have no Colonies with which such productions would interfere.

The Planters in the West Indies particularly the Sugar Planters cannot for many Years be affected by the exportation of any tropical Productions from Africa to Europe for the expense of Sugar Works would be too great for a new Settle-

ment, and were Sugar after that as cheap in Africa as in the East Indies it would bear so heavy a Duty that the Revenue of either France or England would be much increased by its Importation; however if these nations should regard more the Interest of the West India Planters than the increase of their Revenues though at the expense of the Subjects resident in either Kingdom, they might lay such high Duties on the African Sugar as to be prohibitory, or at least equivalent to a Bounty on West India Sugars, till *true* policy should open the Eyes of European Politicians, and force them to urge the eternal abolition of Slavery.

Reasons in favour of the immediate Settlement of Africa may be collected from the Sentiments of many in this Country. I will give you upon this Subject the Opinion of a Gentleman from one of the most respectable States in the Union—a Gentleman who does honor not to America only, but to human Nature—a Gentleman of the first Abilities, and whose Voice has ever been listened to with uncommon attention in the Councils of this Nation. His own Words are the best adapted to his Sentiments. [Insert the note by Mr. M.]

“Without inquiring into the practicability or the most proper means of establishing a settlement of freed blacks on the Coast of Africa, it may be remarked as one motive to the benevolent experiment that if such an asylum was provided, it might prove a great encouragement to manumission in the Southern parts of the U. S. and even afford the best hope yet presented of putting an end to the slavery in which not less than 600,000 unhappy negroes are now involved.

“In all the Southern States of N. America, the laws permit masters, under certain precautions to manumit their slaves. But the continuance of such a permission in some of the States is rendered precarious by the ill effects suffered from freedmen who retain the vices and habits of slaves. The same consideration becomes an objection with many humane master ag^t. an exertion of their legal right of freeing their slaves. It is found in fact that neither the good of the Society, nor the happiness of the individuals restored to freedom is promoted by such a change in their condition.

“In order to render this design eligible as well to the Society as to the Slaves, it would be necessary that a compleat incorporation of the latter into the former should result from the act of manumission. This is rendered impossible by the prejudice of the whites, prejudices which proceeding principally from the difference of colour must be considered as permanent and insuperable.

“It only remains then that some proper external receptacle be provided for the slaves who obtain their liberty. The

interior wilderness of America, and the Coast of Africa seem to present the most obvious alternative. The former is liable to great if not invincible objections. If the settlement were attempted at a considerable distance from the White Frontier, it would be destroyed by the Savages who have a peculiar antipathy to the blacks. If the attempt were made in the neighbourhood of the White Settlements, peace would not long be expected to remain between Societies, distinguished by such characteristic marks, and retaining the feelings inspired by their former relation of oppressors & oppressed. The result then is that an experiment for providing such an external establishment for the blacks as might induce the humanity of Masters, and by degrees both the humanity & policy of the Governments, to forward the abolition of slavery in America, ought to be pursued on the Coast of Africa or in some other foreign situation.¹⁰⁷

Such is his Opinion, and he further intimated that Slavery is not likely to be *ever* abolished in the Southern States of America till an Asylum be provided to which the manumitted Blacks may be sent.

I have only to add my sincere Wishes that the honorable and benevolent Society over which thou presidest may concur with me in Sentiment respecting the propriety of adopting a plan of immediately commencing this Settlement, as it may beside other beneficial Effects have that of forwarding the abolition of not only the Slave Trade, but Slavery itself, teaching the European Nations that Slavery is not necessary for raising the productions of the torrid Zone, and teaching the Kings of Africa that their Kingdoms would be much richer by a Sale of their Commodities, than by a sale of their Inhabitants; that a King who sells his Subjects to enrich himself is (according to Montesquieu) like one who cuts down his Trees to pick off the Fruits.

Nothing I hope will subdue your Minds! Great is your Cause, and may Heaven prosper your Society! You defend not imaginary Titles; you plead not the cause of an Individual or a Family; you support not the honorary dignities of a Kingdom; but you disinterestedly raise your Voice in favour of many Nations, to preserve the Lives of many Millions, and in defence of the dearest rights of Man!—

I am with the greatest regard & esteem

thy respectful Friend

W:T.

¹⁰⁷This insertion is in James Madison's handwriting.

SUGGESTION TO BUY PORTO RICO FOR FREE NEGROES.

DRAFT, BY THORNTON [1802]

About the year 88, at the time that the Government of England was engaged in settling a free Colony at Sierra Leone the Americans in New England were desirous of sending all the free Blacks from that Country and offered Ships and every necessary for their support. The Blacks likewise were desirous of fixing in any Country where they might enjoy the rights & privileges of free-men, which they knew could not, consistently with the policy of the American Government, be accorded to them while so large a portion of the Black people remained in a State of Slavery. But without they had returned to Africa there was no place in which they could find the contemplated Asylum. If an Island had been in the possession of the Americans it would have served this valuable purpose. The English made a Settlement, which some French Privateers destroyed, and which humanity has to lament; but Virtue generally perseveres in the plans she has commenced, because she seldom commences them without considering attentively the end. They again sent settlers and it is thought they will amply repay the trouble and expense incurred. The same Causes that induced the Inhabitants of Boston to desire a place of settlement for the Blacks still exist, and we yet possess no place that can without various objections be dedicated to this end. But the mere settlement of the Blacks is perhaps not a sufficient inducement to the Government of America to engage in the establishment of a Colony, for it has been considered by many wise men as incurring a great expense, & subjecting any Nation to the Evils of foreign warfare. It is in part true, but only as it relates to certain European powers. With respect to us is it materially different, and though we are at present but in the infancy of our political Existence we are considered as so important in the Scale of Nations that were we even now to possess one or more Islands no Nation would presume to molest us, because our weight thrown into any Scale would outbalance the advantages of opposition to any of our National Measures; especially if there were not direct aggression on the rights & privileges of others; and though it might be extremely difficult for the Americans at any other time to obtain from the Court of Spain, or any other Nation an Island in the West Indies, especially of sufficient importance to be worthy of being possessed by one of the most extensive Nations in the world, yet at this time it would not be difficult to induce the Court of Spain to cede to us, what is not important to them, I mean the

Island of Porto Rico, for it is an annual expense to the Spanish Government of above 150,000 Doll^s. Other motives might tend to induce them to grant us this Island which may be enumerated. During a War, & the present particularly, the English may make prize of it, if they know the Americans wish it, may sell it to them, thereby depriving the Spaniards not only of our Friendship but also of the Island & the Money we would give. It is not however the policy of England to grant the Americans an Island for the very Idea of giving us more strength in the American Archipelago is contrary to their national policy, not only on acct. of increasing our Seamen & consequently our naval power, but of being her competitors in the Sugar Market: but this policy would give way to the consideration of our obtaining from the Spaniards what was refused by them, and the National Jealousies between the two Courts would at this time work mutually to our Advantage. If the English had wished for Porto Rico, or any, or all, of the Spanish Islands, & other Settlements, they could at any time have obtained them, as well as the french Settlements, but the Merchants of England who have lent Money to the Jamaica Planters, on their Estates, and the Planters who at great Expense have settled Sugar Estates, would oppose the Intention of Government, if a Disposition were shown to extend their Colonies in such rich & fertile Islands, where a competition would diminish the value of their settled possessions—and these rich merchants & planters who possess Boroughs in England and send by their extensive Patronage & Influence many Members to parliament do not express their wishes without being heard by the royal or Ministerial Ear. The French Islands have been repeatedly taken by the English and restored at the conclusion of the War, but if retained they would only have thrown the same quantity of Sugar into a different Channel without actually increasing it & there could be less objection to their being retained. If the American Government were opposed to *purchasing* the Island there is no doubt it would be ceded by our giving way in the Settlement of our Western Limits of Louisiana—for if a serious demand were to be made of the Rio Bravo or Rio del Norte as our Boundary, the Spaniards would be extremely adverse to a Dispute, & would be equally or more adverse to the relinquishment of a Territory that contains the richest Gold Mines in the world, which are situated in the Mountains of the Province of Texas, and several Rich ones in the neighborhood of S^{ca}. Fé, besides some of the richest Silver Mines in the world—rather than permit such a cession of Territory there is no Doubt they would give the two Floridas & Porto Rico: the last however is the richest most beautiful most pleasant & healthy Island in

the same Latitude or between the Tropics in the world. It is likewise very extensive in fertile Land, and contains more really rich Land proper for Canes & at the same time in a healthy situation than all the other possessions of this Government, if even what is mentioned above were ceded to us. Porto Rico contains Ports that are very extensive & very safe. It is more easy of access to our Ships than any Settlement we can form, as they can run thither & back with the Trade Wind, without beating up or tacking. If the Government possess that Island and make it a free Port it would give, independent of the produce, an astonishing revenue, and if a free Port, it would prevent the Jealousies that it might otherwise excite. If the Government were even adverse to this Island being considered as an object of exchange for such a portion of Louisiana as we may have a right to claim, and were also adverse to making a purchase of it, would any Objection arise to their acceptance of its Sovereignty, and permit a private Company to purchase the Island under the Sanction of the American Government, permitting every proprietor to hold his Land, and the Company taking possession only of the Crown Lands. Upon these Principles the English the Danes the Dutch & others have established Settlements which have been so productive as to give immense revenues.

DRAFT OF A LETTER TO A NEWSPAPER.

BY THORNTON [1816?]

Mess^{rs}. Editors

The Cause of the Blacks has called forth the energetic power of England, & Cruisers have been sent to the Coast of Africa to put a Stop to that inhuman trafic, that has so long disgraced the most enlightened Nations of Europe. Such evidences have been produced that we find it is impossible to deny that many of our own People are engaged very deeply in this Business, furnishing under different Flags, the Spaniards of Cuba, with Slaves, who again wait for convenient opportunities to send them to Missouri, & thus many thousands have been introduced in the very teeth of the Constitution; against law, against humanity, against every rule of right & every principle of Christianity, at the very time that we are tickling the vanity of each other, in orations on our freedom & declaration of common rights, & at the very time that we are immolating those poor wretches, who listening to our 4th. of July flights, declare that "whatever is praiseworthy in Massa, is certainly praiseworthy in his Slave!"

The Eye of Heaven is not blinded with Gold-dust, & the Day of reckoning is drawing near. Has a single Individual

dared to stand forth the Champion of the Oppressed: has he dared to recommend to Congress that a law should be passed to take to the Coast of Barbary every Man captured on board the Slave-trading Vessels who was engaged directly or indirectly in making Slaves or trading in them; & that such Individuals should be exchanged to ransom the innocent Captives of the Barbarians!— We are seeking for a President. Give me the Name of such a Champion of humanity, & I would write Night & Day to blazon forth his Virtues, and to make him the Ruler of the People. I would have none of your cold-blooded, tardy-thinking and calculating Characters. I would have the warm-hearted the noble-minded & generous Being who would dare to stem the torrent of opposition, and whose Virtues would rise against every attack, with a bolder crest: for in this land there is still great virtue, but it lies in a latent State. It requires to be brought forth, & to be fostered. It would, under the cherishing influence of a great master-spirit, be productive of effects that cannot be contemplated by the puny Soul! The North Americans would thus be distinguished as a great, a generous, a virtuous, & magnanimous People. It would then be an honor to be called by such an Appellation. At present we look not for good and enlightened Men to fill our offices, but for men of money, of influence in Elections, of intrigue, to help forward our contemptible views of self-interest. Even parties are created, without knowing why they are to be enlisted on this or that side, and without seeing the causes that tend to ultimate results, of which they remain as ignorant as if the wood-and-wire worked here were to dance puppets in the moon! If an Envoy be sent to a foreign Country, it is not for what he is expected to do there; but to pay for electioneering services performed here, or to be performed. He may be old to superannuation, he may be deaf & dumb,—that is, incapable of understanding, or speaking intelligibly a word of the People to whom he is sent.—What impositions are these upon the Community! Can no man be found who has honesty enough to call upon the actors in these base desertions of common Sense! No, we have no men, or few who dare write, & fewer still who dare publish what is written: for all the Papers that obtain extensive circulation are in the pay of Government. The Laws are to be published in each of these papers, not for the benefit of the People, but to pay the vile hirelings who are as much bought & sold, as the hack-lawyers, that will plead in favor of any villain, in a cause, known to be iniquitous, for a fee. I speak to you Citizens, without your accustomed homage, & I call upon you to publish what I write if you have any of the spirit of '76. It was then that men dared to think, and to write. It was then that those

bold and home Truths were told in the Pages of *Common Sense*. But the Times have changed, & I call upon you my Countrymen to resume your native energies.

When this Country declared its Independence the Inhabitants were but abt two millions & a half, of which nearly a Million were slaves. We were then without Ships, without Money, without Arms, without ammunition: and yet the whole power of England was insufficient to subject us to an unconditional Submission to parliamentary decrees. We became independent! England was at the commencement of the Struggle nearly free from Debt: at the end of the war they were involved in a debt of 500,000,000 Sterl^gs. The great men of this Country & many others thought it impossible that England could long sustain such a burthen of Taxes as were requisite to pay the interest of this enormous Debt. But England has since that sustained a War against all the powers of Christendom & when engaged with all Europe, we, to obtain a redress of some grievances, threw our power into the Scale against England. She sustained the whole! and put down, finally, the power of France, that had forced the rest of Europe to succumb. That Nation, England, that seemed unappalled by a combination of all the powers of the World, pretends now, in perfect peace, to dread the effects that will be likely to result from an effort of the Emperor of Russia to humble the pride and power of the Turks, if unopposed by the rest of Europe! Has England any thing to fear even if Alexander were to make Constantinople his winter's, & St. Petersburg his summer's, residence? His Empire would be assailable, in so many points, that he would never be able to defend it. He would prepare only for revolutions, for when men are placed under Rulers acting only as Vicegerents, they are apt to break the Clue of power and wind up a Ball for themselves. The East Indies will become independent of Great Britain—New Holland will become independent—The Cape of good-hope will become independent, but all these speaking the English Language will give such advantages to our Commerce as to render us in a few years the most potent Nation in the World.

[December, 1816.]

To the honorable Henry Clay, Chairman of the Assembly for promoting the establishment of a free and independ^t. Nation of Blacks in Africa [draft by Thornton.]

Sir

My public Duties did not permit my personal attendance at the meeting lately held for this praise-worthy object but I have heard with unspeakable satisfaction of the respectability

of the meeting & of the unanimity of benevolence with which this Subject was discussed. It is a Subject that has long impressed my mind as one of the most momentous; for it involves the happiness of millions of our FellowBeings; and as the Government of America was the first to provide against the extension of Slavery it is with inexpressible pleasure that I view among its most respectable Citizens a zealous desire to restore to their Country the Descendents of the Africans who have obtained their freedom among us. It has been thought by many that they would depart with reluctance for the region of their forefathers, but the feelings of human nature are the same in all. Let those who prejudge the feelings of the Blacks apply the Case to themselves, and ask if they were carried into Slavery among the Barbary Powers or other savages, and by degrees had gained their freedom, and a desire were expressed by the Barbarians that the emancipated & their descend^{ts} should be restored to their original country, could there be a hesitation in those to whom such a proposal should be made in embracing the offer, especially if they were to have lands presented to them, and were to be assisted in forming a free Government? It is impossible on this subject, if well considered, to offer a doubt. But lest any should judge from expressions that may have escaped from contented Individuals, I will mention a Fact in favor of this contemplated Establishment that cannot fail to make some Impression.

In the winter of 1786-7 I was travelling in Rhode Island & Massachusetts. I found many free Blacks & having been engaged in a correspondence with some of the members of the Sierra Leone Society of London, among whom were some of my Friends I was desirous of knowing what number of free Blacks in Mass. & R.I. could be found, desirous of joining in that Settlement. I made my wish known to some of the elder Blacks who informed me they would call Meetings that they might be informed of the contemplated object of such a Settlement. They assembled in hundreds, in one of the places of worship & in the most orderly and decent manner, heard all I had to say. They were delighted with the prospect, and in a few Weeks informed me that two thousand were willing to accompany me. I made this known to some of the Member of the Assembly of Massach^{ts} who expressed a desire of aiding in sending them out of the Country, and I had no doubt from the ardour with which the proposal of taking them away entirely, was advocated, that the Legislature would have furnished them with Ships, with provisions, Tools &c. and many of the members promised that every requisite would cheerfully be granted. When however I explained to them the intention of taking the Blacks to Sierra Leone—then Members

of the Legislature expressed an unwillingness to send them out of the limits of the U.S., & wished a Settlement to be made in the most southern part of the back Country between the whites & Indians. I informed them that I would never be instrumental in placing those men, who were now comparatively happy & in a state of protection, between the Indians & Savages on their Borders, where they would become a prey to both; besides I was confident the Blacks could have no motive for wishing such a change; for if they should prove capable of defending themselves agst all their Enemies, & should preserve their political freedom, could they ever hope to be rec^d as representatives in our Assemblies? Could they ever be treated with an equality in a country where many of their Colour were still held in Slavery? It would be morally impossible, but if possible it would be politically dangerous. We thus parted, but I had still a hope that the Day would arrive when other views of this Subject would open to the mind a prospect of such unbounded good to that miserable race, that all minor Considerations would vanish. Happily the Day has arrived, and I hope that the holy zeal with which this Business has commenced may never feel a check; for most fortunately for the cause of humanity, the Cause of self Interest has nothing to fear from its advancement.

I laid before the World in 1804 a Letter containing a plan for emancipating the Blacks, a copy of which I take the liberty of presenting with this.¹¹ It is however a Subject distinct from the one now under contemplation. This is on the mode of establishing them as a free, distinct, & independent people. Without attempting to combat the various opinions that prevail on this Subject, I think it sufficient to give my own but I offer my Sentiments upon this great Subject with the utmost deference. The Almighty in that wisdom that Man cannot pretend to scan, has destined Africa to be the Country of the Blacks. They lived in a state of Nature, enjoying the fruits & natural productions of one of the most fertile regions of the Earth—till America was discovered. The rich mines of Silver & Gold found there induced the nations of Europe who possessed themselves of these inexhaustible sources of Wealth after sacrificing millions of poor Indians, to import Africans to work their mines & cultivate their lands. These People have been subject to cruelties, at which human Nature has long shuddered. Their sufferings have made impressions that have roused the activity of many benevolent & highly distinguished Characters. The Slave

¹¹Political Economy founded in Justice and Humanity in a letter to a friend by W. T. Washington, 1804. Printed by Samuel Harrison Smith.

Trade has been abolished, many humane Persons have liberated their Slaves, and more would follow them if such provision were made for their future destiny as would be likely to ensure a prospect of felicity. An Establishment was made by the English at Sierra Leone, on one of the finest rivers, & in the richest country in Africa. This settlement flourished till broken up by the French through a mistaken Jealousy. It is revived, & hopes of its advancement entertained. The liberal policy of those enlightened Characters who commenced that Establishment of free Blacks would doubtless induce them cordially to assist in extending it to the free Blacks of this Country, & of all others. To join those already in some degree established would offer advantages to each; but this is only under the supposition that the Settlement is to be considered as appertaining to not only a free but compleatly independent People: and in no respect whatever to be viewed as a Colony. If they should be settled as a Colony, they would be restricted by regulations to trade with particular nations, & would be subjected to oppressive Duties. They might be considered as free but not independent. In an establishment of this kind, where provision should be made for unborn Millions, every movement should be correspondent. Let the Sovereignty of five hundred miles square be purchased of the natives of Africa, by discreet and competent agents and let this region be recorded by our Government as a free gift forever to the people who may settle thereon. The price of purchase may perhaps be small in comparison to the immensity of the Object & particularly if the surrounding People be informed that nothing but good is contemplated. But instead of thousands were it to cost us millions it would be unworthy of the Considerⁿ. of a great & magnanimous People, who have not hesitated to sacrifice more than a hundred Millions in asserting National Principles in defence of private Rights; especially when this great Cause is a beneficent retribution for long sustained injuries inflicted on the Innocent; & to blot from the records of Eternity the highest stigma of humanity. After purchasing the Country let it be surveyed in the same manner as our own back Countries, & the fee simple only be disposed of by degrees that the Settlers may be kept compact, and be thereby more capable of defending themselves & their flocks from the incursions of the Savages & from the beasts of the wilderness. A form of republican Govern^t. would be prepared for them—and they ought for a while to be protected by a due force. Every Advantage should be accorded to them, that an orderly & reasonable people could desire. Public Schools & places of worship should be established. Whatever would tend to their advancement in

this world, & preparation for the next should be solicitously fostered—and if with all our Care such a people should be produced as might reasonably be expected to arise from such preparatory Steps, they would bless the humble Instruments of this great work;—for when the surrounding Nations of Africa now wrapt in miserable Ignorance should incline to join their emancipated Brethren they would find them truly emancipated—not from the chains of Slavery alone, but from the thralldom of the Mind. They would find them enjoying the light of Christianity—and able to instruct their fellow men in the precepts of divine wisdom. Thus would Slavery, the darkest stain on Christian Professors, be finally rendered subservient to the work of heaven & the poor Africans be in a manner repaid for the long sufferings of their unhappy children. The wilderness would flourish in Arts, Agriculture & Science, their Ports would be open to the whole world, the Native African would be taught the principles of Christianity & be happy; thus millions unnumbered in singing halelujahs to our God, would bless the Children of the West!

W: T:

AN EARLY ACCOUNT
OF THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF JESUIT MISSIONS IN AMERICA

BY HENRY F. DEPUY

FEW subjects in American history have had more careful study from eminent scholars both historically and bibliographically than the Jesuit missions in North America. The Jesuits were by no means the first missionaries to the new world, but they had a system of reports to the head of the order and many of these reports were printed for public distribution. These reports from the fact that they contain descriptions of the country and its inhabitants are among the most important sources of our early history. It is therefore with good reason that these books and anything relating to the Jesuit missions have been sought with avidity by historians, libraries and collectors. The discovery of hitherto unknown books or manuscripts relating to these Missions is today an event of importance both historically and bibliographically. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to an authoritative source of information as to the Jesuit missions till now almost entirely unknown to American investigators—the *Life of Francisco de Borja*, the third General of the Jesuits, written by Father Ribadeneyra and printed in Madrid in 1592. The complete title and collation of this book is:

Vida del P. Francisco de Borja, que fue Duque de Gandia, y despues Religioso y III. General dela Compañia de Iesvs. Escrita por el P. Pedro de Ribadeneyra de la misma Compañia Dirigida al Catolico Rey Don Felipe II nuestro Senor. [cut]

Con privilegio real En Madrid, En Casa de P. Madrigal. Año de 1592. Esta tassada en papel en cinco Reales, y 19 mrs.

Quarto; ff [12], 237 [3]; 193 x 140 mm.

Father Pedro de Ribadeneyra, the author, was born in Toledo, November the first, 1527, and died at Madrid on the twenty-second of September, 1611. He served in several important posts in the Company of Jesus, and besides other works was the author of the Lives of Loyola, Laynez, and Borgia the first three Generals of the Order.

The "Vida de Borja" was first printed in Madrid in 1592, the foregoing being the title to the first edition. The other editions that I have been able to trace are: Verdun, 1596, in French; Douai, 1596 and 1603, in French; Florence, 1600, in Italian; Ingolstadt, 1613, in German; Mentz, 1603, in Latin; Rome, 1616, in Italian, cited by Backer; and Antwerp, 1598; Mayence, 1613; Douai, 1603; Lyons, 1609, cited by Nicolas Antonio. These are all separate editions of the Life of Borgia. The three "Vidas" of Loyola, Laynez and Borgia appear together in several editions, the earliest being 1594. Pérez Pastor in *Bibliografía Madrileña*, Madrid, 1891, gives the interesting information about this edition of 1594, that the Duke of Gandia, son of Francisco de Borgia, gave 1500 reals to assist the printing "de ce livre." This sums up the bibliographical information that I have found in regard to the book. As to the book itself, I have not been able to locate a copy of any edition in any public library in America. The British Museum catalogue has two editions, Madrid 1592 (imperfect) and Mentz 1603.

The copy which I owned and from which the chapters quoted in this article are taken is now in the library of Mr. Henry E. Huntington. I obtained it through Mr. Robert Dodd, and a name on the title indicates that in the early part of the 19th century it was the property of Alfred Hennen of New Orleans.

It contains four chapters on the establishment of Jesuit missions in America. They are as follows:

"The Entrance of the Company into the West Indies, and the death of nine of them in Florida, Chapter VI.

"Our men go to Peru and to New Spain, Chapter VII.

"The Death which the heretics gave to thirty-nine of the company who were going to Brazil. Chapter X.

"Concerning twelve others of the Company who likewise died at the hands of the heretics." Chapter XI.

These chapters are, as far as I know, the earliest printed accounts of the Florida mission. There are earlier accounts of the South American missions; and in this connection it is worthy of remark that although Ribadeneyra distinctly says in Chapter VI: "When Father Francisco was first General of the Company none of the Company had entered the West Indies which were subject to the Crown of Castile. They had only sent forth and scattered our men through the East Indies" etc. Yet it is undoubtedly a fact that there were Jesuit missionaries in South America prior to 1550. I am indebted to Mr. Eames for the three titles as follows:

(1) *Avisi Particolari delle Indiedi Portugallo*, Roma, 1552. (This contains seven letters from Jesuit missionaries in Brazil, 1549-1551.)

(2) *Novi Avisi di piu lochi de l'India et massime de Brasil receuti quest' anno del M. D. LIII*, Roma, 1553. (Contains eleven letters from Jesuit missionaries in Brazil, 1551-1552.)

(3) *Copia de unas Cartas de algunos padres y hermanos dela compania de Jesus que escrivieron dela India, Japon, y Brasil*, [Lisbon,] 1555. (Contains four letters from Jesuit missionaries in Brazil written in 1555.)

All three are in the Lenox collection of the New York Public Library, and all were printed before Francisco de Borgia became General of the Company in 1565.

It is remarkable that in studying the history of the Jesuit missions scholars should have failed to consult the life of the General of the Order under whom they were established. It seems hardly credible that a

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I E S V S.

Dirigida al Catolico Rey Don Felipe. I. I.
nuestro Señor.



CON PRIVILEGIO REAL.

EN MADRID,

En casa de P. Madrigal. Año de 1592.

Està tassado en papel en cinco Reales, y 19. mrs.



book of that character, which went through at least ten editions in twenty-four years, should be extremely rare. Yet no reference is made to it by Shea or O'Callaghan, who were both intensely interested in the subject, and who were both members of the Order. Buckingham Smith is supposed to have ransacked Madrid for early books and documents relating to Florida and evidently did not discover it. The facts given in the chapter on Florida are simply confirmatory, though in more detail, of the account given by Shea in his chapter on Ancient Florida in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, Volume 2. Shea cites as his authority a letter of Menendez dated in October 1566, and printed in Madrid, 1710 [Winsor II, 279.] In fact, I have been able to learn of but one American reference to this book. This morning, our associate Mr. George Parker Winship, has called my attention to the fact that it was cited in 1905 in a footnote on p. 266 of Woodbury Lowery: "Spanish Settlements within the limits of the United States; Florida, 1562-1574."

The story of the attempt to establish the mission in Florida as told by Father Ribadeneyra is well worth reprinting. I have had it translated by a well-known student of Spanish literature and give it entire.

THE ENTRANCE OF THE COMPANY INTO THE WEST INDIES,
AND THE DEATH OF NINE OF THEM IN FLORIDA

Chapter VI

When Father Francisco was first General (of the Company) none of the Company had entered the West Indies, (which were) subject to the crown of Castile. They had only sent forth and scattered our men through the East Indies, and arrived at the gates of China, and founded houses and churches in Japan, with the result that is known. There were many in the Company to whom our Lord had given an ardent desire to die for him, and a particular aptitude to labor in (fol. 140a) the West Indies, in the same manner in which their other companions and brethren labored in the East Indies. And

they implored our Lord that he might open the gates for them and fulfil in them his desires. And the charity and zeal for the glory of God our Lord, with which Father Francisco was burning, was so great that he had, even before he became General, offered up many prayers, sacrifices and penances for this purpose. The Lord heard them and waited (for the most opportune time) until the Father was appointed General, in order that by his hand and to his contentment he might send, for this enterprise, the fathers and brethren who should seem best to him. Almost at the same time or a little later, which was on May 3, 1566, he induced the Catholic King don Felipe to write a letter, in which, among other things, he said: on account of the good reports which we have of persons in the Company, and of the good they have done and are doing in these Kingdoms, I have desired that an order be given that some of the Company be sent to our Indies of the Atlantic Ocean. And in order that the necessity for such persons shall constantly be increased and that our Lord may be served by the said father's going to those parts, on account of the Christianity and kindness they have and because they are persons fit for the conversion of those natives, and on account of the devotion I have to the said company (fol. 141) I desire that some of them go to those regions. I therefore beg you and charge you to appoint and command 24 persons of the Company to go to our said Indies to wherever our Council shall indicate to them. That they shall be learned persons of good life and example and such as you may judge fitting for such an undertaking. For besides the service which you will do to the Lord in this matter, I shall receive great satisfaction and I shall command that they be provided with everything necessary. In addition, that country to which they may go will receive great happiness and benefit through their arrival.

In fulfillment of what the King commanded, father Francisco chose some fathers of the Company for this mission. The first were the fathers Maestro Pedro Martinez (who was an Aragonese from the town of Teurel) and Juan Rogel, and the brother Francisco de Villareal, who left in that same year on July 28th for Florida, where they arrived on September 24th of the said year. And our Lord was pleased to receive as the first fruits of the Company the first one of the Company who set his foot on that new world. For Father Martinez in leaping ashore in the Floridas in order to preach and to give news of the Gospel to the barbarous natives who were (fol. 141a) on the sea-shore, was beaten to the ground with the clubs they carried, and seizing him, half dead, they threw him into the sea, our Lord thus giving him as a reward for the hardships he had suffered in the Company in his religious and

exemplary life, so happy a death and the grace of dying for his love. But this frightened neither his companions nor the others of his Brethren who had remained in Europe, nor did this death of Padre Martinez intimidate them; on the contrary it animated them more, knowing that they were more easily able to attain in Florida what they desired, which was to die for Christ. And so in the year 1568 Father Francisco, in order to continue the work they had undertaken, sent eleven of the Company, the Superior of whom was Father Juan Baptista de Segura; these were to be joined by father Rogel and brother Francisco or Villareal, companions of father Pedro Martinez, who, after the latter's death, retired to the port of Habana, and had already returned to Florida, whither the eleven fathers and brothers departed from Saulucar on March 13, 1568. There went with them a *Cacique* or chief of the country of Florida, whom the Governor Pedro Melendez had brought with him from Florida to Spain. And having been instructed in the matters of our holy religion, (fol. 142) he received with great expressions of joy and happiness the waters of holy baptism and was called don Luys. For it was believed that because he was familiar with that country and a high personage who had many relations, that he would be able to help our men in the conversion of his subjects and friends, as he had promised to do.

Father Baptista de Segura and seven of his companions having arrived in Florida (for the rest of them remained in Habana), they courageously penetrated the country, guided by don Luys, without permitting a single Spanish soldier to accompany them, altho many had offered to do so. They wore their ornaments (vestments) and whatever was necessary for saying mass, and some devotional books. They passed through great deserts and swamps, of which there are many in that country. Their provisions were soon exhausted and they had to support themselves on the herbs they found in the fields and on the water they found in the pools. They arrived in the country of don Luys, which was a considerable distance from the sea and from every human shelter, and was inhabited by naked savages. Don Luys informed them that they should await him in a half deserted village, and he went to another, where his people were, five leagues further on. (fol. 142a) And when the fathers had waited six days longer then had been agreed upon, father Baptista de Segura sent a father and one of the brethren to learn why he did not come and whether he wished that they should come to where he was. On arriving (whether it be because don Luys had apostatized and returned to his idolatries and was confused, or because he had already planned and plotted the wickedness), he and his relatives

fell upon the padre and the brother and killed them. And at dawn of the following day, with don Luys as captain and guide, they fell upon and killed the rest of them, whom they found, all six of them, kneeling, and awaiting death with joy and devotion. Then they stripped them of their garments, stole their ornaments and altar accessories, put on the clothes of the dead and danced in their intoxication. Three of them went to open a little chest of the fathers, thinking to find some valuables in it. But they found in it a book of the holy Scripture, a missal, and devotional books, rosaries, images, hair cloth, disciplines and a sacred crucifix, which they looked upon very intently, and as they looked, they fell suddenly dead. Those of their companions, who were present, were so wonder struck (fol. 143) and amazed at what they saw, that without touching a thing they each went their way. All this was seen and noted by a Spanish boy, whom the father's had with them, and whose life was spared because he was a boy and because they knew that he could not preach to them. He remained a captive among them for several years until the Lord freed him from such a barbarous, fierce nation, and he related what we have just told.

Those who died there for the propagation of our holy faith were: father Baptista de Segura, a native of Toledo (who, because of his virtues and his religious life had been much loved in Spain by father Francisco); father Luys de Quiros, and the brethren Gabriel Gomez, Cauillos, Juan Baptista Mendez, Pedro de Linares, Christoual Redondo, and Gabriel de Solis. I have set down their names here in order that the memory of these fortunate clerics may be preserved, who in their zeal for souls shed their blood with such constancy and joy.

And for the same reason I here wish to mention father Francisco Lopez, who, in the previous year, 1567, in going from the College of Cochin to Goa with three companions, fell into the hands of the moors. (fol. 143a) He was known to them on account of the tonsure he wore, and was importuned by them to forsake the faith of Jesus Christ. But as, with great confidence and fortitude he persevered in the love and confession of his Lord and offered himself to every kind of torment and death for it, the barbarians pierced his side with a lance and decapitated him; and so he passed from this brief and miserable life to the reward of eternal happiness. Of his three companions, one was captured by the Moors; the other two disappeared.

This was in the year 1567, in which father Francisco sent fathers Pedro Domenech, and Geronymo Mur to Oran to assist Pedro Luys de Borja, his brother, Master of the Knights

of Montesa (who was Governor and Captain-General of that city for King Philip, and who is now Viceroy and Captain-General of Cataluña), and to help the soldiers and men in his charge in their spiritual affairs and matters appertaining to our ministry, as they did for some years while they were there, to the advantage of both soldiers and people. (Fol. 144)

OUR MEN GO TO PERU AND TO NEW SPAIN

Chapter VII

In this year, 1567, King Philip wrote another letter to father Francisco, in which he said: On account of the need there is in the province of Peru for clerics to attend to the conversion and instruction of the natives and on account of the devotion which his majesty has for the Company, he begs and charges him that he order twenty monks of the Company to go to Peru. They are to occupy themselves in the conversion and instruction of the Indians, and are to build houses and colleges, for he will command that they be supplied with everything necessary for their journey. In fulfilment of this, in the same year 1567, there departed from the port of San Lucar on November 2, fathers Geronimo de Portillo (who goes as Provincial), father Antonio Alvarez (who died in Panama), father Maestro Luys Lopez, and father Miguel de Fuentes, beside the brothers Diego de Bracamonte, Juan Garcia de Yanguas, Francisco de Medina and Pedro Lobet. These were the first of the Company to enter Peru, and they built houses, founded colleges and opened schools, in which were taught and are taught today the sciences and faculties which the Company is wont to teach to the great benefit of the youth and of the Spaniards who reside in that very extensive Kingdom, and of the Indians themselves, who are converted to our holy faith through the teaching of the fathers.

So much was the Lord our God pleased with the going of these fathers and brethren of ours to Peru, and so favorable the beginnings of their preaching, that the Catholic King, don Felipe, was induced to ask the Company to send more people. And so on March 19, 1659, there left with don Francisco or Toledo (who went as Viceroy to Peru), the fathers Bartolome Hernandez, Juan Garcia, the Maestro Barzana, Hernan Sanchez, Rodrigo Alvarez, and the brothers Sebastian Amador, Juan de Zuñiga, Juan Gomez, Antonio Martinez, Juan de Casasola, Diego Ortun, Diego Martinez (of whom father Juan Garcia died in Panama), and afterwards in the year 1571, on June 8, there left for the same province of Peru, fathers Joseph de Acosta and Andres Lopez and brother

Diego Martinez. On June 23, 1572 at the same instance and command of his Majesty there left for New Spain fourteen fathers (fol. 145) and brethren, who were the first of the Company who entered into that province. They took with them, as their Provincial, father Doctor Pedro Sanchez (who, having been Rector of the University of Alcalá, and holding a chair therein, had entered the Company some years before), and with him were the fathers Diego Lopez, Diego de Fonseca, Pedro Diaz, Concha, Baca, Camargo, and the brethren Juan Sanchez, Mercado, Curiel, Matilla, Bartolome Larios, Lope Nauarro, Martin Gonzalez; whom I have wished to name with the rest in this chapter in order that there may remain a memorial of the first of the Company who went to enlighten, with the light of the holy gospel, the souls of the dwellers in this new world, who were captives under the tyranny of Satan. These fathers and brethren having reached New Spain, settled in the city of Mexico, the chief city of that Kingdom, and afterwards were spread and scattered in other cities and provinces, to the great edification and benefit of the natives and of the Spainards who reside in it, the number of our people being increased every year by those who were sent thither.

How the divine goodness has been served by the agency of the members of the Company in the Western Indies of Peru and of New Spain (fol. 145a) by helping the other clerics in the conversion of the heathen, and in the education of those already converted, and by the reformation of the customs of the Spanish colonists, and by the teaching of youth and by all the other works of charity, (all this) I do not wish to mention here, because it is so well known, and because it is too long for a brief narrative. This was the beginning and the first entry of the Company into the Kingdom of Peru and of New Spain, subject to the crown of Castile; which (Kingdoms) were closed for its sons (i. e. sons of the company), until the Lord through the prayers of father Francisco, who was then President General, opened them, as we have just related. But here, in Europe, the Company also extended its activities and founded colleges in various provinces as will be seen in the following chapters.

THE DEATH WHICH THE HERETICS GAVE TO THIRTY-NINE OF THE COMPANY WHO WERE GOING TO BRAZIL

Chapter X

Not only did our Lord God increase the Company that we have on earth by increasing the number of colleges and founding new houses in various Provinces (as we have seen),

but he cherished and favored it much more by peopling Heaven with its sons and by enriching and augmenting the Company of those who already enjoy the rewards of their victories, giving to their brethren new victories and crowns, as he did in the year 1570, by a notable event which I wish to relate here. Because it is not just that we pass in silence an inestimable benefit which the Company received from the hands of the Lord, by means of certain French heretics, who, in hatred of our holy Catholic faith, killed fifty-one of its sons, father Francisco being then President General. For one of the greatest fruits that the Company has reaped from the labor and industry of our people (who go among the heathen and heretics, enlightening them and converting them to our holy faith), has been that many of them have shed their blood for the very faith which they were preaching, and that they have confirmed (fol. 152) the truth of their doctrine by their deaths. This has happened in many places and at different times. Among them is the one I here relate. Father Francisco sent father Ignacio de Azevedo, a Portuguese of the city of Puerto (a man no less illustrious in holiness than in blood) to the province of Brazil to visit and console those of the Company who were there, and to note what their needs are to carry on the enterprise that had been begun, and to convert that barbarous people to our holy Religion. The father went thither and performed his duty well; then went to Rome to report to the General what he had done, and the extreme need there was in Brazil of persons to cultivate that deserted vineyard, since for lack of workers, many souls were being lost. It seemed (fitting) to father Francisco to send father Ignacio de Azevedo again as Provincial to Brazil, with a goodly number of fathers and brethren to help him in that spiritual conquest. And he commissioned him to take with him from the provinces of Spain some who were desirous and inclined for that opportunity; and that he should receive others into the Company who may request it, if they should have a desire to accompany him and offer their lives to the Lord for the benefit and conversion of the Brazils, for there were not so many qualified clerics who could go to Brazil without leaving other enterprises of much service to our Lord, upon which they were now engaged. Likewise it was fitting that some of those who are to go should be young, in order to accustom themselves the more readily to the climate and to the living in the new country, and to learn the language of the natives. The Provincial Azevedo brought together sixty-nine of the Company, in compliance with the order that he had received. He distributed them in three vessels: in one, called the Santiago, he took with him forty-four; in another went others, and as

their Superior, father Pedro Diaz, in another went the rest. They left Lisbon on June 5, with Don Luys de Vasconcelos, a valiant Christian Knight, who with the three vessels and four others went as Governor of Brazil, and well pleased he was to have in his company so many and such clerics. They went on their voyage with as much good fellowship as if each one of the vessels were a college of the Company. They had their appointed hours of prayer, of examination of conscience, of reading at table, prayed each day their litanies and the *Salve Regina* to our Lady; instructed the sailors, soldiers and passengers in Christian Doctrine, and preached to them, read the lives of the Saints and gave them (fol. 153) rosaries, images, beads that had been blessed, devout and profitable books instead of those that were not so, and which they took from them with kindly words. With this harmony and concord all the vessels reached the Island of Madeira, where it was necessary that the Santiago, which bore father Ignacio de Azevedo and his companions, had to separate from the rest, and went alone to the island of La Palma, one of the Canaries. Being obliged to leave, father Ignacio called all his companions and told them he believed that on that voyage there would not be lacking heretical corsairs who would pursue them, and for all that might happen it was fitting that all should be well prepared and resolved to die for Christ. And if, by chance, there should be anyone among them who should not have this spirit and courage, and should wish to remain with the other vessels, that he would be pleased that he do so. Among all the forty-four whom he brought, there were only four (who were novices and afterwards went out of the Company) who showed any weakness, and plainly said that as men they feared that danger which the father had placed before them, and begged him that he leave them on the island of Madeira, and so they remained. The rest of them offered themselves to any hardship and danger, and followed their Provincial; and they (fol. 153a) and the rest who went in the vessel, confessed themselves at the advice of the father before sailing from the port, and received the body of Christ our Lord on the eve of the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The father distributed among them some *Agnus Dei* and some holy articles that he had brought from Rome. All prepared themselves and armed themselves for any danger of death.

Those who went with father Ignacio de Azevedo, took leave of the others, their brethren who remained with father Pedro Diaz and in the other vessel, with extraordinary tenderness and an abundance of tears, like those who devined that they were never to see each other again till the other life. And sailing around the Canaries their familiar conversations were about

martyrdom, and speaking among themselves, said: O if it should only please God our Lord that upon this sea, we should meet with someone who, for the cause of the Catholic faith would take our lives! What a happy fate and what a joyous day it would be for us, and of how many and how cruel enemies we should free ourselves with this one enemy of our bodies! While engaged in these conversations, finding themselves very near the port of La Palma, they saw bearing down upon them five French vessels, in which was Jaques Soria, a famous corsair, and subject of the Queen of Navarre; he and his (fol. 154) Queen professed heresy and were capital enemies of the Catholics. He came in a large, powerful galleon with much artillery and many men. Father Ignacio, when he saw the danger, knew that this was what his heart had previously told him and what the Lord had given him to understand. And after encouraging his people to fight and die for the faith, showing them that they could not fail to gain the victory, either conquering their enemies or dying at the hands of the heretics for Jesus Christ, he drew forth a portrait of our Lady, painted by Saint Lucas, which he had brought from Rome, and turning to his companions who were singing the Litany, and with copious tears asking the Lord for mercy and for forgiveness of their sins, and with cheerful mien and courageous heart, said to them: Up, my dear brethren! My heart tells me that on this day, just as we are, we are all to go to dwell in Heaven with Jesus Christ, our Redeemer, and with the glorious Virgin Mary, his mother and all that blessed company. Do you not see how greatly we are favored, for instead of Brazil we are making port in Heaven? Let us pray, brethren, and bear in mind that this is the last hour that God gives us, to deserve and prepare ourselves to die for love of him. (fol. 154a) All raised their hands, and with eyes filled with tears raised to heaven, said in a loud voice: "Let it be so, Lord: may thy holy will be fulfilled in us, for we are all here ready to give our blood for you." To be brief, the heretics came and grappled with the Santiago and although there was some resistance and there were some deaths among the enemy, they boarded the ship and overpowered it. And when Jaques Soria learned that there were fathers of the Company of Jesus on board, he commanded that they be all killed, without sparing anyone, saying in a loud voice: "Kill, Kill the Papists who are going to sow false doctrine in Brazil." And though he had spared the lives of two secular clerks and other fathers of Saint Francis who had fallen into his hands a few days before, so great was the hatred and rage he had against the Jesuits (for so he called the members of the Company), that he did not wish to pardon any, although many

of them were young and novices. After the vessel had been captured Jacques himself approached with his galleon and cried: "Throw these dogs of Jesuits, these papists and enemies of ours into the sea." As soon as they heard this command of their captain, his heretical soldiers, (Calvinists, like himself) grappled with our men, and stripping them of their poor cassocks, and giving them many wounds, especially to those (fol. 155) who were priests and wore the tonsure, and cutting off the arms of some of them, threw them into the sea. But because father Ignacio de Azevedo like a valiant soldier of God and a priest and Captain of the others, was encouraging them with the image of our Lady in his hands and saying: "Let us die cheerfully, brethren, for the service of God and for the confession of his faith which these, his enemies, impugn," one of the heretics slashed his holy head so fiercely that it was cleft open to the brain. And the valiant priest without withdrawing nor moving from the spot awaited the blow; and there they gave him three lance thrusts, so that he fell, saying in a loud voice: "May men and angels be my witness that I die in defence of the holy Roman Church and all that it confesses and teaches." And turning to his companions and embracing them with singular charity and cheerfulness, he said: "Children of my heart, have no fear of death; be grateful for the mercy which God shows you in giving you the fortitude to die for Him, and since we have so faithful a witness, and so liberal a remunerator, let us not be faint-hearted nor weak to fight the battles of the Lord." And having said these words, he expired. The heretics attempted to wrest from his hands the image of our Lady, but were unable to do so. Brother Benito de Castro, who, bearing a crucifix in his hand and showing it, said: "I am a Catholic and son of the Roman Church," him they pierced with three shots of an arquebus. And seeing that he was still upright and continuing in his confession, they gave him many sword-thrusts, and before he expired, they cast him into the sea. Another brother, named Manuel Alvarez, who was burning with living flames for the love of Gd and desired to die for him, and who rebuked the heretics for their blindness, him they wounded in the face, and being stretched on the ground, they broke his legs and arms. They did not kill him, in order that he might suffer greater pain, and he, turning his peaceful eyes upon his brethren, said: "Envy me, I beg you, brethren, and do not pity me, for I confess that I never deserved of God so much good as he does me in these torments and this death. Fifteen years I have been in the Company, and for ten years I have wished and prepared myself for this voyage to Brazil and with this happy death I consider myself well rewarded by God and the

Company for all my services." And breathing his last breath, they cast him into the sea. And because they found two brethren kneeling in prayer before the images which they (the heretics) so hated, they attacked them with diabolical rage and fury, breaking the skull of (fol. 156) one of them with the pommel of a sword, and scattering his brains, so that he fell dead. This brother's name was Blas Ribero. The other brother, who was named Diego de Fonseca, received such a dagger-thrust in the mouth that it severed his tongue, and crushed his jaw-bone. And father Diego de Andrada (who, father Azevedo being dead, was the chief and head of the rest), because they saw that he was a priest and had confessed some of his companions, and was encouraging them, saying: "Prepare your souls, my brethren, for your redemption is close at hand," him, after giving him many stabs, they cast, still living, into the sea. While this was happening two of the brethren named Gregorio Escrivano and Alvaro Mendez were sick in their beds, and though they might have concealed their fear and remained quiet, yet with the desire they had of dying for Christ, they arose as best they could and putting on their cassocks, with bare feet and half naked, they joined their brethren, that they might not lose so good an opportunity, and so they died with them. The heretics had carried another brother named Simon de Acosta to the galleon of Jaques, thinking that he was the son of some gentleman or titled personage, for he had this appearance and was only 18 years old, and of good manners. Jaques called him aside and asked him whether he also (fol. 156a) belonged to the Jesuit priests. And though by denying it he could have escaped with his life, he would not, but rather confessed that he was a companion in religion and a brother of those who died for the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman faith. This so enraged Jaques that he had him beheaded and cast into the sea. In this manner the heretics, on account of their hatred and abhorrence of our holy religion, killed thirty-nine fathers and brethren of our Company. It is not right that we should keep silent as to their names, for they are written in the book of life. They were: the Provincial Ignacio de Azevedo, Diego de Andrada, Antonio Suarez, Benito de Castro, Juan Fernandez de Lisboa, Francisco Alvarez Covillo, Domingo Hernandez, Manuel Alvarez, Juan de Mayorga, Aragonese; Alonso de Valera, of the Kingdom of Toledo, Gonzalo Enriquez Diacono, Juan Fernandez de Braga, Alexo Delgado, Luis Correa of Evora, Manuel Rodriguez de Halconete, Simon Lopez, Manuel Hernandez, Alvaro Mendez, Pedro Munoz, Francisco Magallanes, Nicolas Diney de Verganza, Gaspar Alvarez, Blas Ribero de Braga, Antonio Hernandez de Montemayor,

Manuel Pacheco, Pedro de Fontaura, Simon de Acosta, Andres Gonzalez (fol. 157) de Viana, Amaro Vaz, Diego Perez de Mizea, Juan de Baeza, Marcos Caldera, Antonio Correa del Puerto, Hernan Sanchez of the province of Castile, Gregorio Eserivano of Logroño, Francisco Perez Godoy of Torrijos, Juan de Zafra of Toledo, Juan de San Martin, native of Illescas and Estevan Zurayre Vizcaino. The latter was a very artless man, and when he left Plasencia for this voyage he said to father Joseph de Acosta, who was his confessor, that he was going cheerfully to Brazil, because he was certain that he was to die a martyr. And being asked how he knew it, he replied that God had revealed it to him. So that of forty of the Company who were in that vessel, one man alone, Juan Sanchez escaped death, and it was in this manner. When the heretics separated the men, putting on one side those who were to be killed and on the other those who were to be spared, they examined their hands and garments. And when they saw that the brother was young, that his hands were dirty and callous and that he wore a short beggarly jacket, they asked him whether he was the cook, he answered yes, which was the truth. They therefore kept him to make use of him in the kitchen (fol. 157a) and he remained with them until they returned to France, where our Lord freed him of their control, that he might be a witness and relate to us what we have here told of the death of his companions, although not he alone, but many others were present and afterwards gave an account of all that had happened. But in order that the number should be exact, and that there should be forty crowns for the forty of the company who had entered into the vessel with the purpose of dying for Jesus Christ, in place of this brother Juan Sanchez, who escaped, the Lord gave us another who was called San Juan, a virtuous and upright youth, and nephew of the Ship's captain. He took such a liking to the brethren of the Company, that he asked to be admitted to it. And although father Ignacio did not receive him, he never left his side, nor did he cease to take part in the prayers and penance of the brethren, and he considered himself as one of them, and as such was treated. At the time when the heretics separated those of the company from the secular persons, he passed over to their side (i. e. of the fathers), and without a word allowed himself to be lead to death, in order, by this means, to enter into the Company of the blessed in Heaven. So that if we count San Juan as one of the Company, there were forty (fol. 158) who died. And if we do not consider him as such (for he had not yet been admitted) there were thirty-nine. All the rest of them the heretics spared. For they were all corsairs and heretics; in so far as they were

corsairs they wished to rob and not kill; and in so far as they were heretics, to kill and rob those who made any resistance. With these they wage a war with fire and swords (as they say) and proclaim that, because of them, their false gospel no longer prevails and rules in the world.

CONCERNING TWELVE OTHERS OF THE COMPANY WHO
LIKEWISE DIED AT THE HANDS OF THE HERETICS

Chapter XI

We must not forget the other fathers and brethren whom we left on the Island of Madeira with father Pedro Diaz, for they are no less worthy of memory than those who are already gone. But passing over in silence the hardships which they and those in the other vessel suffered in their voyage (which was long and dangerous), let us mention only what is to our purpose. After having been fifteen months at sea, and on the Islands of Barlovento, San Domingo and Cuba, with frightful storms and (fol. 158a) many dangers, and arriving at the Island of Terceira, fourteen of the Company with father Diaz were taken on the leading ship of the Governor, don Luys de Vasconcelos. The latter was obliged to leave the other ships he had, on account of the many men who had left him and others who had died, and with those who were left manned one vessel, with which he sailed, on Sept. 6, 1571, from the Island of Terceira for Brazil. After sailing with prosperous winds for eight days, they suddenly discovered five vessels, four French (commanded by Juan Cadavillo, a Frenchman and great heretic, and as cruel an enemy of the Catholics as Jaques Soria) and one English, and all of them heretical corsairs and capital enemies of our holy religion. Don Luys at once recognized his danger and exhorted his men to fight valiantly for their faith and their lives. Those of the Company he admonished with earnestness to make their peace with God if they wished to fight well and hoped to be favored. The Governor confessed first, and after him the soldiers and the others, and there was time to do it, for night had intervened a short time after our ship discovered those of the enemy. But in the morning, at dawn (fol. 159) the heretical corsairs fell upon them, and though they met with great resistance and lost many men, they boarded the vessel and overcame it. In the battle, which was very bitterly contested, they first killed the Governor, who, fighting valiantly, fell pierced by two shots, and received many other wounds, and, without being recognized by his enemies, was stripped and cast into the

sea. The Captain having been killed, the enemies overcame the ship and took possession of it, and entering with great fury into a little cabin where father Castro was hearing the penance of the master of the vessel, who was severely wounded and about to die. On seeing him (father Castro) they recognized that he was a Catholic priest and that he was administering the sacrament of the confession, which they so much hated. They fell upon him with great rage and killed him. They did the same to father Pedro Diaz, who up to that time had likewise been confessing, and who had hastened up to where father Castro and brother Gaspar Goes were. As the latter was a youth of tender years the father had ordered him not to part from his side. The other eleven who remained alive encouraged one another to be constant and to die cheerfully for the Catholic faith. The heretics, after (fol. 159a) striking them with their fists, insulting and maltreating them, bound their hands behind their backs and locked them up in a compartment and placed guards over them. But because brother Miguel Aragones, as his hands were being tied, uttered a groan of pain (for he was badly wounded in the arm) they threw him, and another brother who was by his side, into the sea. The rest remained bound that night, listening to the greatest insults and reproaches, and to frightful blasphemies against God our Lord and his Church, as they were uttered by those infernal furies. Day having come, the first prayer the heretics made was to condemn to death all Jesuits, their enemies, for so they call them and for such they hold all members of the Company. At first they resolved to hang them all to the yards of the vessel, but afterwards, thinking they might get great wealth of gold and silver from them, (which they thought they were bringing to Brazil to adorn the Churches), they gave up their plan, until, realizing that they were disappointed, they attacked them with the greatest barbarity, insulted them and beat them with clubs, calling them dogs, thieves, Papists (fol. 160) and enemies of God. Those of the Company neither defended themselves, nor did they avoid death, but meek as lambs they permitted themselves to be cast into the sea. Five of the fortunate brethren who knew how to swim, came together, and being in the water encouraged one another to die, until strength and breath failing them, they said: "*Tibi soli peccavi*," and three of them expired. Of the other two, one, named Diego Hernandez swam so long till he reached one of the smaller French vessels which was lagging behind, and into which he was taken up and sheltered by the will of the Lord. The other, who was named Sebastian Lopez remained in the sea that night, which was very dark and much rain was falling. But seeing a light on

one of the vessels about half a league off, he followed it till he reached it, and entreated those on the vessel to help him and take him on board. But he found only cruel words and worse deeds (as those of the heretics are wont to be) and as a last remedy he went to one of the barks or small boats, and into it he was received by a man who, although a heretic and an enemy, was not so cruel nor furious as the rest, in a word, was more human. The latter received him and hid him in a corner, giving him (fol. 160a) something to eat and some clothing. Twelve men died on this ship: father Pedro Diaz, father Francisco de Castro, and the following brethren: Alonso Hernandez, Gaspar Gois, Andres Pays, Juan Alvarez, another Pedro Diaz, Fernando Alvarez, Miguel Aragones, Francisco Paulo, Pedro Hernandez, Diego Carvallo, and the two who escaped by swimming(from whom and from others this story was learned) were named Sebastian Lopez and Diego Hernandez, as we have said.

This time the heretics were not satisfied with shedding the innocent blood of so many servants of God because they defended and preached the holy Catholic faith, but they also showed their rage and fury against God himself and against his Saints. For, having found some relics and images of Saints and Agnus Dei and consecrated beads and other articles of devotion (which our men carried with them for their comfort and consolation and to awaken the piety of the faithful in Brazil) the heretics showed their impiety and hatred toward them by dragging them about, stamping upon them and subjecting them to all the contempt and insult that they were able, finally casting them into the sea. So that by his own works we may know who he is who guides them and induces them to commit such impious, cruel and grievous acts. (fol. 161)

I have dwelt upon this narrative because the martyrdom of these fifty-one fathers and brethren of the Company is such an exemplary matter for all who read it. And for those of the Company, especially, it is an inestimable benefit which we have received from the Lord, and a great incentive to imitate those who have gone before us, and to seek new opportunities to increase and extend throughout the world the light of the holy Gospel and to wrest from the claws of Satan the souls which Christ our Lord redeemed with his blood, although it be at the cost of our own and with the loss of all that the world promises and cannot fulfil. But it is now time that we again take up the thread of our story and continue what we have begun concerning the life of father Francisco. The latter, when he received the news of the happy death of those his doughty warriors and blessed sons, although on the one

hand he felt great sorrow because Brazil had need of them, on the other he rejoiced much more on seeing that, in his time, the Lord deigned to accept this offering and sacrifice of blood which the Company offered him. And with great tenderness and feeling he commended the dead and praised their virtues and supplicated the Lord that he should give grace to those who remained.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, 1690-1820.

PART XII: PENNSYLVANIA (A-N)

COMPILED BY CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

The following bibliography attempts, first, to present a historical sketch of every newspaper printed in the United States from 1690 to 1820; secondly, to locate all files found in the various libraries of the country; and thirdly, to give a complete check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

The historical sketch of each paper gives the title, the date of establishment, the name of the editor or publisher, the frequency of issue and the date of discontinuance. It also attempts to give the exact date of issue when a change in title or name of publisher or frequency of publication occurs.

In locating files to be found in various libraries, no attempt is made to list every issue. In the case of common papers which are to be found in many libraries, only the longer files are noted, with a description of their completeness. Rare newspapers, which are known by only a few scattered issues, are minutely listed.

The check list of the issues in the library of the American Antiquarian Society follows the style of the Library of Congress "Check List of Eighteenth Century Newspapers," and records all supplements, missing issues and mutilations.

The arrangement is alphabetical by States and towns. Towns are placed according to their present State location. For convenience of alphabetization, the initial "The" in the titles of papers is disregarded. Papers are considered to be of folio size, unless otherwise stated. There are no abbreviations

except in the names of the libraries where files are located, and these should be easily understood. A superior italic "m" is used in the listing of the Society's files to signify mutilated copy. The bibliography includes only newspapers, and does not list magazines; the distinction has sometimes been difficult to draw, but the test has generally been the inclusion of current news. Neither in the historical sketches nor in the listing of files is any account taken of the existence of the paper after 1820.

All files, except in a few instances, have been personally examined by the compiler of this list, and the facts stated have been drawn from an inspection of the papers themselves and not based on secondary authorities.

The bibliography will be published in the Proceedings in about fifteen installments, after which the material will be gathered into a volume, with an historical introduction, acknowledgement of assistance rendered, and a comprehensive index of titles and names of printers. Reprints of each installment will not be made, nor will the names of papers or printers be indexed in the Proceedings. Since the material will be held in type until after the printing of the final installment, the compiler will welcome additions and corrections.

PENNSYLVANIA

[Allentown] Friedensbothe, 1812-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 28, 1812, by Joseph Ehrenfried and Co. [Heinrich Ebner], with the title of "Der Friedens-Bothe und Lecha County Anzeiger." With the issue of Oct. 6, 1814, the title was altered to "Der Friedens-Bothe und Lecha, Northampton, Bucks und Montgomery Counties Anzeiger." With the issue of Apr. 6, 1815, Heinrich Ebner became sole publisher. With the issue of Oct. 3, 1816, the word "Wochentlichen" was added to the title before "Anzeiger." The paper was continued until after 1820.

Lehigh Co. Hist. Soc., Allentown, has Sept. 28, 1812-Dec. 29, 1820. Easton Pub. Lib. has Mar. 7, 1816; Jan. 23, Mar. 27, Aug. 14, Sept. 25, Oct. 9, 16, Nov. 6, 20-Dec. 4, 18, 1817; Jan. 7, 14, 28, Feb. 4, Mar. 4, 18, Apr. 8, 22, 29, May 27, June 10, 25, July 16, Aug. 6, 27, 1819. Harvard has Aug. 27-Sept. 17, 1819.

[Allentown] Lehigh Centinel, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established in June 1817, by Charles L. Hütter. On Nov. 6, 1820, Charles L. Hütter retired and the paper was published by his father, Christian J. Hütter, and was so continued until after 1820 ("History of Lehigh County", 1914, vol. 1, p. 279). No copy located.

[Allentown] Northampton Adverteiser, 1808-1809.

Weekly. Established Feb. 20, 1808, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of June 11, 1808, no. 17, published by Carl Brückmann, with the title of "Northampton Adverteiser und Allentaun Gazette." The last issue located is that of Sept. 8, 1809, no. 70.

Schwenkfelder Hist. Lib., Pennsburg, has June 11, July 30, Aug. 20, Sept. 10-24, Oct. 15, Dec. 30, 1808; Mar. 10, Apr. 7, June 23, July 28, Sept. 1, 8, 1809.

[Allentown] Unabhaengige Republikaner, 1810-1820+.

Weekly. Established July 27, 1810, by Christian Jacob Hütter, with the title of "Der Unabhaengige Republikaner." With the issue of July 24, 1812, the publisher became Carl L. Hütter, and the title changed to "Der Unabhaengige Republikaner und Lecha County Freiheits Freund." With the issue of Apr. 15, 1814, the title reverted to "Der Unabhaengige Republikaner" and the name of the publisher was given in the imprint as Carl Ludwig Hütter. With the issue of Nov. 2, 1820, Georg Hanke became the publisher and continued the paper after 1820.

Lehigh Co. Hist. Soc. has July 27, 1810-Dec. 28, 1820. Mr. Reuben Kolb, Easton, has July 27, 1810-July 16, 1813.

[Beaver] Crisis, 1813-1816.

Weekly. Established May 22, 1813, by J[ames] & A[ndrew] Logan with the title of "The Crisis." The title was enlarged, in May 1814, probably, to "The Crisis, or Beaver Gazette," and A. Logan became sole publisher. Issues of Dec. 25, 1813, Apr. 30, 1814, Sept. 30, 1815 and Apr. 18, 1816 are mentioned in F. S. Reader's "History of Newspapers of Beaver County," 1905, p. 13. In 1816, the title was changed to "The Beaver Gazette," which see.

A. A. S. has:

1815. Apr. 22.

Beaver Gazette, 1816-1818.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Crisis, or Beaver Gazette." The earliest issue located with the new title of "The Beaver Gazette" is that of Jan. 4, 1817, vol. 4, no. 31, published by A[ndrew] Logan. An issue of Apr. 4, 1818 is mentioned in F. S. Reader's "History of Newspapers of Beaver County," p. 14, where it is also stated that on Sept. 1, 1818, this paper was succeeded by the "Western Argus."

A. A. S. has:

1817. Jan. 4.

[Beavertown] Minerva, 1807-1811.

Weekly. Established Nov. 4, 1807, by John Berry, with the title of "Minerva." The issue of Dec. 19, 1808, was printed for the publisher by Joseph Israel. The records of the Beaver Council mention John Berry as a printer as late as January 1811 (see "History of Beaver County," 1888, p. 272, and F. S. Reader, "History of Newspapers of Beaver County," 1905, pp. 8-11). No copy located. The issue of Nov. 4, 1807, was owned by Abram Bestwick of New Brighton, Pa., in 1905.

[Beaver] Western Argus, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 1, 1818, by James Logan, with the title of "Western Argus," and continued until after 1820 (J. H. Bausman, "History of Beaver County," 1904, vol. 1, no. 456).

[Beaver-Town] Western Cabinet, 1811-1812.

Weekly. Established by Joseph W. White, Sept. 28, 1811, with the title of "Western Cabinet." The last issue located is that of Feb. 24, 1812, vol. 1, no. 21.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 28, 1811. A. A. S. has:

1811. Sept. 28.

Oct. 7, 21.

1812. Feb. 24.

Bedford Gazette, 1805-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 21, 1805, by Charles M'Dowell, with the title of "The Bedford Gazette," and so continued until after 1820.

Penn. State Lib. has Sept. 21, 1805-Oct. 26, 1808; Nov. -Dec. , 1820. Bedford Gazette Office has Sept. 28, Oct. 26, 1805; Oct. 27, 1807. Harvard has Aug. 14, Sept. 12, 1810; Aug. 14, 1811. A. A. S. has:

1808. July 12.

1810. June 27.

Aug. 15, 29.

[Bedford] True American, 1813-1820+.

Weekly. Established in July 1813, judging from the date of the earliest issue noted, that of Nov. 9, 1814, vol. 2, no. 16, published by Thomas R. Gettys, with the title of "The True American" ("History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties", 1884, p. 228.) The issues of Aug. 7, 1816 and Feb. 3, 1820 have the same title and publisher.

Lib. Congress has Aug. 7, 1816. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Feb. 3, 1820.

[Bellefonte] American Patriot, 1814-1817.

Weekly. Established Feb. 15, 1814, by Alexander Hamilton, with the title of "American Patriot." The last issue was that of Sept. 22, 1817 (J. B. Linn, "History of Centre and Clinton Counties," 1883, p. 53). No copy located.

[Bellefonte] Independent Republican, 1816-1817.

"In September, 1816, Hugh Maxwell removed 'The Advocate of the Union' from Mifflinburg, in Union County, the name of which he changed to the 'Independent Republican.' He continued this paper not quite a year at Bellefonte, and then removed to Lancaster" (J. B. Linn, "History of Centre and Clinton Counties," 1883, p. 56). No copy located.

Bellefonte Patriot, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 18, 1818, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 24, 1818, vol. 1, no. 15, published by W[illiam] Brindle, with the title of "Bellefonte Patriot." Continued until after 1820.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 24, 1818. Lib. Congress has Apr. 5, 1819. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 16, 1819.

Berwick Independent American, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 2, 1818, by William Carothers, with the title of "The Berwick Independent American." A few of the earliest numbers were published in Nescopeck, directly across the river from

Berwick (J. H. Battle, "History of Columbia and Montour Counties," 1887, pt. 2, p. 116). In the issue of June 2, 1821, vol. 3, no. 52, in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, Carothers states "We have now completed the third year's publication." No earlier copy located.

[Bethany] Wayne County Mirror, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 7, 1818, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Mar. 28, 1818, vol. 1, no. 4, published by Manning & Loomis (James Manning and Leonard Loomis), with the title of "Wayne County Mirror." In May or June, 1818, the name of the publishing firm became J. Manning & Co. The paper was continued until after 1820.

Wyoming Hist. Soc. has Mar. 28, Apr. 25, 1818.
N. J. Hist. Soc. has June 27, Sept. 26, Oct. 10, Nov. 14, Dec. 12, 1818; Jan. 16, 1819.

[Bristol] Aurora, 1799, see under Philadelphia.

[Brownsville] American Telegraph, 1814-1818.

Weekly. Established late in 1814 by J[ohn] Bouvier. The only issue located, that of July 9, 1817, is numbered vol. 3, no. 140, and bears the title of "American Telegraph." In April 1818, Bouvier removed to Uniontown, where he united the paper with "The Genius of Liberty."

A. A. S. has:

1817. July 9.

Brownsville Gazette, 1809-1810.

Weekly. The issue of Jan. 14, 1809, was published by John Berry (Ellis, "History of Fayette County," 1882, p. 437). Early in 1810, the paper was published by William Campbell (Thomas, "History of Printing," ed. 1874, vol. 2, p. 301). No copy located.

[Brownsville] Western Palladium, 1812.

A paper with this title existed in 1812 (Ellis, "History of Fayette County," 1882, p. 437). No copy located.

[Brownsville] Western Register, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established early in 1817 by Robert Fee, and continued until after 1820. The issue of Mar. 22, 1819, is numbered vol. 2, no. 50, and bears the title of "The Western Register and Brownsville Gazette."

A. A. S. has:

1819. Mar. 22.

[Brownsville] Western Repository, 1810.

Weekly. Published in 1810 by James Alexander (Thomas, "History of Printing," ed. 1874, vol. 2, p. 301, and Ellis, "History of Fayette County," 1882, p. 437). No copy located.

[Bustleton] Porcupine's Gazette, 1799, see under Philadelphia.**Butler Centinel, 1820+.**

Weekly. Established Oct. 7, 1820, judging from the date of an issue of Nov. 18, 1820, vol. 1, no. 7, published by Moses & John Sullivan.

Mr. Peter Duffy, Butler, Pa., has Nov. 18, 1820.

Butler Palladium, 1818-1820.

Weekly. Established June 20, 1818, by John Galbraith, with the title of "The Butler Palladium and Republican Star." The last issue located is that of Mar. 27, 1919, vol. 1, no. 41, and the paper was evidently succeeded in 1820 by the Butler Centinel.

Mr. Peter Duffy, Butler, Pa., has Mar. 27, 1819.

A. A. S. has:

1818. June 20, 27.

[Carlisle] American Volunteer 1814-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 15, 1814, by W[illiam] B. & J[ames] Underwood, with the title of "American Volunteer." With the issue of Sept. 8, 1819, the name of James Underwood appeared in the imprint as sole publisher, but with Sept. 23, 1819, the firm name reverted

to W. B. & J. Underwood, and was so continued until after 1820.

Hamilton Lib., Carlisle, has Sept. 15, 1814-Dec. 28, 1820. Dickinson College, Carlisle, has Sept. 15, 1814-Sept. 5, 1816; Sept. 16, 1819-Dec. 28, 1820.

[Carlisle] Cumberland Register, 1805-1814.

Weekly. Established Sept. 20, 1805, by Archibald Loudon, with the title of "The Cumberland Register." With the issue of Sept. 20, 1809, the title was altered to "Cumberland Register." The last issue located is that of Sept. 15, 1813, vol. 8, no. 416, although an issue of June 22, 1814 is mentioned in the "History of Cumberland and Adams Counties," 1886, pt. 2, p. 189.

Lib. Congress has Sept. 20, 1805-Sept. 15, 1813. Hamilton Lib., Carlisle, has Sept. 20, 1805-Sept. 13, 1809. A. A. S. has:

1810. July 11, 18.

[Carlisle] Eagle, 1799-1802.

Weekly. Established Oct. 3, 1799, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 10, 1800, vol. 1, no. 50, published by John P. Thompson, with the title of "The Eagle, or, Carlisle Herald." The only other issue located, that of Mar. 19, 1800, is a fragment with the volume numbering and part of the title torn off. This paper was succeeded by the "Carlisle Herald," in the early issues of which Thompson advertised in order to obtain payment from his subscribers. Thompson established "The Frederick-town Herald" June 19, 1802.

Hamilton Lib., Carlisle, has Mar. 19, 1800. A. A. S. has:

1800. Sept. 10^m.

Carlisle Gazette, 1785-1817.

Weekly. Established Aug. 10, 1785, by Kline & Reynolds (George Kline and George Reynolds), with the title of "The Carlisle Gazette, and the Western Repository of Knowledge." With the issue of Aug. 3, 1791, George

Kline became sole publisher. The issues of Dec. 11, 18, 1793, and Jan. 1, 1794, because of scarcity of paper, were printed in small folio and bore the abbreviated title "The Carlisle Gazette." With the issue of Jan. 8, 1794, the title was changed to "Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette." From scarcity of paper, the issues from Jan. 22 to Mar. 19, 1794 again were printed on smaller paper and bore the title of "The Carlisle Gazette," but with Mar. 26, 1794, the new title of "Kline's Carlisle Weekly Gazette" was resumed. With the issue of Aug. 3, 1810, the title was changed to "Kline's Weekly Carlisle Gazette." The last issue located is that of Oct. 23, 1817, vol. 33, no. 1710. In November 1817, the paper was consolidated with the "Spirit of the Times" under a new title of the "Spirit of the Times & Carlisle Gazette," which see. Kline died Nov. 19, 1820, being described as the "former editor of the Carlisle Gazette."

Lib. Congress has Aug. 10, 1785-July 30, 1788; June 9, 1790; Jan. 7, 1801. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has Aug. 8, 1787-Oct. 23, 1817. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 3, 1791-Dec. 25, 1793. Harvard has Mar. 4, June 3-24, July 15, 29, Sept. 2, 1795; Apr. 13, May 11, 18, June 8, 22, July 6-Oct. 12, 26, Nov. 2, 23, 1796-Mar. 22, Apr. 5-19, 1797. Hamilton Lib., Carlisle, has Jan. 7, 1801-Dec. 28, 1804. Phil. Lib. Co. has Oct. 16, 1793. Colgate Lib., Hamilton, has Oct. 26, Nov. 23, Dec. 14, 1803. Washington Co. Hist. Soc., Washington, Pa., has Dec. 19, 1806. Penn. State Lib. has Oct. 8, 1813; Apr. 29, 1814. A. A. S. has:

- 1786. Dec. 27.
- 1788. Jan. 16.
- 1793. Nov. 27.
- 1794. Feb. 5.
Suppl. Feb. 5.
July 9.
Dec. 17.
- 1810. June 29.
July 13, 20, 27.
Aug. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.

[**Carlisle**] **Kline's Carlisle Gazette**, see **Carlisle Gazette**.

Carlisle Herald, 1802-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 30, 1802, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 11, 1802, vol. 1, no. 7, published by William Alexander, Jun., with the title of "Carlisle Herald." In July 1807, George Phillips was admitted to partnership, under the firm name of Alexander & Phillips. With the issue of Mar. 30, 1815, the partnership was dissolved and the paper published by George Phillips and was so continued until after 1820.

Hamilton Lib., Carlisle, has Aug. 9, 1805-May 29, 1807; Feb. 7, 1812-Sept. 28, 1815. Penn. State Lib. has July 23, 1813-June 27, 1816. Lib. Congress has Apr. 24, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1802. Aug. 11.

1804. Feb. 1, 29.

Mar. 7, 14.

1807. Aug. 21.

1811. Feb. 8.

1815. June 22^m.

Carlisle Patriot, 1819.

In the "Greensburgh Gazette" of Sept. 17, 1819, is the following: "Died at Carlisle, Sept. 2, 1819, Mr. George Gangewer, editor of the German 'Carlisle Patriot', in the 26th year of his age." No paper with this title has been located. The "Carlisle Republican" of Sept. 7, 1819, refers to him as "Mr. George Gangewher, late editor of the Carlisle Patriot."

Carlisle Republican, 1819-1820.

Weekly. Established May 11, 1819, by Jacob R. Stine, with the title of "The Carlisle Republican." It succeeded the "Spirit of the Times & Carlisle Gazette" and continued its advertisements, but adopted a new volume numbering. With the issue of Nov. 9, 1819, John M'Farland became the publisher and adopted a new

volume numbering. The last issue located is that of Oct. 24, 1820, vol. 1, no. 51.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has May 11, 1819-Oct. 24, 1820. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has Nov. 23, 1819-Oct. 6, 1820.

[**Carlisle**] **Spirit of the Times**, 1817-1819.

Weekly. Removed from Shippensburg and consolidated with "Kline's Weekly Carlisle Gazette" under the title of "Spirit of the Times & Carlisle Gazette," The first issue was that of Nov. 10, 1817, vol. 1, no. 1, published by John M'Farland. With the issue of Aug. 17, 1818, the title was altered to "The Spirit of the Times and Carlisle Gazette," but on Dec. 22, 1818, the initial "The" was omitted, and on Feb. 9, 1819, "and" was changed to "&". The last issue with this title was that of May 4, 1819, vol. 2, no. 78, when the title was changed to "The Carlisle Republican," which see.

H. Kellogg, Meadville, has Nov. 10, 1817-Apr. 20, 1819. Hist. Soc. Penn. has Dec. 8, 1817-Apr. 27, 1819. Penn. State Lib. has Jan. 5, 1818.

[**Carlisle**] **Telegraphe**, 1795-1796.

Weekly. Established Feb. 10, 1795, by Steel and M'Clean (James Steel and John S. M'Clean), with the title of "The Telegraphe." With the issue of Feb. 16, 1796, James Steel became sole publisher. The last issue located is that of May 3, 1796; vol. 2, no. 65.

Harvard has Feb. 10, 17, Mar. 3, 10, 24, June 2, 16, July 14, 28, Nov. 17, 1795; Jan. 5, Feb. 16, Mar. 1, 22, Apr. 5, May 3, 1796. Lib. Congress has Aug. 18, 1795.

[**Carlisle**] **Times**, 1814.

In "Kline's Weekly Carlisle Gazette" of July 29, 1814, it is stated that George Kline would resume the German newspaper "The Times", of which he gave two specimen numbers a short time before. No copy, however, has been located. The Lancaster "Volksfreund" in 1816

mentions a Mr. Peterson [H. W. Peterson] of Carlisle as a publisher of a German paper (Seidensticker, "First Century of German Printing," p. 196)

[Carlisle] Unpartheyische Americaner, 1807-1809.

Weekly. Established in April, 1807, judging from the date of the only issue located, that of Sept. 13, 1809, no. 128, entitled "Der Unpartheyische Americaner." It was published at the west corner of Hanover and Pomfret streets, but the name of the printer is not given. Friedrich Sanno was printing in German at Carlisle in 1808-1809.

Wis. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 13, 1809.

[Chambersburg] Democratic Republican, 1815-1817.

Weekly. Established Nov. 7, 1815, by John McFarland, with the title of "Democratic Republican." On Apr. 30, 1816, the title was changed to "Democratic Republican and Pennsylvania Advertiser." The last issue at Chambersburg was that of May 12, 1817, when the publisher removed to Shippensburg, and established "The Spirit of the Times."

There is a file owned by H. Kellogg, Nov. 7, 1815-May 12, 1817, not examined by the compiler. A. A. S. has:

1816. Mar. 12^m.

June 17.

[Chambersburg] Farmers' Register, 1798-1799.

Weekly. Established Apr. 18, 1798, by Snowden & M'Corkle (John M. Snowden and William M'Corkle), with the title of "The Farmers' Register." The last issue was that of Apr. 10, 1799, vol. 1, no. 52; when the publishers removed to Greensburg and started a paper with the same title.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Apr. 18, 1798-Apr. 10, 1799. Phil. Lib Co. has Apr. 18-July 25, Aug. 15, 29, Nov. 14-Dec. 19, 1798.

[Chambersburg] Franklin Repository, 1796-1820+.

Weekly. Established Apr. 21, 1796, by Dover & Harper (Andrew Dover and Robert Harper), with the title of "The Franklin Repository." It succeeded "The Chambersburg Gazette," continuing its advertisements, but adopting a new volume numbering. Dover retired in about a year, and Robert Harper published the paper until 1800, when he transferred it to his brother George K. Harper, who continued it until after 1820.

Franklin Repository office, Chambersburg, has a file, although not examined by the compiler. Harvard has May 5, 19-June 2, 23-July 14, 28-Aug. 18, Sept. 1-22, Oct. 6-27, Nov. 17, 1796-Mar. 30, Apr. 13, 20, 1797. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 26, 1799, photo. Lib. Congress has Nov. 20, 1800; Mar. 26, 1801; Apr. 20, 1811-Dec. 29, 1812; Mar. 15, 1814-Dec. 24, 1815. Wilson College, Chambersburg, has July 31, 1804-Apr. 9, 1805; Oct. 8, 1805-Mar. 8, 1808. A. A. S. has:

1801. Sept. 24.

[Chambersburg] Franklin Republican, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established in May 1817, by John Sloan, and continued by him until after 1820. Apr. 13, 1819 is numbered Vol. 2, No. 102.

Penn. State Lib. has April 13, May 25, June 22, 1819.

Chambersburg Gazette, 1793-1796.

Weekly. Established Sept. 12, 1793, by Robert Harper, with the title of "The Chambersburg Gazette," The last issue with this title was that of Apr. 7, 1796, vol. 3, no. 31, and on Apr. 21, it was succeeded by "The Franklin Repository," published by Robert Harper and Andrew Dover.

Phil. Lib. Co. has Oct. 17, 1793. Harvard has Feb. 12-Mar. 12, June 11, 18, July 30, Aug. 20, Sept. 3, Nov. 19, 1795; Feb. 18, Mar. 17-Apr. 7, 1796. A. A. S. has:

1793. Oct. 24.

Dec. 26.

1795. Dec. 3^m.

[Chambersburg] Pennsylvania Republican, 1808 - 1809.

Weekly. Established Jan. 27, 1808, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Mar. 2, 1808, vol. 1, no. 6, published by Richard White and Frederick Goeb, with the title of "Pennsylvania Republican." In a year or two, William Armor became the publisher, changing the title to "The Republican," which see.

A. A. S. has:

1808. Mar. 2.

[Chambersburg] Redliche Registrator, 1813 - 1820+.

Weekly. It is not known when this paper was established, but George K. Harper was publishing it previous to 1813 in connection with his English newspaper. It was in German and was called "Der Redliche Registrator" (I. H. M'Cauley, "Hist. Sketch of Franklin County," 1878, p. 67). Harper sold it to Frederick W. Schoepflin, who announced that his initial issue would appear Dec. 22, 1813 ("History of Franklin County," 1887, p. 253). Schoepflin continued the paper until after 1820.

In a note in F. Cumings' "Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country," 1810, p. 35, it is stated that a German newspaper was printed at Chambersburg.

[Chambersburg] Republican, 1809 - 1815.

Weekly. A continuation of the "Pennsylvania Republican," without change of volume numbering. The only issue located is that of June 26, 1810, vol. 3, no. 120, published by William Armor, with the title of "The Republican." When Armor first became the publisher, or when he retired, is not known. John Hershberger was printing at Chambersburg from 1810 to 1815, although in German, and is said by local historians to have been the publisher of this paper and to have sold it to John McFarland in 1815. McFarland certainly started a paper called the "Democratic Republican" on Nov. 7, 1815.

A. A. S. has:

1810. June 26.

[Chambersburg] Western Advertiser, 1790-1793.

Weekly. Established July 14, 1790, by William Davison, with the title of "The Western Advertiser and Chambersburg Weekly Newspaper." In 1793, he admitted Robert Harper to partnership. Davison died in the fall of 1793, and Robert Harper became sole publisher, changing the title of the paper, Sept. 12, 1793, to "The Chambersburg Gazette" (I. H. M'Cauley, "Hist. Sketch of Franklin County," 1878, p. 64).

[Chester] Post-Boy, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established Nov. 8, 1817, by Butler & Worthington (Steuben Butler and Eliphalet B. Worthington), with the title of "Post-Boy," and continued after 1820 (Ashmead, "History of Delaware Co.," 1884, p. 382). No copy located. Steuben Butler established "The Wyoming Herald," at Wilkesbarre, Sept. 18, 1818.

[Chestnut Hill] Chesnuthiller Wochenschrift, 1790-1794.

Weekly. Established Dec. 15, 1790, by Samuel Saur, with the title of "Die Chesnuthiller Wochenschrift." There was also a prospectus issue of Oct. 8, 1790. It was a paper of quarto size. The last issue located is that of Aug. 20, 1793, no. 138, but Seidensticker ("First Century of German Printing," p. 137) says that it was removed to Philadelphia in 1794, where Saur continued it under the title of "Das Philadelphier Wochenblatt."

Phil. Lib. Co. (Locust St.) has Oct. 8, Dec. 15, 1790-Aug. 13, 1793. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Aug. 20, 1793. A. A. S. has:

1793. Apr. 2^m.

[Columbia] Columbian, 1819-1820.

Weekly. Established July 24, 1819, by William Greer, with the title of "The Columbian." After eighteen numbers had been published, it was suspended. In six

or eight months it was revived, but publication ceased altogether in a few months (Ellis & Evans, "History of Lancaster Co.," 1883, p. 570).

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 7, 1819.

[Columbia] Susquehanna Waterman, 1811-1812.

Weekly. Established Oct. 3, 1811, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Mar. 12, 1812, vol. 1, no. 24, published by Thomas A. Wilson, with the title of "Susquehanna Waterman and Columbia Advertiser."

A. A. S. has:

1812. Mar. 12.

Connellsville Herald, 1818.

Known through a reference in "The Reporter" of Washington, of Feb. 9, 1818, which quotes from the Connellsville Herald.

[Danville] Columbia Gazette, 1813-1814.

Weekly. Established by George Sweeny, Nov. 2, 1813, and continued for about a year (see Bell, "History of Northumberland County," 1891, p. 276 and Battle, "History of Columbia and Montour Counties," 1887, pt. 3, p. 67). No copy located.

[Danville] Express, 1815-1818.

Established by Jonathan Lodge in 1815, later published by Lodge and William Carothers (see D. H. B. Brower's "Danville," 1881, pp. 36, 70). No copy located.

[Danville] Watchman, 1820+.

Established by George Sweeny in 1820 (D. H. B. Brower's "Danville," 1881, pp. 36, 70). No copy located.

[Downington] American Republican, 1809-1820+.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Temperate Zone." The first issue

with the new title of "The American Republican" was that of Aug. 1, 1809, vol. 2, no. 61, published by Charles Mowry. With the issue of Sept. 3, 1811, the title was changed to "The Downington American Republican," but with Aug. 3, 1813, it reverted to "American Republican." Mowry continued to publish the paper until Nov. 28, 1820, with which issue Schultz & Marshall (William Schultz and William J. Marshall) became the publishers and commenced a new series.

West Chester Normal School Lib. has Aug. 1, 1809-Dec. 26, 1820. Chester Co. Hist. Soc., West Chester, has Oct. 19, 1813-Dec. 12, 1815. Chester Co. Law Lib., West Chester, has Jan. 2, 1816-Dec. 26, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 24, 1810. Penn. State Lib. has Dec. 3, 1811. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has July 28, 1818-Nov. 21, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1814. Feb. 1^m.

1815. Mar. 14^m.

1816. Mar. 12^m.

[Downington] Temperate Zone, 1808-1809.

Weekly. Established June 7, 1808, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of July 19, 1808, vol. 1, no. 7, published by Charles Mowry, with the title of "The Temperate Zone, and Chester & Delaware Advertiser." The last issue with this title was that of July 25, 1809, vol. 2, no. 60, after which the title was changed to "The American Republican," without change of volume numbering.

Harvard has July 19, 26, Aug. 9-23, Oct. 18, 1808. West Chester Normal School Lib. has June 20-July 25, 1809.

[Doylestown] Bucks County Messenger, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 28, 1819, by Simeon Siegfried, with the title of "Bucks County Messenger." Continued until after 1820.

Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., Doylestown, has June 28, Oct. 11, 1819; June 13, July 25, Aug. 1, 29, Sept. 12. Oct. 17, 31, Nov. 7, 21-Dec. 5, 19, 1820.

[Doylestown] Correspondent, see *Pennsylvania Correspondent*.

Doylestown Democrat, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 17, 1816, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 24, 1816, vol. 1, no. 2, published by Lewis Deffebach and Co., with the title of "Doylestown Democrat." With the issue of Dec. 24, 1816, Lewis Deffebach became sole publisher. In August 1820, Deffebach made an assignment, and the issue of Sept. 27, 1820 appeared with a new volume numbering, vol. 1, no. 1, whole no. 210, with no printer's name, but with an editorial announcement signed by Peter Keen. The paper was then suspended, publication being renewed Jan. 2, 1821.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 24, 1816. Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., Doylestown, has Oct. 8, 22, Dec. 17, 1816; Jan. 21, 28, Mar. 11, Apr. 1, 29, June 17, 24, July 8, 15, Sept. 9-Oct. 21, Nov. 11, Dec. 2, 23, 1817; June 30, July 14, 21, Sept. 1, 15, 22, Oct. 6, 27-Nov. 10, Dec. 8, 15, 1818; Mar. 9-23, Apr. 6-May 4, 18, June 1, 8, 22-July 10, 24, 1819; Jan. 11, 18, Feb. 8, Mar. 14, May 21, July 26, 1820. N. J. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 7, Sept. 27, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1816. Oct. 1, 8.

Nov. 12.

Dec. 24.

[Doylestown] Farmer's Weekly Journal, 1800-1801.

Weekly. Established July 25, 1800, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 5, 1800, vol. 1, no. 7, entitled "The Farmer's Weekly Journal," published by Isaac Ralston (see W. W. H. Davis, "History of Bucks Co.," 1905, vol. 2, p. 308, where it is called the Gazette). The last issue noted is that of Jan. 29, 1801, vol. 1, no. 27.

Bucks Co. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 18, 25, 1800. Lib. Congress has Dec. 30, 1800.

[Doylestown] Pennsylvania Correspondent, 1804-1820+.

Weekly. Established July 7, 1804, by Asher Miner, with the title of "Pennsylvania Correspondent, and Farmer's Advertiser." With the issue of Aug. 11, 1818, the title was shortened to "Correspondent and Farmers' Advertiser." Continued by Miner until after 1820.

Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., Doylestown, has July 7, 1804-Dec. 28, 1820. Harvard has May 14, 1805, -Feb. 12, 1807, fair. Penn. State Lib. has Dec. 15, 1807; Dec. 11, 1809; Aug. 10, 1812. Lib. Congress has Jan. 12, Mar. 1, 1808. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 23, 30, 1810. Schwenkfelder Hist. Soc., Pennsburg, has July 15, 1817. A. A. S. has:

- 1807. Mar. 5.
- 1809. July 10.
- 1810. Apr. 2.
May 14.
July 30.
Sept. 24.
- 1811. Jan. 28.

[Easton] American Eagle, 1799-1805.

Weekly. Established May 10, 1799, by Samuel Longcope, with the title of "The American Eagle." With the issue of Aug. 8, 1799, the title was altered to "American Eagle." The last issue located is that of Nov. 2, 1805, vol. 7, no. 340, which was nearly the last, if not the last, number.

Easton Pub. Lib. has May 10, 1799-Nov. 2, 1805. Harvard has May 17, June 14, 21, Aug. 2, 29-Sept. 12, Oct. 10, 24, 31, Dec. 19, 1799; Jan. 9, 23, Feb. 6-20, Mar. 13, Apr. 17-May 8, June 12, 26-July 24, Aug. 7, 21, Oct. 9, 23, 30, 1800; Oct. 9, 1801. Lib. Congress has Jan. 2, 1801. A. A. S. has:

- 1799. July 5.

Easton Centinel, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established July 1, 1817, by Christian J. Hutter & Son., with the title of "The Easton Centinel."

Early in 1820, Christian J. Hutter became sole publisher and continued the paper after 1820.

Easton Pub. Lib. has July 11, 1817-July 2, 1819; June 30-Dec. 29, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1818. May 15.

Eastoner-Deutsche Patriot, 1805-1814.

Weekly. Established Feb. 13, 1805, by Jacob Weygandt and Company (Jacob and Cornelius N. Weygandt), with the title of "Der Eastoner-Deutsche Patriot, und Landmanns Wochenblatt." It succeeded the "Neuer Unpartheyischer Eastoner Bothe," and continued its advertisements, although adopting a new volume numbering. Cornelius Weygandt died May 3, 1806, and with the issue of May 14, 1806, Jacob Weygandt, Jun., became sole publisher. About 1812 Jacob Weygandt was admitted to partnership, and the paper was published by Jacob Weygandt and Son. The last issue located is that of Mar. 9, 1814, no. 465, in which issue it was announced that the establishment would be discontinued on April 1 next.

Harvard has Feb. 13, 1805-Apr. 1, 1807, fair, Oct. 20, 1813; Mar. 9, 1814. Easton Pub. Lib. has Oct. 9, Nov. 16, 1808; Apr. 24, 1811; Apr. 14, June 9, 1813.

[Easton] Mountaineer, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 7, 1820, by Weiss & Patterson (John D. Weiss and James A. Patterson), with the title of "The Mountaineer," and so continued until after 1820.

Easton Pub. Lib. has Jan. 7-Dec. 29, 1820.

[Easton] Neuer Unpartheyischer Eastoner Bothe, 1793-1805.

Weekly. Established in August 1793, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 24, 1794, no. 56, published by Jacob Weygandt and Son (Jacob and Cornelius N. Weygandt), with the title of "Neuer Unpartheyischer Eastoner Bothe, und Northampton Kundschafter." It was so continued to the date of the

last issue, that of Feb. 6, 1805, no. 588, when it was succeeded by "Der Eastoner Deutsche Patriot."

Harvard has Sept. 14, 1803-Feb. 6, 1805, fair. Easton Pub. Lib. has July 20, 1803. A. A. S. has:

- 1794. Sept. 24^m.
Oct. 1^m, 8, 15, 22, 29.
Nov. 5, 12, 26.
Dec. 3, 10, 17, 24.
- 1795. Jan. 14.
Feb. 18, 25.
Mar. 4, 11, 18.
- 1804. June 20.

[Easton] Northampton Correspondent, 1806-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 25, 1806, by Christian Jacob Hütter, with the title of "Der Northampton Correspondent." In the summer of 1815 the paper was published by Carl L. Hütter for Christian Jacob Hütter. Early in 1817 the firm name was changed to Christian Jacob Hütter and Son, and early in 1820 Christian Jacob Hütter became sole publisher. Continued after 1820.

Harvard has Jan. 25, 1806-July 18, 1807, fair. Wis. Hist. Soc. has June 9, 1810. Easton Pub. Lib. has Aug. 12, Sept. 16, 30, Oct. 21, Dec. 30, 1814; Jan. 6, Apr. 21, Sept. 15, 29-Oct. 13, 27, 1815; Aug. 30, Sept. 27, Oct. 4, Nov. 1, Dec. 13, 20, 1816; Aug. 8, Sept. 26-Oct. 10, 1817; Aug. 7, Oct. 9, 16, 30, 1818; June 25, Sept. 10, 1819; Mar. 31, Apr. 14, June 9, Aug. 11-Dec. 29, 1820. A. A. S. has:

- 1810. May 12.

[Easton] Northampton Farmer, 1805-1815.

Weekly. Established Dec. 21, 1805, by Thomas J. Rogers, with the title of "Northampton Farmer and Easton Weekly Advertiser." In 1809 or 1810, the title was shortened to "Northampton Farmer." The last issue located is that of Apr. 17, 1813, vol. 8, no. 15, but the

paper was succeeded by the "Spirit of Pennsylvania" in 1815.

Easton Pub. Lib. has Dec. 21, 1805-Dec. 31, 1808. Harvard has May 31, 1806. Lib. Congress has Oct. 10, 1807; Apr. 16, 1808; Sept. 28, 1811. Berks Co. Hist. Soc., Reading, has Apr. 17, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1810. July 7.

[Easton] **Pennsylvania Herald**, 1808-1810.

Weekly. Established Aug. 10, 1808, by Christian J. Hutter, with the title of "Pennsylvania Herald, and Easton Intelligencer." It was discontinued with the issue of Aug. 1, 1810, vol. 2, no. 52, to be succeeded by "The People's Instructor."

Easton Pub. Lib. has Aug. 10, 1808-Aug. 1, 1810. Harvard has Aug. 10-Dec. 21, 1808, fair. A. A. S. has:

1810. June 13.

July 4, 25.

Aug. 1.

[Easton] **People's Instructor**, 1810-1813.

Weekly. Established Aug. 8, 1810, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Sept. 5, 1810, vol. 1, no. 5, published by Christian J. Hutter, with the title of "The People's Instructor. Der Volksunterrichter." The paper was of folio size, printed in alternate columns of German and English. In 1811, undoubtedly with the issue of Aug. 21, it was reduced in size to a quarto of eight pages, and the title was changed to "Der Volksunterrichter. The People's Instructor." It was so continued to the date of the final issue, May 26, 1813.

Easton Pub. Lib. has Aug. 28, 1811-May 26, 1813. A. A. S. has:

1810. Sept. 5, 19.

Oct. 3, 10, 24.

[Easton] **Spirit of Pennsylvania**, 1815-1820+.

Weekly. Established June 16, 1815 by George W. Deshler and Samuel Moore, with the title of "Spirit of

Pennsylvania." With the issue of Feb. 11, 1820, George W. Deshler became sole proprietor, and adopted a new series volume numbering. Continued until after 1820.

Easton Pub. Lib. has June 16, 1815-June 14, 1816; Feb. 11-Dec. 29, 1820.

[Easton] *Volksunterricht*, see *People's Instructor*.

[Edentown] *Eden Star*, 1814-1816.

Weekly. Established Mar. 28, 1814, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of May 2, 1814, vol. 1, no. 6, published by Nathan Blackman, Jun., with the title of "The Eden Star." The last issue located is that of Sept. 4, 1815, vol. 2, no. 76, but apparently in June 1816, the paper was removed to Russellville, about one mile distant, where publication was continued, under the title of "The American Star."

Harvard has June 20, Sept. 26, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1814. May 2, 9, 16, 30.

June 20, 27.

July 4, 18, 25.

Aug. 22.

Sept. 5.

Oct. 10, 17^m, 24, 31^m.

Nov. 28.

1815. Sept. 4.

Erie Gazette, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 15, 1820, by Joseph M. Sterrett, with the title of "Erie Gazette," and so continued until after 1820.

Erie Pub. Lib. has Jan. 22-Dec. 30, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1820. Apr. 15.

[Erie] *Genius of the Lakes*, 1816-1819.

Weekly. Established in September 1816, judging from the date of the only issue located, that of Mar. 27, 1819, vol. 3, no. 132, published by R[obert] I. Curtis, with the

title of "Genius of the Lakes." This was the last issue, and soon afterwards the editor removed to Mayville, N. Y.

A. A. S. has:

1819. Mar. 27.

[Erie] Mirror, 1808.

Weekly. Established May 26, 1808, by George Wyeth, with the title of "The Mirror." The last issue with the name of Erie in the imprint was that of Nov. 19, 1808, vol. 1, no. 26, and with the succeeding issue the paper was stated to be published at "Presqu'Isle, Erie County." See under Presque Isle.

Lib. Congress has May 26-Nov. 19, 1808.

[Erie] Northern Centinel, 1813-1815.

Weekly. Established early in August 1813, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Apr. 1, 1814, vol. 1, no. 35, published by Robert I. Curtis & Co., with the title of "The Northern Centinel." Curtis proposed to remove his paper to Detroit issuing what he thought was his last paper on Apr. 29, 1814 (see Lancaster "Intelligencer" of May 21, 1814, also Zanesville "Muskingum Messenger" of Feb. 28, 1814, where the proposed name for the paper at Detroit was alluded to as "The Republic"), but finding that the removal could not be brought about, he resumed publication at Erie on June 10, 1814. The last issue located is that of June 28, 1815, vol. 2, no. 94.

Harvard has June 10, 17, Sept. 23-Oct. 7, 21-Nov. 11, 25-Dec. 9, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1814. Apr. 1.

June 10.

1815. June 28^m.

Erie Patriot, 1818-1819.

Weekly. Established Oct. 3, 1818, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 20, 1819, vol. 1, no. 21, published by Z[iba] Willes with the title

of "Erie Patriot." The paper was continued for about a year, and Willes then removed to Cleveland where he established the "Cleveland Herald," Oct. 19, 1819.

A. A. S. has:

1819. Feb. 20.

[Erie] **Phoenix**, see **Erie Reflector**.

Erie Reflector, 1819 - 1820.

Weekly. Established Sept. 29, 1819, by John Morris, at Erie, but printed in the office of the "Chautauque Eagle" at Mayville, N. Y. (see "Chautauque Eagle" of Oct. 5, 1819), where it is referred to as "The Phoenix and Erie Reflector." The earliest issue located, that of Mar. 20, 1820, is an unnumbered half sheet, entitled "The Reflector." The first numbered issue located, that of Apr. 3, 1820, vol. 1, no. 25, was edited and printed by R[obert] I. Curtis, and was entitled "Erie Reflector." Statements in this issue show that the publisher was John Morris of Erie, but that the printing was performed at Curtis's printing-office at Mayville, N. Y. In the "Erie Gazette" of Apr. 15, 1820, is the following statement: "The Phoenix and Erie Reflector, published in this place by John Morris, Esq., and printed and edited by R. I. Curtis, in Mayville, N. Y. has been discontinued."

Prendergast Lib., Jamestown, N. Y., has Mar. 20, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1820. Apr. 3.

[Frankford] **Spirit of '76**, 1810-1812.

Weekly. Established in June 1810, judging from the date of the only copy located, that of Feb. 27, 1812, vol. 2, no. 90, published by J[ohn] F. Gilbert, with the title of "Spirit of '76."

A. A. S. has:

1812. Feb. 27.

[Frankford] Weekly Messenger, 1810.

Weekly. Published early in 1810 by William Coale, with the title of "Weekly Messenger" (I. Thomas, "History of Printing," ed. 1874, vol. 2, p. 301). No copy located.

[Germantown] Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber, 1739-1746.

Quarterly and monthly. Established Aug. 20, 1739, by Christoph Saur, with the title of "Der Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber." It was at first intended to issue the paper every three months, but this must have been changed to a monthly issue early in 1741, judging from the numbering of the next issue located succeeding the initial issue, that of Feb. 16, 1742, no. 19. The issues after 1742 were monthly, being dated the 16th of the month. With the issue of Oct. 16, 1745, the title was changed to "Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische Berichte." With June 16, 1746, the title was changed to "Pensylvanische Berichte" which see.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Aug. 20, 1739; Feb. 16, 1742; Apr. 16, 1743-May 16, 1746. A. A. S. has:

1743. July 16.

Dec. 16.

1744. Jan. 16 to Dec. 16.

Postscript: Jan. 10.

Missing: Apr. 16.

1745. Jan. 16 to Dec. 16.

Missing: Oct. 16, Dec. 16.

[Germantown] Pensylvanische-Berichte, 1746-1762.

Monthly, semi-monthly and bi-weekly. A continuation of the "Hoch-Deutsch Pensylvanische-Berichte," without change of numbering. The earliest issue with the title of "Pensylvanische Berichte" was that of June 16, 1746, no. 71, published by Christoph Saur. The paper was of quarto size, issued monthly on the 16th of each month. Beginning with Apr. 1, 1748, issues were

published on the 1st as well as the 16th of the month, but these issues were not included in the numbering (except inadvertently on Apr. 1 and June 1, 1748) and were regarded as postscripts or complimentary copies in addition to the twelve regular monthly issues. With the issue of Jan. 16, 1754, the size of the paper was enlarged from quarto to folio. With the issue of Nov. 13, 1756, the publishing of two issues a month was given up, and a regular bi-weekly publication established. Christoph Saur, Sr., died Sept. 15, 1758, and his son, Christoph Saur, became the publisher. The last issue located with the title of "Pensylvanische Berichte" is that of Apr. 9, 1762, no. 264. The title was then changed to "Die German-towner Zeitung," without change of numbering, although no issues with this new title have been located between 1762 and 1766. See under "Die Germantowner Zeitung."

Hist. Soc. Penn. has June 16, 1746-Dec. 16, 1752; Aug. 1, 16, Oct. 16, 1753; Jan. 16, 1754-Apr. 9, 1762. Amer. Philos. Soc. has July 16, 1747-Nov. 16, 1753. Schwenkfelder Hist. Lib., Pennsburg, has Mar. 1, 1749-Nov. 1, 1751, Feb. 1, 1754; Oct. 16, 1755; Aug. 6, 1757; Feb. 2, Apr. 27, June 22, Aug. 31, Nov. 9, 1759; Mar. 28, June 6, 1760; June 5, July 31, Oct. 9, 1761. A. A. S. has

1747. Jan. 16.

1749. June 16.

1755. Apr. 16.

May 16.

June 1.

Sept. 1.

Oct. 1.

Nov. 16.

Dec. 1, 16.

1756. Jan. 16.

Feb. 16.

Mar. 1.

Apr. 1.

May 1.

June 1, 16.

July 1.

- Aug. 16, 21.
Oct. 2, 16.
Nov. 13, 27.
Dec. 11, 25.
1757. Jan. 8, 22.
Feb. 5, 19.
Apr. 2, 16, 30.
May 14, 29.
June 11, 25.
July 23.
Aug. 6, 20.
Sept. 3, 17.
Oct. 29.
Nov. 12, 26.
Dec. 10, 24.

[Germantown] Wahre und Wahrscheinliche Begebenheiten,
1766.

A paper with this title was issued in 1766, but the issues were without volume numbering, name of printer or place of publication. The press-work is evidently that of Christoph Saur, of Germantown, and the issue of Feb. 24, 1766 contains an advertisement addressed to Christoph Saur as publisher.

Schwenkfelder Hist. Lib., Pennsburg, has Feb. 24, 1766. Seidensticker "German Printing in America," p. 76, mentions an issue of Mar. 5, 1766.

Germantowner Zeitung, 1762-1777.

Bi-weekly and weekly. A continuation of the "Pensylvanische Berichte," issued by Christoph Saur, without change of numbering. The change of title may have occurred in 1762, but the earliest issue located with the title of "Die Germantowner Zeitung" is that of Aug. 7, 1766, no. 371, published by Christoph Saur. Issues up to Apr. 20, 1775 were bi-weekly, but the next issue located, that of Mar. 20, 1776, was a weekly, as were succeeding issues. The issue of Mar. 20, 1776 was published by Christoph Saur und Sohn, as was also the issue

of Sept. 11, 1776, no. 670. The issue of Feb. 26, 1777, no. 686, was published by Christoph Saur, Jun. [the third] und Peter Saur. In October 1777, after the Battle of Germantown and the British occupation of Philadelphia, the Saurs removed to Philadelphia, where they continued their paper, under the title of "Der Pennsylvanische Staats Courier." See under Philadelphia.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Aug. 7, 1766; Apr. 20, 1775; Mar. 20, Sept. 11, 1776; Mar. 12, 1777. Dr. George Hetrich, Birdsboro, Penn., has Feb. 26, 1777.

Germantauner Zeitung, 1785-1799.

Bi-weekly and weekly. Established Feb. 8, 1785, by Leibert and Billmeyer (Peter Leibert and Michael Billmeyer), with the title of "Die Germantauner Zeitung," as a bi-weekly. With the issue of Aug. 7, 1787, the partnership was dissolved and the paper published by Michael Billmeyer. With the issue of July 20, 1790, the size was reduced from folio to quarto, and the paper was issued weekly. It was apparently intended to start a new volume numbering in July 1790, for after the issue of Aug. 10, 1790, no. 146, the issue of Aug. 17, 1790 was numbered no. 7, and this new system of numbering was thenceforth used. The last issue located is that of July 16, 1793, no. 157. The paper may have been continued until 1799, as in the "Neue Unpartheyische Readinger Zeitung" of June 5, 1799, Michael Billmeyer, editor of "Die Germantauner Zeitung," has a notice that all back subscriptions to the paper must be paid immediately.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Feb. 22, 1785-Jan. 15, 1793. Lib. Congress has July 20, 1790-July 16, 1793. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 1, 1789; June 12, 17, Aug. 21, Sept. 25, Nov. 13, Dec. 11, 1792. A. A. S. has:

1792. Dec. 25.

[Gettysburg] Adams Centinel, 1800-1820+.

Weekly. Established Nov. 12, 1800, by Robert Harper, with the title of "The Adams Centinel." Robert Harper died Nov. 8, 1816, and in the issue of Nov. 13, his

widow announced that she would henceforth conduct the paper. No name appeared in the imprint, however, until May 12, 1819, when Robert G. Harper became the publisher and changed the title to "Adams Centinel." The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Gettysburg "Star and Sentinel" office has Nov. 19, 1800-Dec. 27, 1820. N. J. Hist. Soc. has Sept. 15, Oct. 6, Nov. 17, Dec. 1, 22, 1819; Feb. 9, Apr. 26, May 3, 17, July 5, Dec. 13, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1801. Sept. 9, 30.

[Gettysburg] Republican Compiler, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 16, 1818, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Dec. 16, 1818, vol. 1, no. 14, published by Jacob Lefever, with the title of "The Republican Compiler." Continued by him until after 1820.

N. J. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 16, 1818; July 21, 28, Sept. 1, 29, Oct. 13, Nov. 3, Dec. 15, 22, 1819; Feb. 9, Mar. 8, 22, May 3, 1820.

[Gettysburg] Sprig of Liberty, 1803-1805.

Weekly. Established in February 1803, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 31, 1804, vol. 2, no. 31, published by William B. Underwood, with the title of "The Sprig of Liberty." The last issue located is that of Aug. 8, 1805, vol. 3, no. 29. In "Bartgis's Republican Gazette," of Fredericktown, Md., of Feb. 25, 1803, is an advertisement that "Subscriptions and advertisements are taken in at this Office, for the Gettysburg Gazette, printed in Pennsylvania."

Harvard has Aug. 31, 1804; Aug. 8, 1805.

Greensburgh & Indiana Register, 1808-1818.

Weekly. Established in January 1808, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Nov. 26, 1812, vol. 5, no. 45, published by William S. Graham, with the title of "Greensburgh & Indiana Register." G. D. Albert, in the "History of the County of Westmoreland,"

1882, p. 280, says that the title was "Westmoreland and Indiana Register" from 1808 to 1812, that Graham died in 1815 being succeeded by his widow, and that the paper was discontinued in September 1818.

A. A. S. has:

1812. Nov. 26.

[Greensburg] Farmers Register, 1799-1808.

Weekly. Established May 24, 1799, by Snowden & M'Corkle (John M. Snowden and William M'Corkle), with the title of "The Farmers Register." With the issue of May 28, 1803, the partnership was dissolved and the paper published by John M. Snowden. The last issue located is that of Sept. 20, 1805, vol. 4, no. 18. Apparently the paper was discontinued under this title in January 1808.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has May 24, 1799-May 21, 1803. Carnegie Lib., Pittsburgh, has June 21, 1799-Apr. 24, 1802. Harvard has May 28, 1803-May 3, 1805, fair. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 17, 1802. Lib. Congress has Sept. 6, 20, 1805. A. A. S. has:

1803. Aug. 13.

Sept. 10.

Greensburg Gazette, 1811-1820+.

Weekly. Established in 1811 by David Maclean, with the title of "The Greensburgh Gazette," and so continued until after 1820.

Lib. Congress has Sept. 17, 1819. Hamilton Lib., Carlisle, has Dec. 17, 1819.

[Greensburg] Westmoreland and Indiana Register, see Greensburgh & Indiana Register.

[Greensburg] Westmoreland Republican, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established in April 1819, by Frederick A. Wise, with the title of "Westmoreland Republican and Farmer's Chronicle," and so continued until after 1820 (G. D. Albert, "History of the County of Westmoreland," 1882, p. 281). No copy located.

Hanover Gazette, 1805-1820+.

Weekly. Established Apr. 4, 1805, by Daniel P. Lange and J. P. Starck, with the title of "Hanover Gazette." It was a German newspaper. The partnership was discontinued in 1816, and Lange became sole publisher and continued the paper until after 1820 (J. Gibson, "History of York County," 1886, p. 382). No copy located.

[Hanover] German newspaper, 1809-1810.

There was a German newspaper published at Hanover, the title of which is now unknown. It was established in August 1809 and discontinued in March 1810, at which time one of the editors, Mr. Melsheimer, removed to Fredericktown (Carter and Glossbrenner, "History of York County," 1834, p. 100). C. T. Melsheimer established "Der Freiheitsbothe" at Fredericktown, Md., Apr. 7, 1810.

[Hanover] Guardian, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established in August 1818, by Jacob H. Wiestling with the title of the "Guardian." In 1819 he sold the paper to Joseph Schmuck, who continued it until after 1820 (J. Gibson, "History of York County," 1886, p. 382). No copy located.

[Hanover] Pennsylvanische Wochenschrift, 1797-1805.

Weekly. Established in April 1797, by W. D. Lepper and E. Stettinius, with the title of "Die Pennsylvanische Wochenschrift." Not long afterwards, Lepper became sole proprietor, certainly by 1802, as books printed in that year bear the name of William Daniel Lepper alone in the imprint. Lepper continued the paper until February 1805 (Carter and Glossbrenner, "History of York County," 1834, p. 100; G. R. Prowell, "History of York County," 1907, vol. 1, p. 557). No copy located.

[Harrisburg] American Patriot, 1812-1813.

Published in 1812 and 1813, with Alexander Hamilton as editor. It existed for nearly two years (W. H. Egle, "History of Dauphin and Lebanon Counties," 1883, p. 351). No copy located.

[Harrisburg] Chronicle, 1813-1820+.

Weekly and semi-weekly. Established May 31, 1813, by William Gillmor, with the title of "The Chronicle or Harrisburgh Visitor." With the issue of Dec. 4, 1815, Hugh Hamilton was admitted to partnership under the firm name of Gillmor and Hamilton. With the issue of Aug. 24, 1818, Hugh M'Ilwaine replaced Gillmor, the firm name becoming Hamilton & M'Ilwaine, and the title was changed to "The Chronicle, and Harrisburg Advertiser." The paper, normally published weekly, was published semi-weekly during the sessions of the State legislature from Dec. 10, 1818 to Mar. 29, 1819, and from Dec. 9, 1819 to Mar. 27, 1820. With the issue of Feb. 3, 1820, the title was changed to "Harrisburg Chronicle." Continued after 1820.

Penn. State Lib. has May 31, 1813-Dec. 28, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has May 31, 1813-Nov. 27, 1815, Feb. 17, 1817-Aug. 17, 1818. Wis. Hist. Soc. has June 7, 1813. Lib. Congress has Apr. 22, 1816; Dec. 2-25, 1820. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has July 22-Dec. 28 1820. A. A. S. has:

- 1813. May 31.
June 14, 28.
July 12.
Sept. 27.
Oct. 4.
- 1814. May 23.
Nov. 7.
- 1815. Feb. 27.
- 1816. Feb. 12.
Aug. 5, 12.

Sept. 23, 30.
Oct. 7, 14, 28.
Nov. 4, 11, 25.
Dec. 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.

1817. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.

Missing: Jan. 27, June 30, July 28, Aug.
4, 18, 25.

1818. Jan. 5 to Dec. 31.

Carrier's Address: [Jan. 1].

Mutilated: May 18.

Missing: Jan. 19, Feb. 23, Mar. 16, July
20, Dec. 21.

1819. Jan. 4 to Dec. 30.

Missing: Mar. 18, July 12, Aug. 9, Sept.
6, Dec. 9, 13, 16.

1820. Jan. 3 to Dec. 28.

Missing: Mar. 13, 20, July 22, Aug. 26,
Sept. 9, Oct. 14, Dec. 14, 21.

[Harrisburg] Commonwealth, 1818-1820+.

Established in 1818 by John McFarland and William Greer, and continued after 1820 (W. H. Egle, "History of Dauphin and Lebanon Counties," 1883, p. 351). No copy located.

[Harrisburg] Dauphin Guardian, 1805-1811.

Weekly. Established June 1, 1805, by Albright & Elder (——— Albright and Jacob Elder), with the title of "Dauphin Guardian." In 1806, Jacob Elder became sole publisher. With the issue of June 5, 1810, the title was altered to "The Dauphin Guardian," but with the issue of July 31, 1810, it reverted to its earlier form. The paper was discontinued in November 1811, the last issue undoubtedly being that of Nov. 26, vol. 7, no. 26, and was succeeded by the "Pennsylvania Republican."

Penn. State Lib. has Aug. 3, Sept. 21, 1805; Apr. 22, May 13, Aug. 26, 1806; Sept. 1, Dec. 29, 1807; Jan. 5, 1808-Nov. 12, 1811. Harvard has June 1, 8, 29, Dec.

14, 1805. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 19, May 5, 1808; Jan. 10, Aug. 15, Oct. 10, Dec. 12, 1809; Feb. 20, May 29, 1810; Mar. 5, 12, 26, Oct. 22, 1811. A. A. S. has:

1805. June 1, 8.
July 6, 13, 20.

1809. Feb. 14.

1810. Aug. 7.

[Harrisburgh] Farmers Instructor, 1800-1802.

Weekly. Established Jan. 8, 1800, by Benjamin Mayer, with the title of "The Farmers Instructor, and Harrisburgh Courant." The paper was discontinued with the issue of May 5, 1802, vol. 3, no. 70.

Penn. State Lib. has Jan. 8, 1800-May 5, 1802. Mrs. B. F. Africa, Harrisburg, has Jan. 15, 1800. Lib. Congress has Apr. 22, 1801. A. A. S. has:

1801. June 17^m.
July 1^m.

Harrisburgh Journal, 1789.

Weekly. Established Aug. 26, 1789, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Sept. 9, 1789, vol. 1, no. 3, published by T. Roberts & Co., with the title of "The Harrisburgh Journal, and the Weekly Advertiser."

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Sept. 9, 1789.

Harrisburger Morgenröthe, 1799-1820+.

Weekly. Established Mar. 12, 1799, by B[enjamin] Mayer and C[onrad] Fahnestock, with the title of "Unpartheyische Harrisburg Morgenröthe Zeitung," the word "Morgenröthe" being in an emblem in the center of the title. With the issue of Aug. 6, 1799, the partnership was dissolved and the paper published by Benjamin Mayer. With the issue of Aug. 11, 1800, the title was shortened to "Die Harrisburger Morgenröthe Zeitung,"

changed with the issue of Aug. 18, 1800, to "Die Harrisburger Morgenröthe." With the issue of Apr. 13, 1811, Mayer sold out and the paper was published by Gleim and Wiestling (Christian Gleim and John S. Wiestling). With the issue of Jan. 5, 1813, the partnership was dissolved and John S. Wiestling became sole publisher. Continued after 1820.

Penn. State Lib. has Mar. 12, 1799-Oct. 19, 1813. Lib. Congress has Feb. 6-Nov. 20, 1802. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Oct. 6, 1812.

[**Harrisburgh**] **Oracle of Dauphin, 1792-1820+.**

Weekly. Established Oct. 20, 1792, by Allen and Wyeth (John W. Allen and John Wyeth), with the title of "The Oracle of Dauphin, and Harrisburgh Advertiser." In November 1793, the firm was dissolved and John Wyeth became sole publisher. At some time between Oct. 10, 1807 and Jan. 23, 1808, the title was shortened to "The Oracle of Dauphin." The paper was so continued by John Wyeth until after 1820.

Penn. State Lib. has Nov. 3, 1792-Oct. 28, Nov. 11, 1793; Aug. 18-Sept. 8, Oct. 6, 1794; Feb. 8, Oct. 4, Nov. 29, 1797; Mar. 14, May 9, 23-June 20, July 18, Aug. 15-Nov. 7, 1798; Mar. 6-27, Apr. 10, 17, July 17, 31, Aug. 21-Sept. 11, 25-Oct. 7, Nov. 11, 1799; Feb. 10, June 9, July 28-Dec. 29, 1800; Jan. 5, 19, Feb. 2, 1801; Nov. 22, 1802-Mar. 2, 1805; Jan. 18-Feb. 15, 1806; Oct. 18, 1806-Oct. 10, 1807; Jan. 23, 1808-Feb. 9, 1811; Sept. 6, 1812-Dec. 30, 1820.

York Co. Hist. Soc. has 1798-1800 (not examined). N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 7, 1798-Oct. 12, 1805; July 11, 1807; Feb. 11, 1809. Harvard has Feb. 3, 1794; Mar. 9, June 15, 1795; Mar. 28, 1796-Aug. 29, 1798, fair; Feb. 23, 1801-Dec. 3, 1803, fair; Feb. 4, Apr. 28, Aug. 4, 1804; Mar. 30, 1805; Sept. 20, 1806. Phil. Lib. Co. has Oct. 21, 1793; Jan. 2, 1813-Dec. 9, 1815. Lib. Congress has Aug. 24, 1795; Nov. 16, 1801-Sept. 13, 1806. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has May 6-Dec. 30, 1820. N. J.

Hist. Soc. has Dec. 4, 1813; Nov. 11, 18, 1815; June 1, 1816. A. A. S. has:

- 1792. Oct. 20.
Dec. 10.
- 1793. Jan. 14.
Mar. 18.
Apr. 1.
July 22.
Aug. 5, 12.
Sept. 16.
Dec. 9^m, 23.
- 1794. Jan. 13.
Apr. 27.
Aug. 11.
Dec. 22.
- 1797. May 3.
- 1798. Feb. 7.
Apr. 18.
- 1799. June 19^m.
Oct. 7.
- 1804. Mar. 3, 10, 17.
- 1808. Apr. 30.
- 1810. June 30.
- 1820. Sept. 30.

[Harrisburg] *Pennsylvania Intelligencer*, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Dec. 5, 1820, by Charles Mowry, with the title of "Pennsylvania Intelligencer." It succeeded the "Harrisburg Republican," but adopted a new volume numbering, as well as a new title. Continued until after 1820.

Penn. State Lib.; Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg; and Hist. Soc. Penn, have Dec. 5-26, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 26, 1820.

[Harrisburg] Pennsylvania Republican, 1811-1816.

Weekly. Established Dec. 3, 1811, by James Peacock, with the title of "Pennsylvania Republican." The last issue with this title was that of Nov. 26, 1816, vol. 5, no. 52, after which the title was changed to "Harrisburg Republican," which see.

Penn. State Lib. has Dec. 3, 1811-Nov. 26, 1816. Harvard has Feb. 4, 1812. Wash. Co. Hist. Soc., Washington, Pa., has Jan. 3, 1815. A. A. S. has:

1811. Dec. 3, 10, 17, 24.

1812. Sept. 15.

Oct. 13, 20.

Nov. 24.

Dec. 22, 29.

1813. Jan. 19.

Feb. 9.

Mar. 2, 9.

Apr. 20.

May 4, 18, 25.

June 1, 8.

July 27.

Aug. 3, 10, 17^m, 24, 31.

Sept. 7.

Oct. 5, 12, 19.

Nov. 9, 16.

Dec. 7, 21, 28.

1814. Jan. 4 to Dec. 27.

Missing: Jan. 4, 11, Feb. 8, Apr. 5, May, 3, 31, June 7, 21, July 12, 19, Aug. 2, 16, 30, Oct. 4, 25, Nov. 8.

1815. Jan. 3 to Dec. 26.

Missing: Feb. 7, 21, Mar. 14, Apr. 11, 25, May 2, 23, June 20, July 4-25, Aug. 8, 15, 29, Oct. 10, 31, Nov. 7, 14, 28, Dec. 12, 19.

1816. Jan. 2 to Nov. 26.

Missing: May 28, June 25, Sept. 24, Oct. 8, 22.

Harrisburg Republican, 1816-1820.

Weekly. A continuation of the "Pennsylvania Republican," without change of volume numbering. The first issue with the new title of "Harrisburg Republican" was that of Dec. 3, 1816, vol. 6, no. 1, published by James Peacock. The paper was discontinued with the issue of Nov. 17, 1820, vol. 9, no. 52, when it was sold out to Charles Mowry, who established in its stead the "Pennsylvania Intelligencer."

Penn. State Lib. has Dec. 3-17, 1816; Jan. 7, 1817-Nov. 17, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 17, 1816-Aug. 7, 1818. Lib. Congress has Oct. 7, 1817-Nov. 17, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1816. Dec. 3, 10^m, 17, 24.

1817. Jan. 14, 21, 28.

Feb. 4, 11, 18, 25.

Mar. 4, 11, 25.

1818. Apr. 3.

[Harrisburgh] Times, 1807-1808, 1810-1811.

Weekly. Established Sept. 21, 1807, by David Wright, with the title of "The Times." It was discontinued at Harrisburg with the issue of Mar. 28, 1808, vol. 1, no. 25, and removed to Lancaster, where it was resumed by Hugh Hamilton, under the same title, with the issue of Apr. 8, 1808 (see under Lancaster). In May 1810, soon after the announcement of the removal of the seat of government to Harrisburg, the paper was moved back to Harrisburg, where it was resumed under the title of "The Times" by H[ugh] H[amilton] and J[eremiah] B. Risley. The issue of May 19, 1810, was numbered vol. 3, no. 25. In July 1810, Risley removed to Delaware and H. Hamilton became sole publisher. The last issue located is that of Aug. 31, 1811, vol. 4, no. 39.

Penn. State Lib. has Sept. 21, 1807-Mar. 28, 1808. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has Sept. 21, 1807-

Mar. 28, 1808. Harvard has Sept. 21-Oct. 26, 1807.
A. A. S. has:

1810. May 19.
June 2, 16.
July 28.

1811. Mar. 9.
July 6.
Aug. 31.

[Harrisburgh] Unpartheyische Harrisburg Morgenröthe, see
Harrisburger Morgenröthe.

[Huntingdon] American Eagle, 1809-1811.

Weekly. Established in August 1809, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Aug. 23, 1810, vol. 2, no. 3, published by G[] P.W. Butler, with the title of "The American Eagle." This issue contains an advertisement, dated Aug. 2, 1810, of the dissolution of the firm of G. P. W. Butler and John G. Butler, the former publishers.

A. A. S. has:

1810. Aug. 23.

Huntingdon Courier, 1797-1798.

Weekly. Established July 4, 1797, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Aug. 8, 1797, vol. 1, no. 6, published by Michael Duffey, with the title of "The Huntingdon Courier and Weekly Advertiser. It was discontinued in February 1798 (J. S. Africa, "History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties," 1883, p. 58).

Mrs. B. F. Africa, Harrisburg, has Aug. 8, 1797.

Huntingdon Gazette, 1801-1820+.

Weekly. Established Feb. 12, 1801, by John M'Cahan with the title of "The Huntingdon Gazette and Weekly Advertiser" (J. S. Africa, "History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties," 1883, p. 59). About 1805, the title was

shortened to "The Huntingdon Gazette." M'Cahan continued the paper until after 1820.

Mrs. B. F. Africa, Harrisburg, has Apr. 21, 1802; Apr. 18, 25, 1803; Feb. 5, Mar. 5, 1807; Aug. 4, 1809; Jan. 11, 18, 1810; Feb. 7, 14, 28, Apr. 4, May 23, July 4-Aug. 8, Sept. 12, 1811; Jan. 9, 1812-Dec. 29, 1814, fair; Jan. 12, 1815; Jan. 9, 1817; Dec. 24, 1818; Jan. 28, July 15, 1819. Juniata College, Huntingdon, has Jan. 21, 1819-Dec. 28, 1820.

[Huntingdon] **Guardian of Liberty**, 1799-1800.

Weekly. Established in November 1799, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Aug. 14, 1800, no. 38, published by John R. Parrington, with the title of "The Guardian of Liberty and Huntingdon Chronicle."

Mrs. B. F. Africa, Harrisburg, has Aug. 14, 1800.

Huntingdon Intelligencer, 1813-1814.

Weekly. Established in September, 1813, by James Barbour, with the title of "Huntingdon Intelligencer." In October 1814, the name was changed to "Huntingdon Republican," without change of volume numbering (J. S. Africa, "History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties," 1883, p. 60). No copy located.

Huntingdon Republican, 1814-1819.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "Huntingdon Intelligencer." The change of title occurred in October 1814, but the earliest issue located is that of July 18, 1816, vol. 3, no. 43, published by James Barbour, with the title of "Huntingdon Republican." The last issue was in August 1819 (J. S. Africa, "History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties," 1883, p. 60).

A. A. S. has:

1816. July 18.

[Huntingdon] Republican Advocate, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 10, 1820, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Dec. 21, 1820, vol. 1, no. 20, published by Underwood and Mullan (—— Underwood and John Mullan), with the title of "Republican Advocate."

Juniata College, Huntingdon, has Dec. 21, 1820.

[Indiana] American, 1814-1820+.

Weekly. Established by James McCahan in 1814, with the title of the "American." The office was destroyed by fire in less than two years, but the paper was reestablished shortly afterwards, and was continued until after 1820("Indiana County," 1913, vol. 1, p. 428). No copy located.

[Lancaster] Americanische Staatsbothe, 1800-1820+.

Weekly. A continuation of "Der Deutsche Porcupein," without change of numbering. The first issue with the new title of "Der Americanische Staatsbothe, und Lancaster Anzeigs-Nachrichten" was that of Jan. 1, 1800, no. 105, published by Johann Albrecht and Co. (Albrecht and Jacob Lahn). Lahn died Jan. 23, 1801, and with the issue of Feb. 4, 1801, the paper was published by Johann Albrecht. Albrecht died Aug. 15, 1806, and with the issue of Aug. 20, 1806, the paper was published by Georg and Peter Albrecht. With the issue of Jan. 18, 1809, Anton Albrecht became the publisher. In 1811, the title was altered to "Americanischer Staatsbothe, und Lancaster Wochenschrift." The issue of Jan. 21, 1818, by mistake was numbered no. 492, instead of no. 942, and the error was not corrected until January 1819, when the proper numbering was resumed. At some time between Sept. 1, 1819 and Oct. 18, 1820, William Albrecht became the publisher and the title was shortened to "Americanischer Staatsbothe." It was so continued until after 1820.

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 29, 1800-Dec. 26, 1804; Jan. 1-Dec. 31, 1806; Jan. 6, Sept. 15, 1813; Sept.

3, 1817; Oct. 18, 1820. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has June 11, Aug. 13, Nov. 12, Dec. 3, 1800; May 10, Nov. 18, 1801; Apr. 14, June 16, 1802; Apr. 6, June 1, Nov. 16, Dec. 7, 1803; Mar. 21, Apr. 25, Nov. 21, 1804; May 29, 1805; June 9, Aug. 18, 1813; Aug. 10, Nov. 30, 1814; Feb. 1, May 3, July 19, Sept. 20, Dec. 20, 1815; Jan. 31, May 29, 1816; Apr. 30, June 25, Dec. 3, 31, 1817; Jan. 7, 1818; Mar. 18, July 22, Aug. 12, 1818; Mar. 17, May 19, Sept. 1, 1819. Lib. Congress has Jan. 30, 1805-Jan. 18, 1809. Hist. Soc. Penn. has Jan. 1, 1806-Dec. 26, 1810. A. A. S. has:

- 1800. Apr. 30.
- 1802. Feb. 17.
Mar. 24.
Sept. 29.
Nov. 17.
- 1803. Jan. 19, 26.
Feb. 16, 23.
Apr. 20, 27.
May 4^m.
July 6, 27.
Sept. 28.
Oct. 19.
- 1804. Jan. 4, 11.
Aug. 22.
Oct. 24.
Dec. 16.
- 1805. Jan. 16.
Feb. 20.
July 3.
Sept. 18.
- 1806. Mar. 26.
Apr. 16.
May 28.
July 23.
Aug. 20.
Dec. 24, 31.

1807. Feb. 11.
Mar. 18.
Apr. 15.
June 17, 24^m.
July 1, 8.
Aug. 19.
Sept. 9.
Oct. 7.
Nov. 25.
Dec. 2.
1810. Feb. 28.
Mar. 7, 14, 21, 28.
Apr. 4, 11, 25.
May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.
June 6, 13, 20, 27.
July 4, 11, 18, 25.
Aug. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29.
Sept. 5, 12, 26.
Oct. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
Nov. 7.
Extra: May 2.
1812. Jan. 29.
Feb. 5^m, 19.
July 8, 15, 29.
Nov. 18.
Dec. 2, 16.
1814. Jan. 19.
Aug. 31.
Nov. 16.
Dec. 28.
1815. Apr. 12, 26.
May 24^m.
June 14.
Oct. 25.
1816. Feb. 28.
Apr. 24.
July 3.
Aug. 7.

- Nov. 13.
Dec. 18. /
1817. Feb. 5^m.
May 22, 29^m.
June 11^m.
Dec. 10.
1818. Jan. 21.
Mar. 25.
Apr. 1.
June 17.
July 15^m.
1819. Apr. 28.
June 16.
July 7.

[Lancaster] Constitutional Democrat, 1805-1807.

Weekly. Established July 2, 1805, by John R. Mathews, with the title of "The Constitutional Democrat." The last issue located is that of Dec. 1, 1807, vol. 3, no. 23. Mathews advertised his press and type for sale in September 1810 (see "Lancaster Journal," Oct. 27, 1810), but did not mention his newspaper.

Penn. State Lib. has July 9, 1805-July 14, 1807.
Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has June 10, 17, July 1, 1806.
A. A. S. has:

1805. July 23.
1806. July 15.
Aug. 5.
1807. Nov. 10.
Dec. 1.

Lancaster Correspondent, 1799-1803.

Weekly. Established May 25, 1799, by Christian Jacob Hütter, with the title of "Der Lancaster Correspondent," replacing the Lancaster Wochenblatt. It was discontinued with the issue of Sept. 6, 1803, no. 225.

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has May 25, 1799-Sept. 6, 1803. Hist. Soc. Penn. has May 25, 1799-May 16, 1801.

Berks Co. Hist. Soc., Reading, has Feb. 22, 1800-Aug. 14, 1802.

[Lancaster] Deutsche Porcupein, 1798-1799.

Weekly. Established Jan. 3, 1798, by Johann Albrecht and Co., with the title of "Der Deutsche Porcupein und Lancaster Anzeigs-Nachrichten," succeeding Albrecht's other paper, the "Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung." The last issue was that of Dec. 25, 1799, no. 104, when the title was changed to "Der Americanische Staatsbothe."

Lib. Congress has Jan. 13, 1798-Dec. 25, 1799. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 26, 1798. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has June 19, Dec. 25, 1799.

[Lancaster] Free Press, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established May 10, 1819, by S[amuel] C. Stambaugh, with the title of "The Free Press." With the issue of Nov. 16, 1820, George Price acquired the paper and established a new volume numbering. Continued until after 1820.

Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has May 10, 1819-Nov. 2, 1820. Hist. Soc. Penn. has Aug. 12, Sept. 30, 1819; Mar. 9, 23, Apr. 27, June 29-July 13, 27, Aug. 3, 24, Sept. 7-Dec. 28, 1820. New Castle, Penn., Pub. Lib. has Nov. 16, 30-Dec. 14, 28, 1820.

Lancaster Gazette, 1752-1753, see Lancastersche Zeitung.

[Lancaster] Hive, 1803-1805.

Weekly. Established June 22, 1803, by Charles M'Dowell, with the title of "The Hive." It was of quarto size, paged, and was more of a magazine than a newspaper, but it contained marriage and death notices, and occasional local news. With the issue of Nov. 21, 1804, William Greear was admitted to partnership, the firm name becoming M'Dowell & Greear. The last issue located is that of June 12, 1805, vol. 2, no. 52. "The

Hive" was revived by William Greer, May 19, 1810, but strictly as a magazine, and hence not included in this Bibliography.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has June 22, 1803-May 29, 1805. Penn. State Lib. and Wis. Hist. Soc. have June 22, 1803-June 13, 1804. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 2, 1803. A. A. S. has:

1804. May 16, 30.
July 4.

[Lancaster] *Intelligencer*, 1799-1820+.

Weekly. Established July 31, 1799, by William & Robert Dickson, with the title of "The *Intelligencer*, & Weekly Advertiser." Robert Dickson died Sept. 12, 1802, and with the issue of Sept. 22, 1802, William Dickson became sole publisher. With the issue of July 21, 1810, the initial "The" was omitted from the title. The paper was so continued until after 1820.

Lancaster *Intelligencer* office has July 31, 1799-Dec. 30, 1820. Hist. Soc. Penn. has July 31, 1799-July 24, 1804; July 30, 1805-July 19, 1808; Jan. 15, 1814-Dec. 30, 1820, fair. Penn. State Lib. has July 31, 1799-July 26, 1803; Oct. 10-Dec. 26, 1812; June 20, 1818-Dec. 30, 1820. British Museum has Apr. 2, 1801-Aug. 25, 1802. Harvard has Dec. 14, 1802-Nov. 17, 1807, fair; June 28, 1808. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has June 4, 1800; Apr. 17, 1804; Jan. 10, 1809; June 29, Aug. 3, 1811. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 9, 1800; Aug. 15, 1809. Lib. Congress has Mar. 18, 1801; May 24, 1804; Apr. 9, Sept. 10, 24, 1805; Dec. 8, 1807; Jan. 20, 1810; Oct. 1, Dec. 17, 1814; Aug. 19, 1815. Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc., Norristown, has Mar. 15, 1803. Mass. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 28, 1809. N. J. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 4, 1812; Sept. 6, Dec. 6, 1817; July 18, 25, Sept. 19-Oct. 10, 31, Nov. 28, Dec. 5, 1818; Jan. 23, Feb. 6, 13, Mar. 6. Apr. 3, 10, May 1, 29, June 12, Aug. 28, Sept. 25-Oct. 16, Nov. 6, 20, 1819. A. A. S. has:

1800. July 9.

1803. Oct. 11.
Nov. 1, 8, 29.
Dec. 5, 20, 27.
Supplement: Nov. 1, 8.
1804. Jan. 10, 24, 31.
Feb. 7, 14, 21, 28.
Mar. 13, 27.
Apr. 3, 17, 24.
May 1, 8, 22.
June 5, 19, 26.
July 17.
Aug. 14.
Sept. 18.
Oct. 16, 30
Nov. 13.
Dec. 4, 18.
Supplement: May 24.
1805. Jan. 15, 22, 29.
Feb. 5, 19.
Mar. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Apr. 9, 16, 30.
May 14.
July 9, 30.
Aug. 6, 13, 20.
Oct. 1, 15, 22.
Nov. 26.
Dec. 3, 31.
Supplement: Mar. 26.
1806. Jan. 14.
Apr. 8, 22, 29.
May 6, 20, 27.
June 3, 17.
July 8, 22.
Aug. 5, 12, 19, 26.
Sept. 30.
Oct. 14, 21.
Nov. 11, 18, 25.
Dec. 2, 23, 30.

1807. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.
Supplement: Feb. 3.
Missing: Jan. 13, Feb. 17, May 12, June 9, July 14, 28, Sept. 15, 22, Oct. 13, Nov. 3.
1808. Feb. 23.
Mar. 29.
May 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
June 14, 21.
July 12.
Aug. 2, 30.
Sept. 6, 13, 20.
Supplement: Mar. 29.
1809. Jan. 3 to Dec. 30.
Mutilated: May 23.
Missing: Jan. 3, Mar. 21, Apr. 4, 11, July 4, 11, 25, Aug. 15, Sept. 5, Oct. 3, 10, 24, 31, Nov. 7, 21, 28, Dec. 2, 9.
1810. Jan. 6 to Dec. 29.
Supplement: May 12, 19.
Mutilated: June 2, Sept. 29.
Missing: Jan. 27, Aug. 4, 18, Oct. 27, Nov. 3, Dec. 1.
1811. Jan. 5 to Dec. 28.
Missing: Mar. 9, Apr. 27, May 4, June 8, 22, July 27, Aug. 17, 24, 31, Sept. 21, Oct. 19, Nov. 23, 30, Dec. 21.
1812. Jan. 4 to Dec. 26.
Extra: June 27.
Mutilated: Feb. 29.
Missing: May 16, 23, June 13, July 11, 25, Aug. 8, 29, Sept. 19, 26, Oct. 10, 24, Nov. 7, 14, 28, Dec. 26.
1813. Jan. 2 to Dec. 25.
Missing: Jan. 2, 9, Mar. 6, 13, June 5, July 17, Aug. 21, Nov. 27.

1814. Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.

Missing: Jan. 1, 8, Mar. 19, Apr. 9, 23,
July 9, 16, Aug. 20, Oct. 1.

1815. Jan. 7 to Dec. 30.

Mutilated: July 1.

Missing: Jan. 28, Feb. 4, Mar. 4, May 6,
20, 27, June 24, July 22, Aug. 12, 26,
Sept. 23, 30, Oct. 21, Nov. 11.

1816. Jan. 6 to Dec. 28.

Missing: Mar. 2, 16, May 4, June 1, 8,
Aug. 24.

1817. Jan. 11, 18, 25.

Feb. 1, 8, 15, 22.

Mar. 1, 15, 22, 29.

Apr. 5, 12, 19.

Lancaster Journal, 1794-1820+.

Weekly, tri-weekly and semi-weekly. Established in June 1794, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of June 17, 1795, vol. 2, no. 1, published by Willcocks & Hamilton (Henry Willcocks and William Hamilton), with the title of "The Lancaster Journal." With the issue of July 1, 1796, the partnership was dissolved and William Hamilton became sole publisher. About January 1799, the title was shortened to "Lancaster Journal." With the issue of Aug. 23, 1815, the paper was changed from a weekly to a tri-weekly, and a new volume numbering was adopted. With the issue of Jan. 20, 1819, publication was changed to semi-weekly. With the issue of Jan. 7, 1820, the paper was sold to Huss & Brenner (John Huss and ——— Brenner), and was changed to a weekly. With the issue of July 7, 1820, John Reynolds became the publisher and continued the paper until after 1820.

Lancaster Intelligencer Office has June 17, 1795-June 2, 1798; June 14, 1800-May 12, 1815; Aug. 18, 1815-Dec. 29, 1820.

Harvard has Sept. 2, Nov. 27, 1795; Apr. 8, 1796 - Apr. 14, 1797, fair; Aug. 3, 1799; Aug. 22, Sept. 19, 26, Oct. 10, Nov. 28, Dec. 12-26, 1801; Jan. 16, Apr. 3, Oct. 16, 1802; June 25, July 2, Nov. 12, Dec. 24, 1803; Mar. 7, 10, 1804; Dec. 27, 1805; Feb. 20, June 5, Sept. 25, 1807; Mar. 18, 1808.

Univ. of Pittsburgh has June 21, July 8, 22, 29, Sept. 16, Nov. 4, 18, 25, Dec. 2, 23, 1796; Jan. 15, Feb. 24, Mar. 10 - Apr. 1, 28, May 5, 19, 26, 1797; Jan. 6, 20 - Feb. 3, 17, 24, Apr. 28, May 26, June 2, Sept. 29, Oct. 27 - Nov. 10, 24, 1798; Feb. 16, 23, Mar. 9, 23, June 1, 8, 29, Aug. 3, 17, 31, Sept. 14, 28, Oct. 9, 19 - Nov. 6, 23, Dec. 4 - 25, 1799.

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has June 6, 1799 - Nov. 12, 1803; Jan. 3, 1804 - Dec. 27, 1805; Apr. 24, 1807 - Dec. 24, 1819; Jan. 14, Feb. 4, Aug. 11, 1820.

Lib. Congress has June 6, 1799 - June 6, 1801; Apr. 25, May 9, 1806; Mar. 18, 1816; Apr. 17, 1817; Apr. 16, 1819.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Jan. 3, 1801 - Dec. 26, 1806, fair; June 26, 1807 - May 12, 1810; Oct. 13, 1810; Feb. 1, 1812 - July 28, 1815; Oct. 13, 16, 1815; Oct. 9, 1816; May 5, 12, June 23, Aug. 13, 15, 1817; Jan. 21, Feb. 2, May 29, Aug. 5, Sept. 30, Oct. 19, 1818; Jan. 1, 4, Feb. 5, 9, 26 - Mar. 12, 30, Apr. 6, July 23, Sept. 14, Oct. 19, 1819; Jan. 28 - Dec. 29, 1820, fair.

British Museum has Aug. 29, 1801 - Aug. 28, 1802.

Penn. State Lib. has Jan. 15 - Dec. 30, 1808; Jan. 14 - Dec. 3, 1813; Aug. 28, 1815 - Sept. 4, 1816.

Phil. Lib. Co. has July 15, 22, 1796. Wis. Hist. Soc. has July 18, 1817. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Jan. 22, 1819. A. K. Hostetter, Lancaster, has Oct. 2, 1816 - Dec. 10, 1817. A. A. S. has:

1797. Mar. 17.

1798. Jan. 27.

1803. Mar. 31.

1804. Feb. 4.

Mar. 3.

Extra: Feb. 1, 29, Mar. 7, 21.

1805. Apr. 5, 12.

1806. Feb. 21.
Mar. 7.
Apr. 18.
Oct. 10, 31.
Dec. 5, 12.
Supplement: Feb. 21, Oct. 10.
1809. Mar. 10.
Apr. 7.
1810. Jan. 29.
July 28.
Sept. 1.
Oct. 20, 27.
1811. Feb. 8.
Apr. 5, 12.
May 17.
1812. May 22.
Sept. 25.
1813. Jan. 14.
1815. May 5.
Oct. 13^m.
Dec. 18, 22.
1816. Jan. 26.
Feb. 28.
1818. May 18.

[Lancaster] *Landmanns Wochenblatt*, 1798-1799.

Weekly. Established in February 1798, by William Hamilton and Conrad Wortmann, with the title of "Das Landmanns Wochenblatt" (announcement of publication advertised in "The Lancaster Journal" of Jan. 27, 1798). In "Der Deutsche Porcupein" of Mar. 6, 1799, it is noticed that "Das Landmanns Wochenblatt" was discontinued on Feb. 19, 1799, after a life of only one year, and was succeeded by the Lancaster Wochenblatt (information supplied by James O. Knauss). No copies located.

[Lancaster] Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung, 1787-1797.

Weekly. Established Aug. 8, 1787, by Stierner, Albrecht and Lahn (Anton Stierner, Johann Albrecht and Jacob Lahn), with the title of "Neue Unpartheyische Lancaster Zeitung, und Anzeigs-Nachrichten." A Prospectus was issued, dated June 5, 1787. Anton Stierner died Apr. 12, 1788, and with the issue of Apr. 16, 1788, the paper was published by Albrecht and Lahn. Lahn retired and with the issue of Mar. 17, 1790, the firm name became Johann Albrecht and Co. The last issue located is that of Nov. 1, 1797, no. 536. It was succeeded, on Jan. 3, 1798, by "Der Deutsche Porcupein."

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 8, 1787-Aug. 7, 1793. Lib. Congress has Aug. 8, 1787-Jan. 12, 1791. Harvard has Oct. 3, 1787-Apr. 23, 1788, fair; Dec. 25, 1793. A. K. Hostetter, Lancaster, has Jan. 28, 1789-July 14, 1790, also prospectus of June 5, 1787. Penn. State Lib. has Sept. 1, 1790-July 25, 1792. N.Y. Hist. Soc. has Dec. 14, 1791; Apr. 18, 1792; Oct. 22, 1794; Apr. 20, 26, 1796; Nov. 1, 1797.

[Lancaster] Pennsylvania Farmer, 1812-1813.

Weekly. Established Aug. 26, 1812, by William Greer, with the title of "The Pennsylvania Farmer." With the issue of Sept. 16, 1812, Greer was succeeded by Jesse Kendall. The last issue located is that of Sept. 1, 1813, vol. 2, no. 2, and it was probably the last, as Kendall announced his inability to attend to the paper, because of sickness.

Carnegie Lib., Pittsburgh, has Aug. 26, 1812-Sept. 1, 1813. Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has June 2, 1813. A.A. S. has:

1812. Sept. 2.

[Lancaster] Pennsylvania Gazette, 1817-1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 12, 1817, by Hugh Maxwell, with the title of "The Pennsylvania Gazette," and so continued until after 1820.

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 12, 1817-Dec. 15, 1818. Lib. Congress has Jan. 11, 25, Feb. 8, 15, 29, Mar. 14-28, 1820.

[Lancaster] Pennsylvania Packet, 1777-1778.

Weekly. Removed from Philadelphia because of the occupation of that city by the British army. The last issue at Philadelphia was that of Sept. 9, 1777, no. 304, entitled "Dunlap's Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser." The first issue at Lancaster was that of Nov. 29, 1777, entitled "The Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser," published by John Dunlap. Neither this or the subsequent Lancaster issues bore volume numbering. The next issue was that of Dec. 3, 1777, and the paper was then published weekly to June 17, 1778. This was the last issue at Lancaster. The British evacuated Philadelphia, June 18, and on July 4, 1778, Dunlap brought out his paper again at Philadelphia. See under Philadelphia.

Lib. Congress has Nov. 29, 1777-June 17, 1778. Phil. Lib. Co. has Nov. 29, Dec. 17, 1777-June 17, 1778. Hist. Soc. Penn. has Dec. 17, 1777; Feb. 11, Apr. 1, May 6, 13, 27, June 17, 1778. N. Y. Pub. Lib. has Jan. 21, 28, Apr. 15, May 6-27, June 10, 17, 1778. Penn. State Lib. has Feb. 18-May 20, June 3, 6, 10, 1778. Wis. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 18, May 6, 20, 23, 27, June 6, 1778. Mass. Hist. Soc. has Feb. 11, 1778. A. A. S. has:

1777. Dec. 3, 24.

1778. Jan. 21.

Feb. 11, 18, 25.

Mar. 9, 18.

Apr. 8, 22.

May 6, 13^m, 27.

[Lancaster] Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-Blat, 1778.

Weekly. Established Feb. 4, 1778, by Frantz [Francis] Bailey, with the title of "Das Pennsylvanische Zeitungs-

Blat. The paper was discontinued with the issue of June 24, 1778, no. 21.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Feb. 4-June 24, 1778. Lib. Congress has Apr. 29, June 3, 24, 1778.

Lancaster Repository, 1806.

Weekly. Established Aug. 9, 1806, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Oct. 4, 1806, vol. 1, no. 9, printed by William Greear, with the title of "The Lancaster Repository." It was of quarto size, paged, and was more of a magazine than a newspaper, but it contained marriage and death notices, and occasional local news. The last issue located is that of Oct. 18, 1806, vol. 1, no. 11.

A. A. S. has:

1806. Oct. 4, 11, 18.

[Lancaster] Times, 1808-1810.

Weekly. Removed from Harrisburg to Lancaster, where it was continued under its former title of "The Times," with the issue of Apr. 8, 1808, vol. 1, no. 26, published by Hugh Hamilton. It was published at Lancaster until March, 1810, when it was discontinued there and moved back to Harrisburg, because of the removal of the seat of government to Harrisburg. The last Lancaster issue located is that of Mar. 17, 1810, vol. 3, no. 22. See under Harrisburg.

Penn. State Lib. has Apr. 8, 1808-Mar. 17, 1810. Dauphin Co. Hist. Soc., Harrisburg, has Apr. 8-Nov. 25, 1808.

[Lancaster] Volksfreund, 1808-1820+.

Weekly. Established Aug. 9, 1808, by Hamilton and Ehrenfried (William Hamilton and Joseph Ehrenfried), with the title of "Der Volksfreund." With the issue of Jan. 17, 1809, Peter Albrecht was added to the firm, which became Hamilton, Albrecht, and Ehrenfried. With the issue of Jan. 29, 1810, the firm name became Hamilton and Ehrenfried, and with Apr. 7, 1810, William Hamilton and

Co. In 1817, the paper was purchased by Johann Bär and Samuel Kling. The latter retired late in 1817, and Bär [John Bear] continued the paper until after 1820.

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Aug. 9, 1808-July 19, 1813; Aug. 9, 1814- Aug. 29, 1815; June 23, Sept. 8, 1818.

A. A. S. has:

1810. June 15.

July 13.

1820. Oct. 17.

[Lancaster] Wahre Amerikaner, 1804-1820+.

Weekly. Established Nov. 10, 1804, by Henrich and Benjamin Grimler, with the title of "Der Wahre Amerikaner." It was a paper of quarto size. Henry Grimler died in 1814 (Seidensticker "German Printing in America", p. 191), and Benjamin Grimler became sole publisher, and continued the paper until after 1820.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Nov. 10, 1804-Dec. 28, 1811.

A. A. S. has:

1805. Nov. 23.

1810. June 16.

Lancaster Wochenblatt, 1799.

Weekly. Established Feb. 26, 1799, succeeding "Das Landmanns Wochenblatt." In May 1799, it was succeeded by "Der Lancaster Correspondent" (see "Der Deutsche Porcupein," Lancaster, July 21, 1799). No copies located.

Lancastersche Zeitung, 1752-1753.

Bi-weekly. Established Jan. 15, 1752, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Jan. 29, 1752, no. 2, published by H. Müller and S. Holland, with the title of "Die Lancastersche Zeitung." It was a bilingual paper, with alternate columns of German and English, and bore also the English title of "The Lancaster Gazette" and the names of H. Miller and S. Holland in English. The publishers were Henry Miller and Samuel

Holland (see I. Thomas, "History of Printing," ed. 1874, vol. 1, pp. 254, 286). At some time between February and June 1752, Miller retired and the paper was published by S. Holland. The last issue located is that of June 5, 1753, no. 31.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Jan. 29, June 16, July 28, Aug. 11, Oct. 3, 1752; June 5, 1753.

[Landisburg] Perry Forester, 1820+.

Weekly. Established July 12, 1820, by H[] W. Peterson and Alexander Magee, with the title of "Perry Forester," and so continued until after 1820 (S. Wright, "History of Perry County," 1873, p. 277). No copy located.

Lebanon Courier, 1819-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 15, 1819, judging from a copy seen in 1901, and dated Jan. 8, 1820, vol. 1, no. 15, published by George Hanke (Publications of Lebanon Co. Hist. Soc., vol. 1, p. 398). It was continued until after 1820. No copy located.

[Lebanon] Freymüthige Libanoner, 1807-1808.

Weekly. Established Jan. 1, 1807, by Jacob Schnee, with the title of "Der Freymüthige Libanoner." It was discontinued with the issue of Nov. 30, 1808, no. 100, when it was sold to Jacob Stöver, who established "Der Libanoner Morgenstern" in its place.

Penn. State Lib. has Jan. 1, 1807-Nov. 30, 1808.

[Lebanon] Libanoner Morgenstern, 1808-1820+.

Weekly. Established by Jacob Stöver and Co., Dec. 7, 1808, with the title of "Der Libanoner Morgenstern," succeeding "Der Freymüthige Libanoner" published by Jacob Schnee, but adopting a new volume numbering. With the issue of Dec. 28, 1808, however, Jacob Schnee was again given as the publisher and the earlier volume numbering resumed. The next issue located is that of Aug. 30, 1817, no. 558, published by Jacob Stöver, there-

fore when Schnee finally discontinued his connection with the paper cannot be told. It was continued by Stöver until after 1820.

Penn. State Lib. has Dec. 7-28, 1808; Aug. 30, 1817.

[Lebanon] Unpartheyische Berichte, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 1, 1816, by Joseph Hartman with the title of "Der Unpartheyische Berichte," and so continued until after 1820 (W. H. Egle, "History of Counties of Dauphin and Lebanon," 1883, pt. 2, p. 148). No copy located.

[Lewistown] Juniata Gazette, 1811-1820+.

Weekly. Established in 1811 by James Dickson and William P. Elliott. The earliest issue located is that of Apr. 14, 1815, vol. 4, no. 19, published by Dickson & Elliott, with the title of "Juniata Gazette." In 1815, Elliott retired and Dickson became sole publisher. In November 1818, William Mitchell became the publisher and slightly altered the title to "The Juniata Gazette." In December 1819, he adopted a new volume numbering, beginning with his ownership of the paper, and resumed the former title "Juniata Gazette." Continued until after 1820.

A. A. S. has:

1815. Apr. 14.

May 19^m.

1819. Apr. 2, 9, 20.

1820. Jan. 11^m.

[Lewistown] Mifflin Gazette, 1796.

No copy of this paper has been located, and it is known through a vote in the Mifflin County records, May 18, 1796, authorizing a payment to Joseph Charles for publishing certain advertisements in the Mifflin Gazette ("History of Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys," 1886, v. 1, p. 507).

[Lewistown] Monitor, 1798.

Weekly. Established Nov. 3, 1798, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of Dec. 22, 1798, vol. 1, no. 8, published by John Doyle, with the title of "The Monitor of Mifflin & Huntingdon."

Mrs. B. F. Africa, Harrisburg, has Dec. 22, 1798.

[Lewistown] Western Star, 1800-1813.

Weekly. Established Nov. 27, 1800, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Feb. 12, 1801, vol. 1, no. 12, published by Edward Cole, with the title of "The Western Star." The "History of Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys," 1886, vol. 1, p. 508, states that it was established Nov. 26, 1800, by Edward Cole and John Doyle, that the latter retired Jan. 22, 1801, and that Cole continued the paper until about 1805, when his office was destroyed. The last issue located is that of Sept. 23, 1805, vol. 5, no. 29. The paper is included in the 1810 list of newspapers, under Lewistown, with Edward Cole given as publisher (I. Thomas, "History of Printing," ed. 1874, v. 2, p. 300). In the Harrisburg "Pennsylvania Republican" of Mar. 8, 1814, is the record of the death of Edward Cole, Dec. 13, 1813, aged 35, editor of the "late Western Star, of Lewistown."

Lib. Congress has Feb. 12, 1801; Jan. 16, 1804; Sept. 23, 1805. A. A. S. has:

1801. Feb. 19.

Oct. 30.

1802. Jan. 1 to Dec. 28.

Mutilated: June 11.

Missing: Jan. 29, May 21, Oct. 1, Dec. 21.

1803. Jan. 4, 18, 25^m.

1804. Aug. 20^m.

Marietta Pilot, 1813-1818.

Weekly. Established Nov. 23, 1813, by John Huss, with the title of "The Marietta Pilot." He continued as

publisher at least until Feb. 28, 1817. The next issue located, and also the last, is that of Jan. 3, 1818, vol. 4, no. 43, edited by William Peirce.

Lancaster Co. Hist. Soc. has Nov. 30, 1813-Feb. 28, 1817. Harvard has May 17, 24, June 14, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1818. Jan. 3.

[Marietta] Village Chronicle, 1820.

In the "York Recorder" of Aug. 16, 1820, is a reference to "The Village Chronicle, a paper published at Marietta." According to Ellis and Evans, "History of Lancaster County," 1883, p. 632, the publisher of this paper was William Peirce. No copy, however, has been located.

[Meadville] Crawford Democrat, 1809-1813.

In the Harrisburg "Pennsylvania Republican" of Mar. 8, 1814, is a notice of the death of Edward Cole, on Dec. 13, 1813, aged 35 years, editor of the "Crawford Democrat" of Meadville. No copy of a paper with this title has been located. J. G. White's "History of Mercer County," 1909, vol. 1, p. 217, states that Jacob Herrington from 1809 to 1811 published a paper at Meadville in opposition to the Crawford Weekly Messenger, and then removed to Mercer, where he established the "Western Press". It is possible that the paper referred to was the "Crawford Democrat."

[Meadville] Crawford Weekly Messenger, 1805-1820+.

Weekly. Established Jan. 2, 1805, by Atkinson & Brendle (Thomas Atkinson and William Brendle), with the title of "The Crawford Weekly Messenger." With the issue of July 10, 1805, Thomas Atkinson became sole publisher and continued the paper until after 1820.

John E. Reynolds, Meadville, has Jan. 2, 1805-Dec. 26, 1820. Lib. Congress has Apr. 14, 1808; Aug. 29, 1812; Apr. 16, June 27, 1818; Dec. 24, 1819. Allegheny

College, Meadville, has July 29-Sept. 2, 1815; Jan. 20, 1816-Dec. 26, 1820, fair. A. A. S. has:

- 1810. Aug. 20, 27.
- 1816. Oct. 26.
Nov. 3, 22.
Dec. 6.
- 1817. Jan. 3, 10, 17, 24, 31.
Feb. 14, 21.
Aug. 1.
- 1819. Dec. 17.
- 1820. Jan. 28.
June 23.
July 14.
Dec. 26.

[Meadville] *Western Standard*, 1820.

Established by Joseph D. Lowry in 1820, ("History of Crawford County," 1885, p. 429). No copy located.

[Meansville] *Bradford Gazette*, see under Towanda.

[Mercer] *Western Press*, 1811-1820+.

Weekly. Established Feb. 21, 1811, by Jacob Herrington, with the title of "The Western Press," and continued by him until after 1820 (see J. G. White, "History of Mercer County," 1909, v. 1, p. 217).

Hist. Soc. Western Penn., Pittsburgh, has Apr. 3, 1812. A. A. S. has:

- 1817. Mar. 25.
- 1819. Jan. 21.

[Mifflinburg] *Advocate of the Union*, 1815-1816.

"The Advocate of the Union" was published at Mifflinburg, in Union County, in 1816, by Hugh Maxwell (see J. B. Linn, "History of Centre and Clinton Counties," 1883, p. 56). It was discontinued Sept. 27, 1816, "after a lingering illness of one year and seven months" (J. B.

Linn, "Annals of Buffalo Valley," 1877, p. 433). No copy located. It is also stated by Mr. Linn that Andrew Kennedy commenced a paper in 1814, but sold out to Henry Shaup in 1815, although the title of the paper is unknown ("Annals of Buffalo Valley," p. 418).

[Mifflintown]

A newspaper, the name of which is now unknown, was established by Michael Duffey about 1794 and discontinued presumably in 1797 ("History of Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys," 1886, v. 1, p. 722).

[Mifflintown] *Mifflin Advocate*, 1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 6, 1820, by David McClure, according to a copy of no. 16 ("History of Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys," 1886, v. 1, p. 722). No copy now located.

[Mifflintown] *Mifflin Eagle*, 1817 - 1820+.

Weekly. Established by Andrew Gallagher in the spring of 1817, and continued by him until after 1820 ("History of Susquehanna and Juniata Valleys," 1886, v. 1, p. 722). No copy located.

[Milton] *Miltonian*, 1816-1820+.

Weekly. Established Sept. 21, 1816, by Henry Frick, with the title of "The Miltonian," and so continued until after 1820.

Miltonian office has Sept. 21, 1816-Dec. 1820, scattering file. A. A. S. has:

1816. Sept. 21.

[Monmouth] *Bradford Gazette*, see under Towanda.

Montrose Gazette, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of "The Susquehannah Centinel." The first issue with the title of "Montrose Gazette" was that of

May 16, 1818, vol. 3, no. 13, published by Justin Clark. It was so continued until after 1820.

N. Y. Hist. Soc. has May 16-30, June 13, Aug. 18, 1818. Wyoming Hist. Soc. has July 25, Oct. 24, Nov. 28, Dec. 19, 1818; Mar. 6, June 12, July 10, 17, Oct. 2, Nov. 20, 27, Dec. 18, 1819; Feb. 19, Aug. 5-19, Sept. 2, 23, 30, 1820.

A. A. S. has:

1818. May 23.
Oct. 10^m.

1819. May 22^m.
July 10.

[Montrose] *Messenger*, 1820+.

Weekly. Established June 24, 1820, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Aug. 12, 1820, vol. 1, no. 5, published by Adam Waldie, with the title of "The Messenger." Continued until after 1820.

Wyoming Hist. Soc. has Aug. 12, Sept. 2, 9, 23, 30, 1820. Lafayette College has Sept. 9, 1820.

[Montrose] *Susquehannah Centinel*, 1816-1818.

Weekly. Established Feb. 20, 1816, by Justin Clark, with the title of "The Susquehannah Centinel." It was discontinued under this title May 9, 1818, vol. 3, no. 12, and was succeeded by the "Montrose Gazette," without change of volume numbering.

Lafayette College has Feb. 20, 1816. Wyoming Hist. Soc., Wilkesbarre, has Mar. 12, 1816; Mar. 29, 1817; Mar. 28, 1818. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has Apr. 25-May 9, 1818. A. A. S. has:

1817. Apr. 19.

May 3, 24^m, 31^m.

July 12.

Aug. 16, 23.

Oct. 4, 18^m.

Nov. 1, 8, 22, 29.

1818. Jan. 24, 31st.

Feb. 28.

Mar. 21.

[Nescopeck] **Independent American**, see under Berwick.

[New Berlin] **Union**, 1815-1817.

In J. B. Linn's "Annals of Buffalo Valley," 1877, pp. 418, 432, it is stated that Henry Shaup established a newspaper at New Berlin in 1815, referred to in 1816 as the "Union." No copy located.

[Newtown] **Farmers' Gazette**, 1805-1814.

Weekly. Established Oct. 10, 1805, by William B. Coale, with the title of "Farmers' Gazette and Bucks County Register," and continued for about ten years (W. W. H. Davis, "History of Bucks Co.," 1905, vol. 2, p. 314). No copy located.

[Newtown] **Herald of Liberty**, 1814-1815.

Weekly. Established in April 1814, judging from the date of the first and only issue located, that of June 21, 1815, vol. 2, no. 61, published by David A. Robinson, with the title of "Herald of Liberty."

Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., Doylestown, has June 21, 1815.

[Newtown] **Star of Freedom**, 1817-1818.

Weekly. Established May 21, 1817, with the title of "The Star of Freedom," printed for Asher Miner, by Simeon Siegfried. It was of quarto size, with eight pages to the issue. It was discontinued with the issue of Mar. 25, 1818, vol. 1, no. 45.

Bucks Co. Hist. Soc., Doylestown, has May 28, 1817-Mar. 25, 1818. Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc., Norristown, has Aug. 6-Nov. 5, 1817.

Norristown Gazette, 1799-1800.

Weekly. Established June 15, 1799 (with a preliminary free issue on June 1) by David Sower, with the title

of "The Norristown Gazette." The last issue located is that of May 30, 1800, vol. 1, no. 51, and in October 1800, Sower replaced the paper with the "Norristown Herald."

Hist. Soc. Penn. has June 1, 1799-May 30, 1800. Lib. Congress has Oct. 4-25, Nov. 22-Dec. 6, 1799; Jan. 31, Feb. 7, 21, 28, Mar. 21-May 2, 16, 23, 1800.

Norristown Herald, 1800-1820+.

Weekly. Established Oct. 10, 1800, by David Sower, with the title of "Norristown Herald, and Weekly Advertiser." With the issue of Apr. 13, 1809, David Sower transferred the paper to his son Charles Sower. With the issue of Oct. 15, 1812, Matthias Coats became the publisher, and in 1815 he was succeeded by Samuel Ladd. With the issue of July 10, 1816, David Sower, Jun., acquired the paper and continued it until after 1820.

Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc., Norristown, has Oct. 10, 1800-Dec. 28, 1804; July 10, 1816-Dec. 27, 1820. Hist. Soc. Penn. has Oct. 17, 1800-Mar. 23, 1815, fair. Phil. Lib. Co. (Locust St.) has May 28, 1802-Mar. 14, 1811. N. Y. Hist. Soc. has May 25, 1804. Schwenkfelder Hist. Soc., Pennsburg, has June 30, July 7, 1814. A. A. S. has:

1808. June 24.

Norristown Register, 1803-1804.

Weekly. Established Sept. 22, 1803, by James Winnard, with the title of "Norristown Register." In 1804, the title was changed, but continuing the volume numbering, to "The Weekly Register," which see.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Mar. 15, 1804. A. A. S. has:

1803. Sept. 22.
Oct. 6^m.

[Norristown] True Republican, 1800-1803.

Weekly. Established Nov. 28, 1800, judging from the date of the earliest issue located, that of Jan. 2, 1801, vol., 1, no. 6, published by Wilson & Palm, (Thomas Wilson

and —— Palm), with the title of "The True Republican." With the issue of Aug. 28, 1801, the partnership was dissolved and Thomas Wilson became sole publisher. In 1802, the title was changed to "The True Republican and Weekly Journal." The last issue located is that of May 6, 1803, vol. 3, no. 13.

Hist. Soc. Penn. has Jan. 2, June 4, July 24, Sept. 4, 11, Nov. 20, 1801; Nov. 20, Dec. 4, 21, 1802; Jan. 4, 11, 25 - Mar. 1, 29 - Apr. 12, 29, May 6, 1803. Lib. Congress has May 24, 1801. Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc. has Mar. 1, 1803.

[Norristown] Weekly Register, 1804 - 1820+.

Weekly. A continuation, without change of volume numbering, of the "Norristown Register." The change of title occurred in 1804, but the earliest issue located with the new title is that of Apr. 11, 1805, vol. 2, no. 82, published by James Winnard, with the title of "The Weekly Register." The paper was continued by Winnard until after 1820.

Montgomery Co. Hist. Soc., Norristown, has Apr. 11, 1805; June 3, 1807; Sept. 23, Oct. 14, Dec. 2, 1812; May 26, 1813; Feb. 9, July 6, 1814; Jan. 25, May 10, 1815; Mar. 6, Dec. 18, 1816; Feb. 19, Aug. 20, 1817; Mar. 25, 1818; Oct. 25, 1820. A. A. S. has:

1810. June 6.

1812. Jan. 22.

Feb. 12, 26^m.

1816. Oct. 9.

[Northumberland] Columbia Gazette, 1813.

Established Nov. 2, 1813, by George Sweney, with the title of "Columbia Gazette." No copies located and not known how long issued (J. B. Linn, "Annals of Buffalo Valley," 1817, p. 416).

[Northumberland] Kennedy's Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette, see Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette.

[Northumberland] Nordwestliche Post, 1818-1820+.

Weekly. Established in 1818, succeeding "Der Northumberland Republikaner," published by John G. Youngman, and continued after 1820 (H. C. Bell, "History of Northumberland County," 1891, p. 279). No copy located.

[Northumberland] Republican Argus, 1802-1812.

Weekly. Established Dec. 24, 1802, by John Binns, with the title of "The Republican Argus, and County Advertiser." With the issue of Dec. 21, 1804, the title was altered to "The Republican Argus, and Weekly Advertiser," and with Dec. 18, 1805, to "The Republican Argus." Binns continued the paper until Mar. 11, 1807, vol. 5, no. 12, and then sold out to Matthew Huston. After an interval of three months, Matthew Huston resumed publication, June 3, 1807, starting a new volume numbering, but continuing the old title "The Republican Argus." Matthew Huston died Aug. 10, 1809, and was succeeded by his son, Andrew C. Huston. The last issue located is that of July 24, 1810, vol. 4, no. 5, but the paper was continued certainly as late as 1812.

Harvard has Dec. 24, 1802-Oct. 14, 1807, scattering file. Hist. Soc. Penn. has Jan. 7, 1803-Dec. 11, 1805. Lib. Congress has Apr. 6, 1804; July 19, 26, 1805. A. A. S. has:

- 1803. Jan. 14^m.
Feb. 4^m.
- 1804. May 18.
June 1, 8, 15, 22.
- 1807. June 3, 10, 17.
July 1, 8, 15, 22.
Aug. 5, 12, 26.
Oct. 5, 19.
- 1809. Oct. 4.
- 1810. Mar. 21.
Apr. 25^m.

May 2ⁿ, 23.

June 27.

July 4.

Northumberland Republikaner, 1812-1818.

Weekly. Established Aug. 12, 1812, by John G. Youngman, with the title of "Der Northumberland Republikaner." Files were extant in 1891 dating from August 1815 to January 1818. In 1818, the title was changed to "Nordwestliche Post" (H. C. Bell, "History of Northumberland County," 1891, p. 279). No copy located.

[Northumberland] Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette, 1792-1817.

Weekly. Established in June 1792, judging from a copy located in 1891 and dating Oct. 9, 1793, vol. 2, no. 71, published by Andrew Kennedy, with the title of "The Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette." Kennedy retired at some time between 1796 and 1799 and George Schusler was the publisher from 1799 to 1801. Andrew Kennedy resumed control in 1801 and changed the title to "Kennedy's Sunbury & Northumberland Gazette." In 1805, Andrew Kennedy took his nephew James into partnership and the firm name became Andrew & James Kennedy, but in 1806 or 1807, Andrew Kennedy again became sole publisher. In 1812, or possibly before, George Sweney was taken into partnership under the firm name of A. Kennedy & G. Sweney, and the title was changed to "The Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette, and Republican Advertiser." The last issue located is that of June 29, 1813, vol. 21, no. 49, and Sweney retired before November 1813. The paper is stated by local historians to have finally suspended in 1817 (see H. C. Bell, "History of Northumberland County," 1891, p. 273; J. B. Linn, "Annals of Buffalo Valley," 1877, pp. 416, 608.)

Harvard has Mar. 5, 1796. Lib. Congress has Dec. 28, 1799; Jan. 4, Dec. 20, 1800. Berks Co. Hist. Soc.,

Reading, has Oct. 20-Nov. 10, 1803; Dec. 10, 1805;
Feb. 2, 1808. A. A. S. has:

1804. Mar. 15.

1813. June 29.

[Perryopolis] Comet, 1817.

Established by William Campbell (F. Ellis, "History of Fayette County," 1882, p. 717). In the Brownsville "American Telegraph" of July 9, 1817, it is referred to as "The Comet, printed at Perryopolis." No copy located.

VOL. 30

NEW SERIES

151

PART 2

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN WORCESTER

OCTOBER 20, 1920



WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS U. S. A.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1921

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PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 20, 1920,
AT THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY, WORCESTER

THE annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society was held at Antiquarian Hall, on Wednesday, October 20, 1920, the meeting being called to order at 10.45 a. m. by President Lincoln.

There were present the following members:

Reuben Colton, Henry Herbert Edes, William Eaton Foster, Francis Henshaw Dewey, William Trowbridge Forbes, George Henry Haynes, Arthur Lord, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, George Parker Winship, Samuel Utley, Benjamin Thomas Hill, Clarence Winthrop Bowen, Clarence Saunders Brigham, Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt, Worthington Chauncey Ford, Julius Herbert Tuttle, Charles Grenfill Washburn, Samuel Bayard Woodward, George Hubbard Blakeslee, Wilfred Harold Munro, Henry Winchester Cunningham, Frank Farnum Dresser, George Francis Dow, Homer Gage, Herbert Edwin Lombard, Howard Millar Chapin, Samuel Eliot Morison, Grenville Howland Norcross, Thomas Hovey Gage, Otis Grant Hammond, John Whittemore Farwell, Rev. Henry Bradford Washburn, Leonard Wheeler, Alexander George McAdie, Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, George Anthony Gaskill, John Woodbury, Alfred Lawrence Aiken, John Henry Edmonds, Leonard Leopold Mackall, Samuel Lyman Munson, William Roscoe Thayer, Merrick Lincoln, George Leander Shepley, James Benjamin Wilbur.

The call for the meeting having been read by the Secretary, the reading of the records of the last meeting was dispensed with by vote of the Society and the records were approved.

The President then read the report of the Council; Dr. S. B. Woodward presented the printed report of the Treasurer; and Mr. Brigham read the report of the Librarian. It was moved by Mr. Thayer, and so voted, that these three reports be accepted as the report of the Council and referred to the Committee of Publication.

Election of officers and new members being next in order, the President appointed Messrs. Edes, Wilbur and Chapin to collect, sort and count the ballots for President. They reported that all ballots cast were for Waldo Lincoln. The committee on other officers, appointed by the President, were Messrs. Cunningham, Morison and Edmonds, and they reported the following names to be acted upon by the Society:

Vice-Presidents.

Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.
Clarence Winthrop Bowen, LL.D., of New York,
N. Y.

Councillors.

Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.
Samuel Utley, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass.
Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B., of Worcester,
Mass.
Francis Henshaw Dewey, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.
Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B., of Milton,
Mass.
George Parker Winship, Litt. D., of Dover, Mass.
William Howard Taft, LL.D., of New Haven, Conn.
George Hubbard Blakeslee, Ph.D., of Worcester,
Mass.
Henry Herbert Edes, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.
Clarence Saunders Brigham, A.M., of Worcester,
Mass.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

James Phinney Baxter, Litt. D., of Portland, Me.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence.

Worthington Chauncey Ford, Litt. D., of Cambridge, Mass.

Recording Secretary.

Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D., Litt. D., of Worcester, Mass.

Treasurer.

Samuel Bayard Woodward, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Committee of Publication.

George Henry Haynes, Ph.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Julius Herbert Tuttle, of Dedham, Mass.

John Henry Edmonds, of Boston, Mass.

Clarence Saunders Brigham, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Auditors.

Benjamin Thomas Hill, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

Homer Gage, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

The Secretary was authorized by vote to cast a yea ballot for the members so named and the President declared them elected. The oath of office was administered to the Secretary by Mr. Gaskill.

The President appointed Messrs. Norcross, McAdie and Gaskill a committee to collect the ballots for new members and this committee announced the unanimous election of the following:

Resident Members.

John Adams Aiken, of Greenfield, Mass.

William Gwinn Mather, of Cleveland, Ohio.

Fred Norris Robinson, of Cambridge, Mass.

Nathaniel Wright Stephenson, of Charleston, S. C.

Foreign Member.

Jorge M. Corbacho, of Lima, Peru.

Professor Blakeslee reported on the work accomplished by the graduate students at Clark University, selected to fill the American Antiquarian Society fellowship. He spoke strongly of the benefits to this Society which would follow the dissemination of a knowledge of our resources by these scholars, whose work had been done largely in the library of the Society.

There being no further business, the following papers were presented:

In the absence of Chief Justice Rugg, Mr. Dresser read his paper entitled, "The Case between Richard Sherman and Capt. Robert Keayne, 1642."

Dr. Nichols read a paper on "The Portraits of Isaiah Thomas." In connection with the paper he presented a pastel portrait of Mr. Thomas, in his name and that of Mr. Leonard C. Couch of Taunton, to whom the picture descended from Isaiah Thomas himself, through his grand-daughter Hannah, who was the grandmother of Mr. Couch.

Mr. Arthur Lord read a paper on "The Mayflower Compact." Mr. Munro, in congratulating the Society on this important paper, said that it should be widely read because of the large amount of misinformation on the subject of the Pilgrims which is being disseminated at this time by inaccurate articles.

Mr. T. Hovey Gage read a paper on "An Artist Index to Stauffer's American Engravers."

It was voted on motion of Mr. Edes, that these papers be referred to the Committee of Publication.

The President invited the members to lunch with him at his residence, 49 Elm Street, at the close of the meeting. There being no further business the meeting was dissolved.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE Council has to report the deaths of four resident members and of one foreign member. Thomas McAdory Owen, LL.D., of Montgomery, Alabama, died at Montgomery, March 25, 1920, but the fact of his death was not known to the Council until after the April meeting. James Schouler, LL.D., of Intervale, New Hampshire, died at his home, April 16, 1920. Both these gentlemen were elected to membership in the Society in October, 1907. William Denison Lyman, A.M., of Walla Walla, Washington, who was elected to the Society in April 1902, died June 21, 1920. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, Litt.D., of New Haven, Connecticut, who has been a member since April, 1879, and was at the time of his death the senior member of the Society, died in New Haven, August 13. From 1885 to 1897, he was a councillor and from 1897 to 1912 he was secretary of foreign correspondence, thus serving as a member of the Council for twenty-seven years and always a faithful attendant of its meetings. He withdrew from office to the great regret of his fellow councillors, but maintained his interest in the Society to the last. During his long membership he furnished seven papers to the Society's Proceedings, the last in 1917. Brief memoirs of these members will be prepared for publication in the Proceedings. The only death of a foreign member which has been reported is that of Samuel Alexander Lafone Quevedo, M. A., of La Plata, Argentine Republic, which occurred June 18, last. Señor Quevedo was Director of the Museum and Professor of Languages in the Faculty of Natural Sciences in the University of La Plata, and Professor

of Languages and American Archaeology in the University of Buenos Aires. He received the degree of M. A. at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1858 and was elected to this Society in 1910.

The death of Franklin Pierce Rice, chairman of the committee of publication threw much additional work on our already overburdened librarian, and this with the labor troubles common to all printing offices caused a much regretted but unavoidable delay in the publication of the Proceedings. In this emergency Mr. George Henry Haynes, the senior member of the committee, consented to take charge of the printing for a time at least, and the result is such that it is hoped that Mr. Haynes will continue in this important work. The number for last October has already been distributed to the members and that for last April is so far advanced that it will be ready for distribution before the end of the year.

Under the authority granted by the Society at the April meeting the dome of the building has been covered with copper and the interior of the dome has been repainted at a cost of \$4,389.30 which has been added to the cost of the building. The work was well and satisfactorily done by the Clason Architectural Metal Works of Providence, Rhode Island, upon the recommendation of the J. W. Bishop Company of Worcester, the original contractors for the building. At the same time it was discovered that the whole roof, on which no repairs had been made for ten years, needed immediate attention, and that the upper part of the walls and all the joints in the marble trimmings needed repointing to save the walls from disintegration which had already begun. A contract was made with the Clason company to cover all the flat roofs with two thicknesses of tarred paper and a top coating of broken slag and the J. W. Bishop Company were ordered to do the necessary repointing. - All this work was completed early in the summer at a total cost of \$2,278.74. Of this \$1,031.40 has been met from this

year's income and the balance temporarily charged to Building Account. The whole roof is in consequence completely water tight for the first time since the completion of the building and in better condition than ever, and in consequence of the covering of light colored slag, which reflects the sun's heat rays, all the upper rooms are much cooler in summer than heretofore.

The attention of the Society has been repeatedly called by the Council to the pressing need for an addition to the stack, especially to that part devoted to newspapers. Of course with every year the need becomes more urgent and a beginning has at last been made towards satisfying it by the establishment of a Building Fund which already amounts to over ten thousand dollars and to which all members are earnestly invited to contribute. It is designed to let this Fund accumulate by the addition of gifts and annual interest until sufficient to pay the cost of the proposed addition. This cost now, it is estimated, would require one hundred thousand dollars, but it is hoped that the expense of building will be so far reduced in the course of a year or two that a much smaller sum will suffice and the work will be commenced as soon as the Fund is large enough to warrant it. The Fund was started by the liberality of a citizen of Worcester, not a member of the Society, Mr. David Hale Fanning who, on the presentation of the Society's needs by Mr. Clarence W. Bowen, generously gave five thousand dollars to be devoted to the preservation and maintenance of the newspaper collection, Mr. Bowen agreeing to raise an equal amount from other friends and members of the Society. Your president in acknowledging Mr. Fanning's gift stated that the whole ten thousand dollars would form the nucleus of a building fund for an addition to the stack, to enable the Society to house and preserve its collection of newspapers. Mr. Bowen reports that he has already received subscriptions for the five thousand

dollars which he agreed to raise, part of which has already been paid and the rest will be paid next year, and all members will be asked to contribute to this fund during the coming year, making the payments to suit their own convenience either in full or by installments. It is proper to state that Mr. Fanning's gift is the largest sum of money ever given to the Society by a non-member.

This being the three hundredth anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, it may be interesting and profitable to recall what was done by this Society one hundred years ago to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary. The records of the sub-council contain the report of a committee which shows that that body had the subject in mind as early as January 15, 1819, when the committee was appointed, but the attention of the Society was not called to it until the annual meeting in 1820. The report is as follows:

Your committee, appointed to take into consideration the expediency of a publick commemoration of the landing of our Forefathers at the close of the second century since that auspicious event, have attended to that service, & beg leave to report.

The close of the second century since the landing of our Forefathers is a period, which peculiarly invites to a review of the rise, progress and final establishment of our Commonwealth. The little band of Pilgrims has become a numerous & powerful people. We are now in the possession of every blessing which renders a country dear, and life valuable. Our present state of high prosperity cannot be traced to any extraneous assistance which the first settlers of our country received from foreign nations; nor will it be found to originate in any peculiar qualities of our country itself. Our ancestors were persecuted refugees from the old world; and they without assistance encountered with the dangers of the wilderness, & the difficulties of a severe climate & a stubborn soil. To the discriminative characters of our forefathers, and to the institutions & habits which they transmitted are we to look for the causes of our present situation. The series of events thro' the last two hundred years fully display the legitimate effects of the principles of the men who laid the foundation of our Commonwealth.

Plymouth bears the traces of the first footsteps of our venerated ancestors; *there*, our retrospection of past events may be made with the most delightful emotion; *there*, the debt of gratitude to the fathers of our country will be felt with the greatest animation & warmth.

Therefore resolved,

That a committee be appointed to write to the Society of the Pilgrims in Plymouth, proposing an united celebration of the 20th of December 1820 in that town, by them and the American Antiquarian Society, in commemoration of the landing of our Forefathers.

All which is humbly submitted

(signed) Aaron Bancroft

Worcester February 1st 1819.

The minutes of the sub-council, which have never been printed, furnish the following:

Feb. 1, 1819. Voted: that the President and Rev. Dr. Bancroft, vice-president with the Hon. Levi Lincoln, Jun., be a committee to make a communication to the Society (of the Pilgrims) at Plymouth on the subject.

March 2, 1819. Voted: that the President be requested to address a note to Barnabas Hedge Esq^r of Plymouth desiring him to transfer to the selectmen of that town the communication of this board, recently made, proposing to unite with the Pilgrim Society in celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of the Landing of our Ancestors.

June 7, 1819. The President reported that—he had addressed the following letter to Barnabas Hedge of Plymouth:

Worcester June 3^d 1819

The government of the American Antiquarian Society have been favoured with your answer to a Letter addressed to you by their Committee respecting a union with the Gentlemen in Plymouth in the Celebration of the two hundredth anniversary or fourth jubilee, of the Landing of our Ancestors in New England; and as you have informed the said Committee that there is no particular Society which conducts the proceedings on such anniversaries, but that they are usually regulated by the Selectmen of Plymouth; and, as the Government of the American Antiquarian Society have not the pleasure of an acquaintance with those gentlemen, I am requested by the Officers of said Society to desire you to have the goodness to transfer the Letter, some time since address'd to you by the Committee before mentioned, to your board of Selectmen, who are respectfully requested to consider said letter as addressed

to them, and when convenient to favour the officers of this Institution with their opinion on this highly interesting subject.

I am Sir
Barnabas Hodge, Esq.

Your obedient servant
Isaiah Thomas

No reply to this letter is on file or mentioned in the minutes, and nothing further was done about the celebration until July 24, 1820, when two letters were communicated from the Corresponding Secretary of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth and it was voted that the Corresponding Secretary acknowledge the receipt of the above letters and communicate the following vote:

At a meeting of the President, first vice-president and sub-council of the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, July 24, 1820, Voted: that the Corresponding Secretary acknowledge the receipt of the late communication from the Corresponding Sec^y of the Pilgrim Society, and express the congratulations of the officers of this institution upon the occasion of the organization of that Society; and cordial approbation of their proposed arrangements for the celebration at Plymouth of the completion of the Second Century from the landing of our Forefathers; and our confident expectations that the American Antiquarian Society will have the honor of participating in the pleasure of the Festival, by a delegation of its members duly authorized at the annual meeting in October next.

Only one of the two letters mentioned in the foregoing record is on file, but it is quite evident that the other one was an announcement of the organization of the Pilgrim Society. The letter on file is as follows:

Isaiah Thomas Esq^r.
Rev^d Aaron Bancroft, D.D.
Levi Lincoln Esq^r.

Plymouth, July 10, 1820

Gentlemen,

The completion of the second century since the first permanent settlement of New England, by the Pilgrims, will be commemorated at Plymouth, by the Pilgrim Society, on the twenty-second of December next.

An address before the Society, may be expected on this interesting occasion, by the Hon-Daniel Webster of Boston.

It is a vote of the trustees, "that the government of the American Antiquarian Society, be duly notified of these arrangements"—

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Isaiah Thomas Esq^r.
& others, a Com-
mittee of A-A-S

{ very respectfully,
Samuel Davis
Cor. Secy of the Pilgrim Society

At the annual meeting of the Society held Oct. 23, 1820, all the members were requested to attend the meeting of the Pilgrim Society on the 22nd of December if possible and the following gentlemen were appointed delegates: the President and Vice-Presidents, Hon. Edward H. Robbins, Rev. William Jenks, Rev. Charles Lowell, Benjamin Russell, Esq., Isaac Goodwin, Esq., Hon. Levi Lincoln, Hon. Oliver Fiske, Hon. Nathaniel Paine, Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Samuel Jennison, Esq., and Edward D. Bangs, Esq. From the minutes of the sub-council it is learned that the President, one of the Vice-Presidents, several members of the Council, other Officers and many members of the Society, met at Plymouth, and joined the Pilgrim Society of the place, and the officers and a number of the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in celebrating the anniversary of the landing of our Forefathers in Plymouth "Two Hundred Years Ago."

This was the first celebration under the auspices of the Pilgrim Society which was incorporated Feb. 24, 1820, and the exercises consisted of a public meeting at the meeting-house at which an address was delivered by Hon. Daniel Webster, a dinner at the Court House when Hon. Levi Lincoln offered the congratulations of the American Antiquarian Society, and a ball in the evening at the same place. Mr. Thomas records in his Diary: "A number of respectable Gentlemen from various towns, assembled at Plymouth, as well as many Ladies on this occasion—more than 300 Gentlemen dined together in the Court house built this year, and at a ball in the Evening, at the same place more than

400 Ladies and Gentlemen were present—Tickets for dinner 2 dols. tickets for the ball 3 dols.—Everything well conducted.”

The first building owned by the Society was dedicated one hundred years ago on the 24th of last August, with appropriate ceremonies. It was erected by Isaiah Thomas, the founder and first President entirely at his own expense and remained his property until his death, but in his will he gave the land and buildings to the Society on the express condition, that if the Society should at any time cease to use the building for its library and cabinet, then the whole estate should revert to Mr. Thomas's grandchildren and their heirs, a condition which proved very troublesome about twenty years later, when it became necessary for the Society to acquire a more commodious building. The lot whereon the building stood contained about one acre and was situated on the east side of Summer street, at the corner of what is now Belmont street but was then known as the Boston turnpike. Ground was broken for the building, May 31, 1819, and the work was finished August 9, 1820, when Mr. Thomas says in his Diary that he settled with the master workmen for the building. The total cost of the structure, without the land or fences or grading of the grounds, was \$6,763.84. There seems to have been no general contractor employed. Mr. Thomas speaks of visiting the lot with the master builders and several gentlemen to lay out the ground for the building, and he settled for the building with the master workmen as previously stated. These master workmen are nowhere named in Mr. Thomas's Diary nor in his cash accounts, unless Calvin Darby, to whom he paid \$227 in March, 1821, for stone work for the building, was the master mason.

Descriptions of the building are very meagre and unsatisfactory. No statement of its dimensions has been found, but from the engraving of it, first published on the map of Worcester in 1829, and from photo-

graphs of what remained of the front in 1910, it is seen to have been of brick, about fifty by thirty feet, of two stories, with a hip roof surmounted by a cupola. By counting the courses of bricks in the photograph it is estimated to have been twenty-three feet high between the stone underpinning and the roof, and the rooms were therefore about eleven feet in the clear. The front was relieved by two doric pilasters and four columns, all of wood, the four columns in advance of the face of the building by their diameters and upholding a doric entablature and pediment. This front furnished the motif of the classical façade of the present building. The following letter leaves little doubt that the building was designed by Peter Banner of Boston, but the plans could not have been very elaborate, judging from the modest sum asked for them.

Boston, Oct. 21, 1820.

Sir: I have expected you would have ordered the small Bill for Drawing the plan of a Building for the Antiquarian Society. I wrote the Treasurer about a month since at the desire of Mr. Andrews but have not received any answer the amount is six dollars & you will please oblige by sending an order by return of Post.

I am S^r yours,

Isaiah Thomas, Esq.

Peter Banner

Peter Banner's name appears in the Boston directories from 1805 to 1828 as an architect and builder. He is described as "an ingenious architect" of English birth of whom little is remembered. The Park Street Meeting-House was built from his designs and he is said to have done the carpenter work on it. He was also the builder of the Old South parsonage house in 1809, and the mansion of Eben Crafts on the northerly slope of Parker Hill in Roxbury was his work. A son of his is said to have been born in Worcester in 1834, so the father must have been living here then, but his name does not appear in the vital records. His father is said to have come to Boston from London in 1794 and Peter probably came at this same time.¹

¹Hist. of the the Old South Church, vol. ii, p. 343; Memorial Hist. of Boston, vol. iv, p. 476; Hist. of Washington, N. H., p. 293.

There are no floor plans of the building in existence and the following account which was first printed in the *New York Daily Advertiser* and copied in the *Rhode Island American* of August 20, 1824 furnishes the only available description of the interior.

"The building * * * is planned with great judgment and taste. It is situated on a broad street, a little removed from the centre of the town, where it is seen to great advantage, the view being obstructed by no neighbouring buildings; and the neat and chaste style in which it is constructed, together with the handsome access through a courtyard, give it an air well corresponding with the important literary objects to which it is devoted. On the first floor are several apartments intended for the reception of pamphlets, manuscripts, &c., for the use of the society which are already the depositories of such documents as have been collected since its formation. A large hall in the rear of the second story is devoted to the valuable library of curious and ancient books presented by Mr. Thomas, amounting to between 7 and 8000 volumes. * * * On requesting a view of the cabinet of curiosities and antiques, the stranger is informed that no admission has been allowed for more than a year. There are collected all the interesting specimens of minerals, arms, utensils, dresses, ornaments, &c. which have been forwarded to the society from different parts of the country, with which the world have been made acquainted through their publications; but on account of the confused situation in which they are allowed to remain, they are considered unfit for exhibition."

Presumably this cabinet was kept in one or more of the small rooms on the first floor, but it may have been kept in the front of the second floor. The large hall on the second floor where the "curious and ancient books presented by Mr. Thomas" were kept had alcoves on the east wall, for the construction of which Mr. Thomas contracted May 18, 1820, for \$300. Additional alcoves were constructed the following May, but no information is given as to their number or against which wall or walls they were built. This room was apparently used by the Society for its meetings and as the Worcester meetings until 1832 were usually held in summer no difficulty could have been found until then over the heating arrangements. That

these were unsatisfactory is evident from Mr. Thomas' will by which he leaves to the Society \$1,000 on condition that it erects a fireproof wing to the building. The cut shows three chimneys and another is concealed by the roof, and it is probable that there were open fireplaces in some of the rooms, but if there were they were evidently a source of worry to Mr. Thomas. Until Mr. Thomas's death there was no permanent attendant at the library and visitors were obliged to seek some member who could admit them to the building and, of course, remain with them during the visit. In 1826 the librarian, Mr. William Lincoln, reports: "the books are now disposed in appropriate and separate departments * * * specimens illustrating the antiquities and history of the country * * * have been placed in order on the shelves of cabinets previously procured for their reception. The whole collection is so placed in the rooms of the building * * * that each volume may be conveniently found * * * ."

After Mr. Thomas's death, the building being already too small for the collections, and Mr. Thomas's bequests to the Society furnishing the means, it was decided to erect two wings to the building, one of which was to be as fireproof as would meet Mr. Thomas's conditions. The wings were completed in 1831 and the committee in charge (Governor Levi Lincoln and Frederick W. Paine) reported on October 24:

"Your committee * * * have erected two wings each 28 feet long and 21 feet wide, and two stories high. The rooms will finish about nine feet in the clear. It would have been desirable to have had the rooms higher but the building would have been disfigured if the roof of the wings had been so high as to have run into the main roof. The wings are both covered with zinc. The rooms of the north wing communicate with the main building, by a wooden door in each floor. The lower floor of the south wing has access to the main building by an iron door. The chamber of that wing has no communication with it. One outside door of the main building will be closed up [this was presumably on the south side as no door

shows on the north side in the cut] and there will be only one outside door in the south wing."

The committee considered the south wing, while not strictly fire-proof more so than Mr. Thomas contemplated. They advised that a vane be place on the cupola. They thought that the whole expense would be \$1,400. In the following May the council authorized the building of fences and finishing the grounds and in October, 1832 the council reported that the cost of the two wings "will be about nineteen hundred and fifty dollars; one thousand dollars of which is provided for by the aforesaid legacy. The remainder must be met in such way as the Society shall direct." The report continues "the Council have the satisfaction to announce to the Society that the design of their late benefactor, Mr. Thomas, has been fulfilled in giving to the Librarian an apartment which is considered to be fire-proof, and by adding to the Hall a large apartment for books, which is already, in part, filled." On May 29, 1833, it was reported that "changes of the surface of the earth and of the fences * * * have been completed. The grounds have been surrounded with belts and groves of forest trees." The result of these changes is shown in the cut of the building which first appeared on the map of Worcester, dated 1833. A wood cut, which shows the iron fence and the "groves of forest trees" was printed in the Worcester Directory for 1858 with an advertisement of the Worcester Academy, which was then occupying the building, but an earlier wood-cut, showing a wooden fence and the belts of trees still immature, was printed in the "American Magazine of Useful Knowledge" for November, 1834. These wood-cuts show a chimney at the end of each wing and, like the late photograph, two chimneys on the south side of the main building.

The land on which the building was built proved to be full of springs and in consequence the books and papers suffered much from dampness, which in 1848, the librarian complained, pervaded the whole structure,

so that not only were the books injured but his own health was becoming seriously impaired. At the same time the shelves were overcrowded and the building in such a state of disrepair that a new structure in a different location seemed the only proper remedy. Through the generosity of Stephen Salisbury, Senior, this was finally accomplished and in 1853 the Society installed its collections in its second building, on the opposite side of Lincoln Square, next to the Court House, which it continued to occupy until its removal to the present building in 1910.

The land with the old Hall was sold in 1854 to the Worcester Academy and was occupied by it for school purposes until 1869. It then passed into private hands and the building remained intact until about 1890 when the north wing was torn down to make room for a four story apartment house which covered the whole north end of the lot. The rest of the building was used as a boarding house for some years, but gradually fell into ruin and was torn down about 1911, soon after the Society removed to its present location.

WALDO LINCOLN,

For the Council

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGY OF THE FIRST BUILDING OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

June 1, 1814. Voted, that a committee be appointed to devise ways and means for raising funds to erect a suitable edifice to contain the Library and Museum, and that the President and Professor Peck be requested to prepare a nomination list of five members as suitable persons to serve on said committee (Proceedings, 1812-1849, p. 44).

Sept. 27, 1814. "Wrote the Subscription paper for an Edifice for the Antiqu So^y." (Diary of Isaiah Thomas, vol. i, p. 247).

Oct. 24, 1814. "As our original objects are to *collect* and *preserve*—that which demands our first attention, and on which the prosperity, if not the existence of this institution depends, is to provide means for, and to erect a suitable edifice for deposits. At a late meeting we voted to chose a Committee of Ways and Means to effect these purposes. As much depends on the choice of this Committee, it has been deferred till this time." (From a Communication from the President, Proceedings, 1812-1849, p. 58.) The committee was chosen at this meeting as follows:—William Paine, M. D., Samuel J. Prescott, Esq., Benjamin Russell, Esq., Rev. William Bentley, Hon. Edward Bangs together with such others as the President and Council shall appoint. (Ibid).

May 9, 1817. "Whereas the President has very generously offered to contribute towards the erection of a building for the accommodation of the Society, a site suitable for this purpose, 150,000 Bricks and \$2000 in cash. Voted: that the Committee of Ways and Means be requested to issue a subscription paper and present it to those who may be disposed to aid in the attainment of the object" (Records of the Sub-Council, unpublished).

June 26, 1817. "That part of the Committee of Ways and Means residing in Worcester made a report, that it is expedient that a subscription be opened to procure a sum in order to enable the Society to build a suitable edifice for a library and Cabinet &c.; to elect a proper person to apply to the members &c., in the United States for this purpose, and that this person be furnished with 500 Dollars to enable him to proceed on his mission" (Proceedings, 1812-1849, p. 125).

Jan. 19, 1818. Unpublished letter of Isaiah Thomas.

Worcester, Jan^y. 19th. 1818.

Sir,

I am favoured with yours of the 16th inst. and thank you for your attention to my request.

I fully intended to have been in Boston this week, and to have met the Am. Antiqⁿ Society on Wednesday next; but attending a Chemical Lecture a few Evenings since I took a violent cold which has confined me indoors, and will prevent my journey to town; which I much regret.

Among the Communications which I am desirous to make to the Society, are the following, viz.

1. That the Donations in Books, for the last year, amount to 550 Volumes (many of which are valuable) and about 200 pamphlets. Several articles have also been presented for the Cabinet.

2. That it is very important, a Building of some kind should be erected for the safe keeping of the Library and the articles for the Cabinet.

3. That a handsome Lot of Land, nearly an acre, in a good situation, 100,000 Bricks, and 2000 dollars in Cash, is offered by a member of the Society towards the erecting an Edifice for the purpose mentioned in the preceding article, provided an additional and an adequate sum is added, by subscription, or otherwise, to complete the Edifice,—(The additional sum wanted may be about 7000 dollars.)

4. That it seems expedient that a new Com.^{ee} of Ways and Means should be speedily chosen.

5. That a Seal for the Society is much wanted.

6. That the Librarian has, agreeably to a Vote of the Society, made out a Catalogue of the Library excepting the Books which have been added since August last, when he finished his labour, which required much time and attention, and for which he is intitled to reasonable compensation.

7. That Letters have been received from many eminent men (some of them residing in Europe) highly approbating of the Institution.

8. That it is my wish, at the next election of Officers, not to be considered as a Candidate for the Presidency. My regard for the Institution is not, nor will it be diminished. I shall ever be as ready to promote the interest of the Society as a private member as I have been since I have had the honour of being elected President.

I have but little time to write as the Mail is near closing. Be so good as to submit the foregoing to the Society. If agreeable to them, I should be glad to have the meeting again adjourned,—say to the 2^d or 3^d Wednesday in April next—or to such time as the Society shall judge to be best.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,

Mr. N. G. Snelling,

A. S. Recording Sec^y.

Am. Antiqⁿ. Soc^y.

Your, and the Society's,

Most obedient, ser^vvt,

Isaiah Thomas.

April 15, 1818. "The President communicated to the Society the present state of the library and cabinet, and suggested the propriety of taking some order relative to the erection of a building for the arrangement and preservation of the Society's collections." "Voted that this subject be referred to an adjournment of the present meeting to be held at this place at the day afternamed" (Ibid. p. 131).

June 2, 1818. "Voted, That the further consideration of the location of the building, etc., be postponed to the annual meeting in October." (Ibid. p. 133).

June 25, 1818. "Sundry concerns of the Society were discussed, and more particularly, the means and measures proper to be adopted to erect a suitable building for the use of the Society, on which subject it was—Voted, That a committee be chosen to investigate the subject and to report at an adjournment of the meeting. Hon. Nathaniel Paine, Hon. Abijah Bigelow and Rejoice Newton were chosen" (Ibid. p. 133).

July 16, 1818. "That committee appointed to consider and report on the subject of erecting a suitable building for the use of the Society, made report which was recommended to the same committee" (Ibid. p. 134).

July 20, 1818. "Voted, That the committee who made report at the meeting holden on the 16th inst. be excused from any further consideration thereof, and that the same report and the subject on which the same was made, be committed to a new committee to consist of Levi Lincoln, Jun., and Rejoice Newton" (Ibid. p. 134).

July 23, 1818. "The committee appointed at the last meeting not having been able to make any definite report on the subject referred to them, Voted that this meeting be dissolved" (Ibid.).

Feb. 1, 1819. In an address of this date "to the members," published the following March, it is stated: "By the liberality of the President, a suitable building will speedily be erected in Worcester. A site sufficiently spacious and commodious has been obtained, and the materials for building are nearly prepared."

May 17, 1819. "Went with several gentlemen and the master builders, to view and lay out the ground whereon to erect a building for the American Antiquarian Library" (Diary of Isaiah Thomas, vol. ii, p. 15).

May 31, 1819. "This day the workmen broke ground to lay the foundation of a building for the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, in a lot which belongs to me and which I have appropriated for that purpose." (Ibid. p. 18.)

June 12, 1819. "The workmen began laying the cellar wall of the intended Building for a Library, &c. for the American Antiquarian Society" (Ibid. pp. 19-20).

Aug. 5, 1819. "Voted, that at the request of the President, a committee be appointed to superintend the building, now erecting by him for the use of the Society. Levi Lincoln, Jun., Nathaniel Maccarty and Rejoice Newton, Esqs. chosen" (Proceedings, 1812-1849, pp. 143-4).

Oct. 23, 1819. From the Report of the Committee on General Progress and State of the Society: "Within the last year our venerable and enterprising President, in praise of whose munificence too much cannot be said, has erected at great expense, a handsome, commodious and substantial building for the use and benefit of the Society. It will probably be ready for the reception of the Library and Cabinet at some time during the next season. It is sufficiently large to answer all the purposes of the Society for many years, and is so constructed, that whenever more room shall be wanted, additions may be made without disfiguring, but would rather increase the elegance of the edifice" (Ibid. p. 147).

April 4, 1820. "Voted, That there be a public Dedication of the building intended for the use of the Society when the same shall be ready, and the Library and Cabinet are placed therein—

"Voted, that a Committee be chosen for the purpose of making suitable arrangements for the same, and that the Committee consist of three.

Rev. Doct^r Bancroft

Levi Lincoln, Jun^r Esq.

Abijah Bigelow, Esq.

} were chosen."

(Minutes of the Sub-Council).

April 16, 1820. The foregoing committee made the following report: "Your Committee, appointed to take into consideration what measures it is expedient to adopt, on opening the Building erected by the munificence of our President for the use of the Society, have attended that service, and in their report beg leave to recommend the subsequent arrangements in the public celebration of an event so auspicious to the interests of the Institution. That the Society, on the day of their semi-annual meeting in June next, assemble in the North Church in Worcester and attend the following exercises:

1. Public Prayer and praise to God, the Author of all good.
2. An address from the President.
3. An Oration from a member of the Society.

That the Singers and Musicians of the Town be desired to give their attendance on the occasion, and perform appropriate pieces of musick—and that on the close of the publick solemnities, the Society dine in publick at the Inn of Col. R. Sikes.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

Worcester, April 10, 1820.

A. Bancroft, per order.

Voted to accept the above report.

Voted that the above committee be also a Committee to apply to some gentleman of the Society to deliver an Oration or an Address as above mentioned" (Minutes of the Sub-Council).

May 8, 1820. "The Committee appointed to make arrangements for the dedication of the building to be appropriated to the use of the Society, reported that they had applied to Isaac Goodwin, Esq. of Sterling to deliver an address on the occasion, and that he had complied with their request.

Voted, To choose a Committee to determine on a place of arranging and preparing the room for the reception of the Library and Cabinet.

Doct Oliver Fiske	}	Committee chosen.
Hon. Abijah Bigelow		

Voted, To choose a Committee to devise ways and means for furnishing the interior of the building for the Library and Cabinet with proper furniture, and for fixing the grounds &c. about the building intended for the use of the Society.

Levi Lincoln	}	Committee chosen.
Edward D. Bangs		
Benjamin Russell		
Stephen Codman		
Nath ^l Maccarty, Esq ^{rs}		

N. B. This Committee did not report."

(Minutes of the Sub-Council).

May 18, 1820. "Agreed with the workmen to build the Alcoves on the East Wall of the Library Room for the American Antiquarian Society for 300 dollars" (Diary of Isaiah Thomas, vol. ii, p. 53).

June 26, 1820. "Voted, That Thursday the 24th of August next be the day on which to dedicate the building appropriated for the use of the Society, agreeably to report of the Committee made April 10th" (Sub-Council Minutes).

July 24, 1820. "Voted, That the President, Secretaries, and Librarian be a Committee to agree upon a plan for the arrangement and placing the Library and Cabinet in the new building" (Ibid).

Aug. 9, 1820. "Settled with the Master Workmen for building the American Antiquarian Society Library. This building cost—the mere building cost, without Land, or fences, of fixing the grounds, &c. 6752 dollars 84 cents. The building only. Extra Labour on the Cellar, 11 dollars in all 6763 dollars 84 cents" (Diary of Isaiah Thomas, vol. ii, p. 59).

Aug. 15-23, 1820. Mr. Thomas says in his Diary that he "was very busily and laboriously engaged in removing Library &c. to the new building."

Aug. 24, 1820. "On this day the President, vice President Bancroft, sub-council, and other officers of the Society, met in the new building for the Library, &c. together with a number of the members, and went in procession to the church of the north parish, where the Dedication was performed agreeably to the order on the 10th of April last. A large number of people visited the Library after the Exercises were over" (Minutes of the Sub-Council).

From the "Massachusetts Spy" of Aug. 30.

DEDICATION

On Thursday last the elegant and commodious building lately erected in this town for the accommodation of the American Antiquarian Society was dedicated to their use with suitable solemnities. The Society

assembled at their new Hall at 10 o'clock and at 11, moved in procession to the North Meeting-house. The services were opened by prayer, from the Rev. Dr. Bancroft, who also read select passages from the Sacred Volume. The Address, by Isaac Goodwin, Esq. was learned and ingenious, and was received with much satisfaction by a numerous audience. Sacred Musick was performed by a choir of singers from the various religious societies in this town. After the services, the Society returned to their Hall; and, from thence, repaired to *Sike's* Coffee-House, where a most sumptuous entertainment was provided for the occasion. Mr. Goodwin's address will soon be submitted to the publick."

March 10, 1821. "Paid Calvin Darby 227 dollars in rent, for stone work for the Am. Antiqⁿ Library" (Diary of Isaiah Thomas, vol. ii, p. 65).

May 28, 1821. "Carpenters began to finish the new alcoves in the American Antiqⁿ Library Room" (Ibid. p. 87).

June 7, 1821. "Carpenters finished the additional alcoves in the Hall of the Am. Antiquarian Soc^y" (Ibid. p. 88).

Sept. 6, 1821. "Began putting up front fences at Antiqⁿ Hall" (Ibid. p. 95).

Sept. 13, 1821. "Put up the side wooden fences at Antiquarian Hall" (Ibid. p. 96).

Sept. 15, 1821. "Finished putting up the Iron fence in front of Antiquarian Hall" (Ibid. p. 96).

Oct. 23, 1821. From a report of the committee on the state of the Society: "The building erected for the use of the Society is now completed and enclosed in manner displaying at once the taste and liberality of the donor. This building which is highly ornamental as a public edifice and well calculated to give respectability and permanency to the Institution, we are informed, has been thus finished at the expense of eight thousand dollars. * * * In the meantime it has become necessary, for the proper distribution and preservation of the books, that an additional room be fitted for their reception. The Cabinet, also, is but imperfectly arranged, and to place it in a condition suitable for the inspection of visitors, it is important that other rooms should be prepared" (Proceeding 1812-1849, p. 170).

Dec. 29, 1821. Voted, That a committee be chosen to construct such alcoves and other accommodations, in Antiquarian Hall, for the use of the Library and Cabinet, as they shall think proper. * * * Abijah Bigelow and Rejoice Newton Esqs., were chosen" (Ibid. p. 175).

Mr. Thomas died April 4, 1831 and in his will he made the following devise:

"I give to said Society" (the American Antiquarian) "(provided I shall not before my death execute a deed thereof) and their successors forever, that tract of land in Worcester whereon is now erected a building for the use of said Society, which land I purchsed of Samuel Chandler's heirs, containing about one acre near the Second Parish, with the said building thereon; which building is to be forever sacredly appropriated as long as

said Society shall exist, for the library, cabinet, &c., of said Society; and the house and building are accordingly devised upon this express condition. And in case said Society shall at any time cease to use said building for said purpose, then the whole of this estate is to revert to my grandchildren generally and their heirs."

Mr. Thomas also gave to the Society a legacy of one thousand dollars for the purpose and on condition, that the Society erect a fire-proof wing or wings to Antiquarian Hall.

June 30, 1831. "Frederick W. Paine, Isaac Goodwin and Rejoice Newton, a committee appointed by the Sub-Council to consider and report on the subject of erecting a fire-proof wing or wings to Antiquarian Hall under the provisions of the will of the late Dr. Thomas made report:

* * * "Your committee recommend the erection of two wings as soon as may be convenient. Each wing to be twenty-five feet long and twenty deep, two stories high and covered with slate or zinc. One of the wings to have the floors covered with stone or brick and to communicate with the main building by means of an iron door. The expense will not exceed, we think, \$1200.

"Your committee would suggest the propriety of painting the main building where it is wood, the expense of which they estimate at less than \$35, including the cupola, which latter, however, your committee consider neither useful nor ornamental, but on the contrary, as defacing the building, and being difficult to render tight, and they therefore would suggest the propriety of taking it away. I. G., however, objects to that part of the report which recommends removing the cupola" (Proceedings, 1812-1849, p. 239).

Oct. 24, 1831. Report of the Building Committee (Gov. L. Lincoln and F. W. Paine). * * * "Your committee * * * have erected two wings each twenty-eight feet long and twenty-one feet wide, and two stories high. The rooms will finish about nine feet in the clear. It would have been desirable to have had the rooms higher but the building would have been disfigured if the roof of the wings had been so high as to have run onto the main roof. * * * The wings are both covered with zinc. * * * The rooms of the north wing communicate with the main building, by a wooden door in each floor. The lower floor of the south wing has access to the main building by an iron door. The chamber of that wing has no communication with it. One outside door of the main building will be closed up and there will be only one outside door in the south wing. Your committee are aware a building of the description of this south wing cannot be termed in strictness a fire-proof building, but they have every reason to believe it is more so than Mr. Thomas contemplated and it is in their opinion entirely fire-proof against all ordinary internal accidents, while the location removes any danger which would arise from contiguous buildings being on fire. Against the incendiary or lightning, no building is fire-proof. Perhaps in prudence a lightning rod should be placed on the main building, and it certainly would add much to

the appearance of the cupola if the Society would direct a vane to be placed on it.

"The Society will probably expect some account of the expense of these wings but owing * * * to the building not being finished, it is out of their power at this time to make a correct statement. The first proposition was to have the wings 25 x 20, but your Committee * * * increased the dimensions to those before stated, and if they have anything to regret it is not having made them larger. It was supposed that \$1200 would have been nearly sufficient for defraying the expense. The enlargement of the size will of course add to that amount, and some work has been done which was not contemplated at first. Of some items no estimate could be formed, such as the expense of preparing and finishing the ground and altering the fences. If your committee ventured to guess any sum, it would be about \$1400 * * * and they cannot think the Society will blame them for extravagance should the sum of \$1400 be exceeded by a small amount" (Ibid. pp. 251-2).

May 30, 1832. From the Report of the Secretary: "The Council have also authorized the building of fences and finishing the grounds about the Hall, which work is now in operation."

Oct. 24, 1832. From Report of the Council. "Two wings to their Hall have been erected and are now finished. Repairs and some alterations have been made in the main body of the building rendered necessary by the additions: the want of proper ventilation and the rot occasioned by damp and leakage. The grounds and fences have also undergone considerable change, it being desirable to drain the land more effectually and to make it, as well as the fences, conform to the building in its present shape. * * * the expense * * * will be about nineteen hundred and fifty dollars * * * the design of their late benefactor has been fulfilled in giving to the Librarian an apartment which is considered fire-proof, and by adding to the Hall a large apartment for books, which is already in part filled."

From the Report of the Building Committee. "If the funds of the Society would admit of it, the addition of a portico would much improve the appearance of the building." (Ibid. pp. 257-260).

May 29, 1833. From Report of the Council. "Changes of the surface of the earth and of the fences * * * have * * * been completed. The grounds have been surrounded with belts and groves of forest trees planted by the Librarian. The good taste of arrangement will render them objects of beauty, and, on maturity, the green enclosure will afford no inconsiderable protection from the fires of the dense population fast closing around, in near vicinity" (Ibid. p. 265).

May 31, 1848. From Report of the Council. "It becomes necessary to advert to the location and condition of the Society's building. Its limited capacity for affording the desired accommodation for all the purposes of the Society, its unfavorable location, when considered as an object of public interest in its exterior character, and in regard to the

convenience of access, has long been regretted. * * * although" [its contents] "are safe from the element which most rapidly destroys, they are yet exposed to * * * a certain degree of injury from the exceeding dampness which it has been found impracticable effectually to prevent, while the health of those engaged within its walls * * * is liable to be seriously affected" (Ibid. pp. 356-7).

From the Librarian's Report. "The excessive dampness that pervades the entire structure is deleterious to everything that is exposed to its influence. He [the librarian] has reason to believe that his own health has thus been gradually but seriously impaired. Great caution has continually to be exercised by himself, and even to be inculcated upon those who casually visit the rooms" (Ibid. p. 546).

May 30, 1849. From Report of the Council. "The Council would call the attention of the Society to the condition of the Antiquarian Hall. The building, as the Society is aware, is but illy fitted for the purpose of a library. The distribution of the books into some half dozen different apartments, renders the use of the library less convenient and its appearance less imposing and attractive. The building is not fire-proof and being near to the railroad depot and to a large school house is exposed to loss by fire. The dampness of the rooms is such as to be very detrimental to the books and papers and to render resort to the Library, except at mid-summer, uncomfortable and unhealthy. The building itself is going to decay; the sills and floors rotting, the walls cracking and the plastering becoming loose and falling. Large expense must be incurred in another attempt to drain the ground and to put the building in thorough repair or a new lot, etc., procured and a new building erected. The only difficulty with the latter, which is undoubtedly the wiser course, grows out of the will of the grantor of the estate, by a provision of which the Hall, when it ceases to be used for the purposes of the library, reverts to certain of the heirs of the testator. To remove this difficulty, releases from heirs who would be entitled to one-half of the estate have already been obtained and may, it is believed, be procured from the rest" (Ibid. p. 558).

OBITUARIES

THOMAS McADORY OWEN

Thomas McAdory Owen died March 25, 1920, at Montgomery, Alabama. He was born in Jefferson County, December 15, 1866, the son of Dr. William M. and Nancy L. McAdory Owen. He was graduated from the University of Alabama in 1887, receiving at that time the degrees of A.B. and LL.B., and the honorary degrees of A.M. in 1893 and of LL.D. in 1904. He practiced law from 1887 to 1901, during which period he was also city solicitor of Bessemer from 1890 to 1893, assistant solicitor of Jefferson County in 1892 and chief clerk of the inspecting division of the Post Office Department at Washington from 1894 to 1897. He was chairman of the Democratic executive committee at Jefferson County from 1890 to 1892.

Dr. Owen took much interest in all forms of historical work and enterprise. He was Secretary of the Society of the Sons of the Revolution in Alabama since its organization in 1894, was one of the founders of the Southern History Association in 1896; was Secretary of the Alabama Historical Society since its reorganization in 1898; and was Historian-General of the Alabama Division of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans since 1907. In 1901 he was elected the first Director of the Alabama Department of Archives and History, for a term of six years, being re-elected in 1907, 1913 and 1919. He was one of the founders of the Gulf States Historical Magazine and edited its first volume; founder of the Alabama Library Association in 1904 and President since that date; one of the founders of the Alabama Anthropological Society in 1907; Secretary of the Alabama Conference Historical Society, and a member of several national historical

organizations. He prepared an elaborate Bibliography of Alabama which was printed in the 1897 Report of the American Historical Association, and followed this two years later by a Bibliography of Mississippi. He made a Report on the Alabama Archives for the Annual Report of 1904. He compiled the Alabama Official Register in 1907, wrote several genealogical pamphlets and contributed frequently to the publications of various historical societies.

He was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in 1907, although distance prevented him from attending its meetings. He was a frequent correspondent, however, and in one of his last letters written shortly before his death, he said, "I beg to express my continuing appreciation of the courtesy of the Society in retaining my name on its roll of members. I always look forward with keen interest to the receipt of the Society's publications. The output is wholesome, and is well up to the standard of the best historical traditions." At the time of his death he was preparing a reprint of Bernard Romans' "Florida, 1775," with elaborate annotations, but this work with other historical projects was unfortunately never finished. However, Dr. Owen's four volume history of Alabama was in press at the time of his death and when issued in the spring will form the source book for historical students in the Alabama field. On April 12, 1893, Dr. Owen married at Fayette, Alabama, Marie Susan, daughter of Hon. John Hollis Bankhead, United States Senator from Alabama. His widow was elected by the Board of Trustees to fill his unexpired term as Director of the Alabama Department of Archives.

C. S. B.

JAMES SCHOULER

James Schouler was born at Arlington, Mass., March 20, 1839, and died at North Conway, N. H., April 16, 1920. He was the son of William and

Frances Warren Schouler. He was graduated from Harvard in 1859 and was admitted to the Massachusetts Bar in 1862. In the summer of the latter year, however, he joined as second lieutenant a Dedham Company in the 43d Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, served in various capacities in North and South Carolina and received his discharge in 1863. He then resumed the practice of the law. Afflicted by deafness, he gradually gave up practice in the courts and began writing on legal and historical subjects. After the publication of several important legal textbooks, he began on the writing of his *History of the United States*, the first volume of which appeared in 1880. In 1883 he received the post of lecturer in law at the Boston University Law School, which position he retained until 1902. From 1888 to 1908 he also gave occasional lectures in law at the National University in Washington, and from 1891 to 1908 at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. He was married on December 14, 1870, to Emily Fuller Cochran, daughter of Asa F. Cochran, of Boston. His wife died November, 2, 1904. During the latter part of his life, Mr. Schouler lived at Intervale, N. H., in the town which was formerly his summer home.

Mr. Schouler's "*History of the United States under the Constitution*," in seven volumes, was his most noted work, covering the country's history as late as 1877, and emphasizing the social and economic life of the people. His other historical works were "*Thomas Jefferson*," 1893; "*Historical Briefs, with a Biography*," 1896; "*Constitutional Studies*," 1897; "*Alexander Hamilton*," 1901; "*Eighty Years of Union, a Short History of the United States*," 1903; "*Americans of 1776*," 1906; "*Ideals of the Republic*," 1908. He was a member of many historical and literary societies, and was president of the American Historical Association in 1897. He was elected to the American Antiquarian Society in 1907. C. S. B.

WILLIAM DENISON LYMAN

William Denison Lyman died June 21, 1920, at Walla Walla, Washington. He was born at Portland, Oregon, December 1, 1852, the son of Horace and Mary Denison Lyman, California pioneers of 1848. He received his early education at the Pacific University, Forest Grove, Oregon, and later attended Williams College, where he was graduated in 1877. In this same year he began teaching history and literature at the Pacific University and there continued until 1886. After a short interval he went in 1889 to Walla Walla, where he began his long tenure of service as the head of the department of history of Whitman College, which continued until his death. On June 15, 1882, he married Mattie Clark of Vancouver, Washington, who, with four children survived him.

Dr. Lyman was well known as a historian, lecturer and publicist. He was a leading advocate of river and harbor improvements, and also was interested in mountain climbing and amateur photography. His published works include the "History of Walla Walla County," 1901; "History of Snohomish and Skagit Counties," 1906; and "The Columbia River," 1909. He was elected to the American Antiquarian Society in April 1902. He contributed to the Proceedings of the Society three papers: "The Painted Rocks of Lake Chelan" in October 1902; "Myths and Superstitions of the Oregon Indians" in April 1904; and "Indian Myths of the Northwest" in October 1915.

C. S. B.

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER

In the death of Franklin Bowditch Dexter on the 13th of August last, this Society lost a devoted member and a long-time faithful officer. Mr. Dexter was born in Fairhaven, Mass., September 11, 1842, the son of Rodolphus W. and Mary H. (Taber) Dexter. He received his A. B. at Yale in 1861, the youngest but one in his class, and his A. M. in 1864. In 1902 the

university conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters. He was married in 1880 to Theodosia M. Wheeler of New Haven who survives him with one daughter.

Almost immediately after graduation he became connected with the university, as assistant in instruction in the Sheffield Scientific School, tutor in college and assistant and cataloguer in the library. In 1869, he became assistant librarian and so remained until his retirement from active work in 1912. In this capacity his service was of great value, especially in instituting and developing the card catalogue. He was Secretary of the university from 1870 to 1899 and Larned Professor of American History from 1877 to 1888. Mr. Dexter's official positions led naturally to his most important published work, as in a way official historian of the university, a line of work especially attractive to him and for which he was especially fitted. The first volume of his "Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College with Annals of the College" appeared in 1885, and the work was completed by the publication of the sixth volume in 1912, bringing the record down to 1815. To this work should be added as an even more important contribution to New England history his "Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles" in three volumes, 1901, followed in 1916 by "The Itineraries and Correspondence of Ezra Stiles" in one volume. Both these undertakings, but especially the editions of President Stiles's writings, display a most minute and extensive knowledge of historical details, of life and customs, and of facts of family and general interest, and they make clear the characteristics of Mr. Dexter's work—thorough investigation, unwearied industry and strict accuracy. These traits are to be found in all his other numerous contributions to Yale history and in his edition of the New Haven Town Records, 1649-84, in two volumes, 1917-18.

Mr. Dexter was elected a member of this Society in 1879 and at the time of his death was its senior member. He was a member of the Council from 1885 to 1897 and Secretary for Foreign Correspondence from 1897 to 1912. He made many contributions to the Proceedings of the Society, including the following:

History of Connecticut in the Names of her Towns, 1885.

Estimates of Population in American Colonies, 1887.

Selections from Letters Received by David Daggett, 1887.

Social Distinctions at Harvard and Yale before the Revolution, 1894.

Historical Study of the Presidency in Yale College, 1898.

Early Private Libraries in New England, 1907.

Student Life in Yale College under President Dwight, 1918.

In 1909, Mr. Dexter presented \$200 to the Society for the purchase of certain bibliographical works, and in 1919 he donated to the library his collection of Yale Class Records.

Besides the above named books and papers, Mr. Dexter was the author of a large number of papers and articles read at the meetings of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, of which he was one of the most active members, or on other occasions. In 1918 he collected some twenty-four of these in a privately published volume. The earliest of these bears the date of 1868 and the latest of 1917. They are especially valuable for the light they throw on private life in the town and college of the past.

It is impossible for one who knew Mr. Dexter well to close a sketch of his life and work without a word upon the personal side, for even more characteristic of the man to those who were his friends than his scholarly traits were his "genius for friendship," his unflinching kindness and his generous and appreciative regard for others.

G. B. A.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer presents herewith his annual report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending Sept. 30, 1920, to which is appended a statement of the Society's investments and of the condition of the various funds.

Oct. 1, 1920 the net assets were invested as follows:

Library Building	\$195,256.30
Public Funds	111,184.56
Railroad bonds	94,572.50
Miscellaneous bonds	74,560.75
Railroad shares	22,017.00
Bank shares	5,314.00
Miscellaneous shares	11,234.50
Mortgages	11,600.00
Bank deposit	1,000.00
Cash on deposit	416.16

\$527,155.77

Which sum includes unexpended income
amounting to

27.66

\$527,128.11

Less Library Building

195,256.30

Capital bearing interest

\$331,871.81

Norton Co. bonds to the amount of \$3,000 were exchanged for 30 shares Norton Co. 7% preferred stock with a profit of \$60. The following bonds were paid or exchanged during the year:

\$12,000 City of Woonsocket	4's	1929
5,000 City of Middletown	3½'s	1925
1,000 United Kingdom of G. B. & I	5½'s	1921
15,000 City of Baltimore	4's	1955
5,000 City of Jersey City,	4's	1928
5,000 Penobscot Shore Line R. R.	4's	1920
2,000 Wor. & Webster St. Ry.	5's	1919

The following bonds were either bought for cash or taken in exchange for the preceding:

\$19,000 U. S. Gov't 4th	41¼'s	1938
5,000 No. States Power Co.	5's	1941
1,000 United Kingdom of G. B. & I.	5½'s	1937
16,000 Toronto Harbour Commis- sioners	41½'s	1953
10,000 United Kingdom of G. B. & I.	5½'s	1929
2,000 U. S. Rubber	5's	1947
1,000 Consumers Power Co.	5's	1936
5,000 Danville, Champaign & Decatur Ry. & Light	5's	1938
3,000 Bell Tel. Co. of Canada	7's	1925
4,000 Swiss Confederation	8's	1940
1,000 Duquesne Light Co.	5's	1938

The above bonds were exchanged with a net decrease in our Profit & Loss account of \$586.13. This, however is purely a matter of bookkeeping and when the bonds mature a large profit will accrue to the Society. A mortgage of \$3,500 held on property of B. F. Sawyer was paid and the proceeds invested in bonds.

Principal account has been increased by receipt of \$100 for Life Memberships; \$525 from Gifts; \$1,184.97 by sale of duplicates; \$63.65 from James Lyman Whitney Estate; \$6,000 from Andrew McF. Davis; \$5,000 from David H. Fanning; \$500 from C. W. Bowen; \$200 from Arthur P. Rugg; and \$1,000 from S. L. Munson.

Fifty shares of Fitchburg R. R. Co. have been exchanged for a like amount of Boston & Maine 1st preferred.

The Society has received notice from the St. Louis Union Trust Co., that they hold in trust certain bonds given them by Mr. W. K. Bixby with the understanding that the income is to be paid to the Society. This will increase our income account \$100 yearly.

SAMUEL B. WOODWARD, *Treasurer.*

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Principal Oct. 1, 1919 (less unexpended income for 1919)	\$515,645.61
Principal received since Oct. 1, 1919	
George A. Gaskill Life Membership.....	\$50.00
Max Farrand Life Membership.....	50.00
Income added to principal:	
Purchasing Fund.....	\$5.00
James L. Whitney Fund.....	26.00
Andrew McF. Davis Fund.....	240.00
Building Fund.....	67.00
	338.00
A. P. Rugg to Centennial Fund.....	200.00
S. L. Munson to Centennial Fund.....	1,000.00
Anonymous Gift to Special Gifts Fund.....	400.00
Anonymous Gift to Special Gifts Fund.....	100.00
Emily E. F. Skeel to Special Gifts Fund.....	25.00
James L. Whitney Est.....	63.65
Andrew McF. Davis.....	6,000.00
David H. Fanning to Building Fund.....	5,000.00
C. W. Bowen to Building Fund.....	500.00
Sale of Duplicates.....	1,184.00
Profit & Loss	
Norton Co. bonds.....	60.00
Penobscot Shore Line R. R. bonds.....	57.00
City of Woonsocket bonds.....	101.00
Worcester Nat. Bank (Divd. in Liq.).....	300.00
Old Boston Nat. Bank (Divd. in Liq.).....	15.00
	15,444.62
	\$531,090.23
Expended from Purchasing Fund.....	2,242.99
Expended from Special Gifts Fund.....	600.00
Profit & Loss: City of Middletown bonds.....	25.00
United Kingdom of G. B. & I....	13.13
City of Baltimore bonds.....	900.00
City of Jersey City bonds.....	181.00
	3,962.12
	\$527,128.11

INCOME ACCOUNT

Unexpended income 1919.....	\$562.70
Income from Investments.....	15,921.82
Assessments.....	310.00
Sales of Publications.....	45.27
	16,839.79
	\$543,967.90

EXPENDITURES

Income carried to Principal.....	338.00	
Incidental Expense.....	1,435.15	
Salaries.....	7,455.00	
Light, Heat, Water and Telephone.....	1,313.41	
Office Expense.....	494.19	
Supplies.....	370.26	
Books.....	2,206.24	
Publishing.....	1,461.98	
Binding.....	600.00	
Care of Grounds.....	528.64	
Extra Service.....	609.26	
		<hr/>
		16,812.13
		<hr/>
		\$527,155.77

ASSETS

Real Estate.....	\$195,256.30	
Mortgages.....	11,600.00	
Bonds.....	280,317.81	
Stocks.....	38,565.50	
Bank Deposit.....	1,000.00	
Cash on Deposit.....	416.16	527,155.77
		<hr/>
		\$527,155.77
Unexpended Balance Oct. 1, 1920.....		27.66
		<hr/>
Principal Oct. 1, 1920.....		\$527,128.11

OCT. 1, 1920

CONDITION OF THE FUND ACCOUNTS

Fund Title	Principal	Balance		Income		Expended	
		1919		1919		1919	Balance
1-Alden.....	\$1,000.00			\$50.00		\$50.00	
2-Bookbinding.....	7,500.00			375.00		375.00	
3-George Chandler.....	500.00			25.00		25.00	
4-Collection and Research..	17,000.00			850.00		850.00	
5-I. and E. L. Davis.....	23,000.00	\$107.00		1,150.00		1,257.00	
6-John and Eliza Davis....	4,900.00			245.00		245.00	
7-F. H. Dewey.....	4,800.00			240.00		240.00	
8-G. E. Ellis.....	17,500.00			875.00		875.00	
9-Librarian's and General..	35,000.00			1,750.00		1,750.00	
10-Haven.....	1,500.00			75.00		75.00	
12-Life Membership.....	4,000.00			195.00		195.00	
13-Lincoln Legacy.....	7,000.00			350.00		350.00	
14-Publishing.....	32,001.91			1,600.00		1,600.00	
17-Salisbury.....	104,348.39	100.00		5,081.09		5,153.43	\$27.66

Fund Title	Principal	Balance	Income	Expended	Balance
		1919	1919	1919	
18-Tenney.....	5,000.00		250.00	250.00	
19-B. F. Thomas.....	1,000.00		50.00	50.00	
22-Special Gifts.....	422.82		20.00	20.00	
23-F. W. Haven.....	2,000.00		100.00	100.00	
24-Purchasing.....	108.53		5.00	5.00	
25-Chas. F. Washburn.....	5,000.00		250.00	250.00	
26-Centennial.....	35,706.58	355.70	1,758.00	2,113.70	
27-Eliza D. Dodge.....	3,000.00		150.00	150.00	
28-Hunnewell.....	5,000.00		250.00	250.00	
29-Jas. Lyman Whitney.....	579.33		26.00	26.00	
30-Samuel A. Green.....	5,000.00		250.00	250.00	
67-Andrew McF. Davis.....	6,240.00		240.00	240.00	
68-Building Fund.....	5,567.00		67.00	67.00	

STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS
BONDS

NAME	RATE	MATURITY	PAR VAL.	BOOK VAL.
PUBLIC FUNDS:				
Cuyahoga County, Ohio....	5	Oct., 1922	\$3,000	3,151.00
Duluth, Minn.....	4	April, 1936	2,000	1,940.00
Memphis, Tenn.....	4	May, 1933	5,000	4,887.00
New York, N. Y.....	4½	May, 1957	20,000	20,000.00
Omaha, Neb.....	4½	Mar. 1928	15,000	15,000.00
San Francisco, Cal.....	4½	July, 1948	5,000	4,914.00
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.....	5½	Feb., 1937	3,000	2,928.75
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.....	5½	Aug., 1929	10,000	9,625.00
United States of America....	4¼	May, 1942	3,000	3,000.00
United States of America....	4¼	Oct., 1938	30,000	28,198.41
Swiss Confederation.....	8	July, 1940	4,000	3,990.00
Toronto Harbour Commissioners.....	4½	Sept., 1953	16,000	13,550.40
				<u>\$111,184.56</u>

RAILROADS:

Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fé.....				
	4	May, 1995	2,000	1,540.00
Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fé.....				
	4	May, 1995	1,000	885.00
Baltimore & Ohio.....	3½	July, 1925	5,000	4,637.00
Boston Elevated.....	4	May, 1935	2,000	2,000.00
Boston Elevated.....	4½	April, 1937	8,000	7,960.00

Boston & Maine.....	3½ Feb., 1925	5,000	4,593.00
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy.....	4 July, 1949	5,000	5,000.00
Chicago & Eastern Illinois...	5 Nov., 1937	4,000	4,000.00
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul.....	4½ June, 1932	2,000	1,932.50
Chicago, Indiana & Southern.....	4 Jan., 1956	12,000	10,920.00
Chicago & Northwestern...	4 Aug., 1926	1,000	945.00
Fitchburg.....	3½ Oct., 1921	10,000	9,300.00
Illinois Central.....	3½ July, 1952	2,000	2,000.00
Illinois Central.....	5 Dec., 1963	2,000	2,010.00
Lake Shore & Michigan Southern.....	4 May, 1931	5,000	4,621.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haver- hill.....	5 June, 1923	7,000	6,570.00
Marlboro & Westboro.....	5 July, 1921	1,000	1,000.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford...	4 May, 1954	10,000	10,000.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford...	3½ Jan., 1956	50	50.00
N. Y., N. H. & Hartford...	6 Jan., 1948	2,200	2,189.00
Old Colony.....	4 Jan., 1938	3,000	2,970.00
Pere Marquette.....	4 July, 1956	5,000	4,500.00
Pere Marquette.....	5 July, 1956	500	500.00
Southern Indiana.....	4 Feb., 1951	2,000	2,000.00
Union Pacific.....	4 July, 1927	500	450.00
Wilkesbarre & Eastern....	5 June 1942	2,000	2,000.00

 94,572.50

MISCELLANEOUS BONDS:

Amer. Tel. & Tel. Co.....	4 July, 1929	11,000	11,000.00
Bell Telephone Co. of Canada.....	7 April, 1925	3,000	2,940.00
Bethlehem Steel Co.....	5 Jan., 1926	2,000	2,005.00
Business Real Estate Trust	4 June, 1921	2,000	1,915.00
Congress Hotel Co.....	6 Feb., 1933	5,000	5,000.00
Consumers Power Co.....	5 Jan., 1936	6,000	5,335.00
Danville Champaign & Decatur Ry. & Light Co.....	5 Mar., 1938	5,000	4,000.00
Detroit Edison Co.....	5 Jan., 1933	5,000	4,925.00
Detroit Edison Co.....	5 July, 1940	5,000	4,800.00
Duquesne Light Co.....	6 July, 1949	1,000	850.00
Ellicott Square Co.....	5 Mar., 1935	5,000	5,000.00
Michigan State Tel Co....	5 Feb., 1924	3,000	2,996.00
Northern States Power Co.	5 April, 1941	\$5,000	\$4,300.00
Seattle Electric Co.....	5 Aug., 1929	5,000	5,000.00
So. Cal. Edison Co.....	5 Nov., 1939	1,000	920.00

Southern Power Co.....5	Mar., 1930	5,000	4,775.00	
Terre Haute Trac. Lt. & Power Co.....5	May, 1944	2,000	2,000.00	
United States Rubber Co...5	Jan., 1947	2,000	1,743.75	
Western Electric Co.....5	Dec., 1922	5,000	5,056.00	
				<hr/>
				\$74,560.75
				<hr/>
				\$280,317.81

Shares	STOCKS	PAR	BOOK	
		VALUE	VALUE	
24 American Tel & Tel. Co.....		\$2,400	\$2,353.50	
11 Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. (Pref)		1,100	687.00	
3 Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co. (Pref.).....		300	210.00	
6 Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co. (Com.).....		600	420.00	
6 Fitchburg Bank & Trust Co.....		600	600.00	
50 Boston & Maine (Pref.).....		5,000	5,000.00	
35 Mass. Gas Light Cos. (Pref.).....		3,500	2,900.00	
68 N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. Co.....		6,800	8,450.00	
30 Northern R. R. (N. H.).....		3,000	3,000.00	
11 Old South Building Trust (Pref.).....		1,100	981.00	
30 Union Pacific R. R. (Com.).....		3,000	3,000.00	
16 Webster & Atlas National Bank.....		1,600	1,800.00	
25 West End St. Ry. Co. (Pref.).....		1,250	1,250.00	
14 Worcester Gas Light Co.....		1,400	2,000.00	
31 Worcester Bank & Trust Co.....		3,100	2,914.00	
30 Norton Co. (Pref.).....		3,000	3,000.00	
				<hr/>
				\$38,565.50

MORTGAGE LOANS

MORTGAGE LOANS	
J. Burwick.....	2,100.00
L. L. Mellen.....	1,500.00
J. P. Sexton, Trustee.....	8,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$11,600.00

BANK DEPOSITS

Deposit in Worcester Bank & Trust Co., Interest Department.....	\$1,000.00
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REAL ESTATE

Library Building with land.....	\$195,256.30
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The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, beg leave to state that the books and accounts of the Treasurer, for the year ending September 30, 1920, have been examined by Elmer A. MacGowan, Accountant, and his certificate that they are correct is herewith submitted.

The Auditors further report that they have personally examined the securities held by the Treasurer and find the same to be as stated by him and the balance of cash on hand duly accounted for.

(Signed)

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,

HOMER GAGE,

Auditors.

October 1, 1920.

WORCESTER, MASS., October 1, 1920.

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society, made up for the year ending September 30, 1920, and find same to be correct.

(Signed) ELMER A. MACGOWAN,

Accountant.

CONTRIBUTORS OF \$100 AND MORE TO THE SOCIETY'S
INVESTED FUNDS

1832	Isaiah Thomas, Worcester (legacy).....	\$23,152
	Nathaniel Maccarty, Worcester (legacy).....	500
1838	Edward D. Bangs, Worcester (legacy).....	200
1840	William McFarland, Worcester (legacy).....	500
1842	Christopher G. Champlin, Newport, R. I. (legacy).....	100
1852	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	5,000
1856	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	5,000
1858	Nathan Appleton, Boston.....	100
	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	200
	Edward Everett, Boston.....	100
	George Folsom, Worcester.....	100
	John Green, Worcester.....	100
	James Lenox, New York, N. Y.....	250
	Levi Lincoln, Worcester.....	200
	Charles C. Little, Cambridge.....	100
	Pliny Merrick, Worcester.....	100
	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	3,545
	P. Dexter Tiffany, Worcester.....	200
1867	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester.....	8,000
1868	William Thomas, Boston.....	500
	Benjamin F. Thomas, Boston.....	100
	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	500
	Levi Lincoln, Worcester (legacy).....	940
1869	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	100
	Usher D. Parsons, Providence.....	100
	Nathaniel Thayer, Boston.....	500
1870	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	100
	Ebenezer Torrey, Fitchburg.....	100
1871	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	100

1872	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury.....	300
	John P. Bigelow, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
1874	Miss Nancy Lincoln, Shrewsbury (legacy).....	200
	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph.....	100
1875	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	400
1878	Isaac Davis, Worcester.....	400
1879	Benjamin F. Thomas, Beverly (legacy).....	1,000
	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	500
1881	Joseph A. Tenney, Worcester (legacy).....	5,000
	Ebenezer Alden, Randolph (legacy).....	1,000
1882	Samuel F. Haven, Worcester (legacy).....	1,000
1883	Robert C. Waterston, Boston.....	100
1884	George Chandler, Worcester.....	500
	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy).....	10,000
1885	Stephen Salisbury, Worcester (legacy).....	10,000
1886	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester.....	5,000
1887	Robert C. Waterston, Boston.....	100
1889	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester (legacy).....	2,000
1891	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	5,000
1895	George E. Ellis, Charlestown (legacy).....	10,000
1899	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester.....	5,000
1900	John C. B. Davis, Washington, D. C.....	1,000
	Horace Davis, San Francisco, Calif.....	1,000
	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge.....	1,000
1905	Andrew H. Green, New York, N. Y. (legacy).....	4,840
1907	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy).....	60,000
	Charles E. French, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
1908	Stephen Salisbury, Jr., Worcester (legacy).....	175,000
1909	Mrs. Frances W. Haven, Worcester (legacy).....	2,000
1910	Charles G. Washburn, Worcester.....	5,000
	Mrs. Eliza D. Dodge, Worcester (legacy).....	3,000
	James F. Hunnewell, Boston.....	5,000
	Andrew McF. Davis, Cambridge.....	1,000
	Edward L. Davis, Worcester.....	5,000
	Charles H. Davis, Worcester.....	2,000
	Austin P. Cristy, Worcester.....	100
	Henry W. Cunningham, Boston.....	1,000
	Henry A. Marsh, Worcester.....	100
	Simeon E. Baldwin, New Haven, Conn.....	100
	Eugene F. Bliss, Cincinnati, O.....	1,000
	A. George Bullock, Worcester.....	2,000
	William B. Weeden, Providence.....	500
	Charles L. Nichols, Worcester.....	2,500
	Samuel B. Woodward, Worcester.....	1,000
	Samuel Utley, Worcester.....	100
	Waldo Lincoln, Worcester.....	1,000
	Samuel S. Green, Worcester.....	1,000

	James L. Whitney, Cambridge (legacy).....	490
1911	Austin S. Garver, Worcester.....	100
	Francis H. Dewey, Worcester.....	2,500
	Thomas Willing Balch, Philadelphia, Pa.....	100
	William Lawrence, Boston.....	100
	Charles P. Bowditch, Boston.....	150
	Samuel A. Green, Boston.....	100
1912	James P. Baxter, Portland, Me.....	100
	Franklin B. Dexter, New Haven, Conn.....	100
	Justin H. Smith, Boston.....	100
	Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Worcester.....	200
	Samuel V. Hoffman, New York, N. Y.....	5,000
	Clarence M. Burton, Detroit, Mich.....	100
	Henry H. Edes, Boston.....	250
	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Malden.....	500
1913	Albert H. Whitin, Whitinsville.....	1,000
1913	Daniel Merriam, Boston (legacy).....	1,000
	Mrs. Deloraine P. Corey, Worcester (legacy).....	500
	Miss Jane A. Taft, Worcester (legacy).....	1,000
	Miss Katharine Allen, Worcester (legacy).....	4,000
1916	Grenville H. Norcross, Boston.....	200
1917	Horace Davis, San Francisco, Cal. (legacy).....	5,000
1919	Samuel A. Green, Boston (legacy).....	5,000
1920	Andrew McF. Davis.....	6,000
	David H. Fanning.....	5,000
	Clarence W. Bowen.....	500
	Arthur P. Rugg.....	200
	Samuel L. Munson.....	1,000

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

THE number of accessions during the year past has measured up to the average of recent years, although this has been due to numerous gifts, rather than to purchase. Expressed in figures, the total is as follows:

Bound volumes	2638
Pamphlets	5009
Maps, prints and mss.	757
Unbound Newspapers	2186

A continuous source of additions to the Library has been the steady gifts of literary material from certain members, who send us periodically the accumulations of books and pamphlets which they acquire. From Chief Justice Rugg, Charles H. Taylor, Jr., Charles G. Washburn and Henry W. Cunningham, we have received a great deal of ephemeral material, which when sorted and arranged adds much of value to our files. From the President, Mr. Lincoln, the library has obtained a number of much needed works of local history and genealogy. Through purchase and gift, nearly four hundred genealogies have been added to our collection. The most valuable genealogy acquired is the three volume set of "The Stokes Record," by Anson Phelps Stokes, and presented by a member of the Society, Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes. Other valuable works obtained are V. L. Oliver's "History of the Island of Antigua," presented by Mrs. Waldo Lincoln, and the much needed set of Murray's "New English Dictionary," purchased from the Haven Fund.

From the estate of Dr. Samuel Abbott Green was received late in 1919, as the Society's share according to his will, a large consignment of historical books and

pamphlets, and a number of rare early New England imprints. Among the latter was a discourse by Samuel Phillips, entitled "A Word in Season," delivered at Byfield, September 8, 1726, and printed at Boston in 1727, and including in the foot-notes an account of the author's ancestry and various references to ecclesiastical affairs in New England. Other titles worthy of note are one of the earliest known American reprints of a work by John Bunyan, with the brimstone title of "Sighs from Hell: or, the Groans of a Damned Soul," Boston, 1708; and "Diverting Histories," Boston, 1733. The latter seems to be a hitherto unknown volume and has an interesting wood-cut frontispiece, an example of early Boston engraving. Altogether the Society received from Dr. Green 225 books and 209 pamphlets.

A rare book obtained during the year is entitled "The Young Secretary's Guide: or, a Speedy Help to Learning" by Thomas Hill, Gentleman, Boston, 1718. This was the fifth edition, reprinted by John Allen, for Nicholas Buttolph. It was intended as a guide for writing letters, for proper capitalization and punctuation, and for the preparation of deeds, wills and other legal documents, and containing tables of interest and a short dictionary of difficult words. It was a popular book in England, having frequently been printed in London toward the close of the seventeenth century. The earliest English edition in the British Museum is that of 1696, but this and the subsequent editions are ascribed to John Hill. Neither the John Hill of the English editions nor the Thomas Hill of the American editions are included in the Dictionary of National Biography. The Boston editions were especially prepared for the people of New England and included a list of the counties and towns of Massachusetts and many references to New England affairs.

This makes the fourth of these early editions obtained by the Society in the past half a dozen years.

The 1713 edition contains a preface written by the printer in which he states: "As for my own part, thus much I can say in its Praise, That a more useful Book on this Subject never came to my Hands; so that it is needless to trouble you with a long and tedious Epistle in its Favour, it having sufficiently Recommended itself to the World already, by the Sale of three large Impressions, all of which were Sold in a short Time, and were found too few to furnish this large and daily increasing Country; which has of late occasioned very sad Complaints for want of so useful and necessary a Companion. This, and a desire to serve the Publick, has encouraged the Booksellers to present the World with a fourth impression of it." This preface was signed by T. F., evidently the initials of Thomas Fleet. The other editions obtained by the Society are the fourth, printed by T. Fleet for Samuel Gerrish, 1713; the sixth, reprinted for Nicholas Boone, 1727, in which the preface, although the same wording as previously, is signed by J. A., undoubtedly John Allen; and the seventh edition, printed by T. Fleet, 1730. The rarity of these early editions is indicated by the fact that in Evans' "American Bibliography" no copies are located, and no mention is made of the name of Thomas Hill on the title-page of the issues previous to 1730. I have located the following copies: 1703, 3rd edition, preface signed by T. G. (Timothy Green), in the Mass. Historical Society and Boston Public Library; 1713, 4th edition, in the American Antiquarian Society and Library of Congress; 1717, 4th edition in the Mass. Historical Society; 1718, 5th edition, in the American Antiquarian Society and the Mass. Historical Society; 1727, 6th edition in the American Antiquarian Society and Harvard; and 1730, 7th edition in the American Antiquarian Society, Harvard and Boston Public Library. In the Boston Public Library, the book is catalogued under "John Hill (Thomas Hill, misprint for John Hill.)"

To the almanac collection, over two hundred new issues have been added. Of these by far the most rare is a file of "The Kentucky Almanac," printed by John Bradford, at Lexington, Kentucky, from 1794 to 1808. Most of these issues are the first so far discovered. In fact, the Durrett collection of Kentucky material, now at the University of Chicago, has none of the eighteenth century almanacs, nor does the Library of Congress Checklist of American Almanacs previous to 1800 list anything under Kentucky. As almanacs go, they are more entertaining than the average, because of the numerous contributions of doggerel poetry. Two other almanacs of value are Jacob Taylor's almanac for 1744, printed at Philadelphia, obtained from Mr. Samuel L. Munson; and "Weatherwise's Almanack" for 1787, printed at Portland by Thomas B. Wait. As the first almanac printed in Maine, this latter issue has long been desired for our collection. The printer states in his newspaper, the "Cumberland Gazette," that this is "The very first almanack ever calculated for the meridian of Portland," but unlike most other almanac publishers, he does not indulge in a long preface. His only comment is as follows: "A Preface, reader, you shall not have. If the merit of this almanack will not support it, let it fall. If shall not be Preface-propt. We hate a Preface as we do a Snake—and the Writers of them, as we do the Father of Lies." The only other copies known of this issue are in the Library of Congress and in Longfellow House, at Portland, in a file of almanacs containing the diaries of Stephen Longfellow, the father of the poet.

While on the subject of almanacs, the attention of members should be called to the "List of New York Almanacs, 1694-1850," published by Alexander J. Wall, assistant librarian of the New York Historical Society in the Bulletin of the New York Public Library. The making of this bibliography was suggested to Mr. Wall by us as a companion check-list

to the list of the almanacs of several of the New England States published in our Proceedings, and the trustees of the New York Public Library are to be commended for their generosity in printing it in their Bulletin. Our own interest in its publication is shown by the fact that we have nearly half of the two thousand almanacs listed—incidentally a larger collection than that of any other library. Mr. Wall's work can well serve as a model for the checklists of other States, so that we can finally have an adequate bibliography of all American almanacs previous to 1850.

A bibliography in which the Society is also interested is the "Census of Fifteenth Century Books owned in America," 1919, compiled by a committee of the Bibliographical Society of America, but edited primarily by Mr. George Parker Winship. This census covers 169 public and 246 private collections, and lists 13,200 copies of 6,640 titles. When it is considered that only slightly over 25,000 titles of books are known to have been printed in the fifteenth century, it can readily be seen that a fair share of the incunabula found in Europe within recent years has found its way across the seas to America. This Society has but twenty-five examples of fifteenth century books, but because of the importance to us of the history of printing, and because of the strength of our library in typography, due chiefly to the foundation gifts of Isaiah Thomas and to the C. H. Taylor collection, it is a subject in which we are greatly interested.

Fewer newspaper files have been acquired than has usually been the case in recent years, chiefly due to the fact that fewer opportunities of acquisition have been offered. The number of accessions total 321 bound volumes and 1100 miscellaneous issues. To Mr. Albert C. Bates, of Hartford, we are indebted for a large collection of New England papers published

about the middle of the last century. Among the longer files acquired may be noted the following:

- BELLOWS FALLS GAZETTE, 1840-1851.
- BENNINGTON, VERMONT GAZETTE, 1818-1820, 1827-1828.
- BOSTON, AMERICAN UNION, 1850-1857.
- LENOX, BERSHIRE HERALD, 1832.
- HARTFORD, AMERICAN MERCURY, 1824-1833.
- N. E. WEEKLY REVIEW, 1841-1843.
- PATRIOT AND DEMOCRAT, 1837-1841.
- NEW YORK, CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE, 1827-1854.
- SPECTATOR, 1818, 1826.
- SUNDAY MERCURY, 1860.
- TRIBUNE, 1896-1912.
- WEEKLY SUN, 1847-1848.
- PHILADELPHIA, NEAL'S SATURDAY GAZETTE, 1844-1848.
- SATURDAY MUSEUM, 1844.

The most valuable file acquired, and one of the most important acquisitions made by the Society in recent years, is a set of the London Gazette, from the date of the first issue, Nov. 14, 1665, through the year 1796. This paper, the oldest in the English speaking world, was started at Oxford with the title of the Oxford Gazette. On February 5, 1666 it was removed to London where it was called the London Gazette and where it has been continued uninterruptedly to the present day. Up to the time of the Revolution, and especially previous to 1704, the year of the first Boston newspaper, it is an important and in many cases the sole source of information for material relating to the American colonies. During the Revolution, it is of course also of value in presenting the English side of the conflict. There has been quite frequent call for this newspaper for the Colonial period, and we are fortunate in having been able to secure so remarkable a file extending over 130 years.

A few small collections of manuscripts have been presented, among them the papers of Rev. Joseph Goffe, pastor of the First Congregational Church at Millbury from 1794 to 1830, the gift of Mrs. Elizabeth Goffe Peirce of Millbury. These include ancestral papers of the Goffe family and the Clough family of

Boston of about 1750, but the most interesting documents are a series of letters from Joseph and Eliza Goffe written from Georgia and Alabama, and describing to some extent the appearance of Savannah, Charleston and other Southern towns; and a Journal of a trip to Illinois and the Western country made in 1830 to find a suitable place for a colony of Easterners to settle. Starting from Buffalo, the diarist visited Cleveland, Detroit, Clinton, Niles, Chicago, Jacksonville and Springfield, and returned through Danville, Lafayette, Logansport, Fort Wayne, Sandusky, Elyria, Erie and Buffalo, and thence by boat to Albany. The description of towns and of social conditions in the early West might possibly make this Journal worth printing.

Other manuscripts received include some correspondence of Abijah Bigelow of Worcester, presented by Mr. D. Berkeley Updike of Boston, and "The Appraisal of the Armes & Accoutrement of Col. Learned's Reg't at the end of the Campaign, 1775," given by Mr. Artemas Ward of New York. The Society has also obtained an interesting manuscript of the country around New York City during the campaign of 1776. It was drawn by Alexander Scammell, for his friend Gen. John Sullivan, and is inscribed "To the Hon^{ble} John Sullivan, Esq^r, Major Gen^l in the army of the United States of America, humbly presented by his Obed^t Serv^t Alexd^r Scammell." It is a general plan of the topography north of East River and the Sound, as far east as Byram River, and locates the towns, roads and some of the redoubts, forts and positions. On the back General Sullivan has written to Col. Hugh Hughes:

Sir:

Please Send me some Hay & Oats to Williams, as I am Intirely Destitute, also a Waggon for the use of myself & Division.

October 19th, 1776
Mr. Huse, Asst. Q. M. G.

Yr Humble Servt,
Jno Sullivan

The collection of portraits has received two excellent additions from Mr. Clarence W. Bowen, the portraits of Theophilus Chandler and his wife, painted by Winthrop Chandler. Mr. Bowen found these portraits in the old Chandler House on Chandler Hill in Thompson, Conn., and had them carefully restored before presenting them to the Society. Theophilus Chandler was a surveyor, residing in Petersham, Mass., and Thompson, Conn., was born 1732 and died 1816, and was the brother of Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler. His wife, Elizabeth Frink Chandler, was the daughter of Rev. Thomas Frink, and died in 1771. Winthrop Chandler, the artist, was the brother of Theophilus and was born in 1747. He is said to have studied the art of portrait painting in Boston, and painted several portraits about the time of the Revolution. His own portrait by himself is now owned by one of his descendants.

The most valued addition to the bookplate collection is an almost complete set of signed proofs of E. D. French's plates, gathered by the late John Page Woodbury, and presented to this Society by his son, Mr. John Woodbury. These proofs will be kept as one collection, and will add greatly to the strength of our collection of the designs of America's foremost bookplate engraver. A few Mexican plates have been obtained from one of our foreign members, Nicolás León, of Mexico City. In 1919 a book of interest to us was published, with the title of "A List of Canadian Bookplates," compiled by Winward Prescott, with the assistance of Stanley Harrod and Morely J. Ayearst. This volume lists about 1700 plates, of which we have about one third, together with 180 plates not included in the list. Our excellent showing is largely due to the generosity of one of the authors of the work, Mr. Stanley Harrod, of Toronto, who has presented to the Society, through Mr. Lombard, his own personal collection of Canadian plates. In this way, we obtained 568 additions to our Canadian

collection. The great Marshall collection of American bookplates is still undergoing a process of arranging and comparison with our own collection, and it will be several weeks yet before this time-consuming task is finished.

The greatest drawback to the successful growth of the library, and to the accessibility of its possessions, is the lack of shelf-room. The stack, planned to take care of the increase of fifteen years, was nearly filled with unlooked-for acquisitions in less than six years. Only by continual reshifting of the material on the shelves and by the temporary storage of bulky newspapers in the basement can we find room for our fast increasing accessions. We cannot stop collecting. We must continue to take advantage of our opportunities, and pray for the relief which will eventually come.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,

Librarian.

Donors

INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIETIES

Abbot Academy.
Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.
Academy of Science of St. Louis.
Alabama Historical Society.
Alliance Française.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
American Association for International Conciliation.
American Association of Journalism.
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
American Catholic Historical Society.
American Geographical Society.
American Historical Association.
American Irish Historical Society.
American Jewish Historical Society.
American Library Association.
American Numismatic Society.
American Oriental Society.
American Philosophical Society.
Amherst Record.
American Seaman's Friend Society.
American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes.
American Steel and Wire Co.
American Type Founders Company.
Andover Theological Seminary.
Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal.
Australian Museum.
Baltimore American.
Bank of the Manhattan Company.
Barre Gazette
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.
Boston, City of.
Boston Cemetery Department.
Boston City Hospital.
Boston Co-operative Information Bureau.
Boston Globe.
Boston Health Department.

Boston Legal Aid Society.
Boston Museum of Fine Arts.
Boston Port and Seamen's Aid Society.
Boston Public Library.
Boston Transcript.
Boston Transit Commission.
Boston University.
Bostonian Society.
Bowdoin College.
Bridgeport Brass Company.
Brockton Public Library.
Brookline Public Library.
Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.
Brooklyn Public Library.
Brown University.
Buffalo Historical Society.
Buffalo Public Library.
Bulletin of Bibliography.
Bunker Hill Monument Association.
Bureau of Railway Economics.
Business Digest.
California, Society of Colonial Wars.
California State Library.
California, University of.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
Canada, Department of Mines.
Canada, Dominion Archivist.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
Carnegie Institution of Washington.
Catholic Historical Review.
Catholic Messenger.
Catholic University of America.
Chicago Historical Society.
Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.
Chicago, University of.
Christian Science Monitor.
Church Militant.
Clark University.
Colgate University.
Collector.
Colonial Society of Massachusetts.
Colorado College.
Colorado, University of.
Columbia Historical Society.
Columbia University.
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Connecticut, Diocese of.
Connecticut Historical Society.
Connecticut State Library.
Connecticut Valley Historical Society.
Cornell University.
Dartmouth College Library.
Daughters of the Cincinnati.
Diocese of Western Massachusetts.
Drew Allis Co.
Enoch Pratt Free Library.
Essex Institute.
Fairmount Park Art Association.
Field Museum of Natural History.
Fitchburg, City of.
Fitchburg Public Library.
Fitchburg Sentinel.
Forbes Library.
Frye Publishing Company
Genealogy.
General Education Board.
Georgia Historical Society.
Georgia State Library.
Grolier Club.
Groton Historical Society.
Groton Landmark.
Guaranty Trust Company of New York.
Hartford, Automobile Club of.
Hartford Courant.
Hartford Seminary.
Hartford Theological Seminary.
Harvard Alumni.
Harvard College.
Harvard University.
Haverhill Public Library.
Helena Public Library.
Hervas Laboratories of American Linguistics.
Heye Museum.
Hispanic Society of America.
Holy Cross College.
Iconographic Society.
Illinois Centennial Commission.
Illinois State Historical Library.
Illinois State Historical Society.
Illinois, University of.
International Typographical Union.
Iowa, Historical Department of.

Iowa, State Historical Society of.
Irish National Bureau.
Jacksonville Public Library.
Jamaica, Institute of.
Japan Society.
Jersey City, Free Public Library.
John Carter Brown Library.
John Crerar Library.
Johns Hopkins University.
Journal of Zoöphily.
Kansas City Star.
Kansas State Historical Society.
Lake Mohonk Conference.
Landlord and Tenant.
La Plata, Universidad Nacional de.
Leominster Public Library.
Lewiston Journal.
Library of Congress.
London, Corporation of.
Long Island Historical Society.
Longmans, Green & Co.
L'Opinion Publique.
Los Angeles Public Library.
Louisiana Historical Society.
Louisiana State Museum.
Louisville Free Public Library.
Magazine of History.
Maine Historical Society.
Maine State Library.
Maryland Historical Society.
Massachusetts, Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of.
Massachusetts, Commonwealth of.
Massachusetts, Free and Accepted Masons.
Massachusetts General Hospital.
Massachusetts Historical Society.
Massachusetts Library Club.
Massachusetts, Secretary of State.
Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants.
Massachusetts State Department of Health.
Massachusetts State Library.
Massachusetts State Normal School, Worcester.
Massachusetts Woman's Relief Corps.
Merchants National Bank, Worcester.
Mergenthaler Linotype Company.
Messenger Printing and Publishing Company.
Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Board.
Mexico, Museo Nacional.
Miami University.
Michigan Historical Commission.
Military Service Institution.
Milton Historical Society.
Minnesota Historical Society.
Minnesota, University of.
Mississippi Department of Archives.
Mississippi Valley Historical Association.
Missouri Historical Society.
Missouri, State Historical Society of.
Montague Press.
Montana News Bulletin.
Montana, University of.
Montreal Herald.
Munition Resources Commission.
Nation, The.
National Association for Constitutional Government.
National Child Labor Committee.
National Education Association of U. S.
National Genealogical Society.
National Home Rule Association.
National Society of Sons of American Revolution.
Naval History Society.
Nebraska State Historical Society.
Nebraska, University of.
New Brunswick Historical Society.
New England Historic Genealogical Society.
New England Society of Brooklyn.
New Hampshire Historical Society.
New Hampshire State Library.
New Haven Colony Historical Society.
New Jersey Historical Society.
New Republic.
New York Academy of Sciences.
New York, Department of Education of City of.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.
New York Historical Society.
New York Hospital.
New York, National City Bank of.
New York Public Library.
New York Society Library.
New York, State Education Department.
New York State Historical Association.
New York State Library.

New York, Stock Exchange, Committee on Library.
New York Tribune.
New York, University of the State of.
Newberry Library.
Newport Historical Society.
Newport Mercury.
North Carolina Historical Commission.
North Carolina, University of.
North Dakota, State Historical Society of.
North Dakota, University of.
Northwestern University.
Nova Scotia Historical Society.
Nova Scotia Institute of Science.
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia.
Oakland Free Library.
Oberlin College.
Ohio, Historical and Philosophical Society of.
Ohio, Industrial Commission of.
Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.
Oklahoma Historical Society.
Onondaga Historical Association.
Oregon Historical Society.
Oregon State Immigration Office.
Panama-Pacific International Exposition.
Pan-American Union.
Paris Chamber of Commerce.
Peabody Institute of Baltimore.
Peabody Museum of American Archaeology.
Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies.
Pennsylvania-German Society.
Pennsylvania, Historical Society of.
Pennsylvania Museum.
Pennsylvania Society.
Pennsylvania State Library.
Pennsylvania, University of.
Philadelphia, Library Company of.
Philadelphia Public Ledger.
Philadelphia Rotary Club.
Philippine Press Bureau.
Portland Chamber of Commerce.
Pratt Institute Free Library.
Presbyterian Historical Society.
Providence Athenaeum.
Providence, City of.
Providence Journal.
Providence Public Library.

Public Libraries.
Publishers' Weekly.
Quebec, Literary and Historical Society of.
Queen's University.
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.
Republican National Committee.
Reynolds Family Association.
Rhode Island Historical Society.
Rhode Island State Library.
Riverside Public Library.
Rosenberg Library.
Royal Academy of Literature, History and Antiquities of Stockholm.
Royal Canadian Institute.
Royal Colonial Institute.
Royal Historical Society.
Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
Royal Society of Canada.
Royal Zoölogical Society of New South Wales.
St. Louis Mercantile Library Association.
St. Louis Public Library.
School Arts Magazine.
Seituate Historical Society.
Shedd Family Association.
Skandinavia.
Smith College.
Smithsonian Institution.
Social Law Library.
Société des Américanistes de Paris.
Société de Géographie de Paris.
Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.
Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.
Society of Antiquaries of London.
Society of Pennsylvania Women in New York.
Society of the Army of the Potomac.
Somerset Co. Historical Quarterly.
South Carolina, Historical Commission of.
South Carolina Historical Society.
Southwestern Historical Quarterly.
Sprague's Journal of Maine History.
Standard, The.
State Charities Aid Association.
Svea.
Tennessee Historical Magazine.
Texas State Historical Association.

Topsfield Historical Society.
Toronto, University of.
Trenton, Mechanics Bank.
Trinity College Historical Society.
Union Académique Internationale.
Union Pacific Railroad Company.
United Empire.
United States Brewers' Association.
United States Government.
Universidad Nacional de la Plata.
Universités Françaises aux Universités des Pays Neutres.
Vermont State Library.
Villager.
Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society.
Virginia Historical Society.
Virginia State Library.
Warren Academy of Sciences.
Washington University.
Washington University State Historical Society.
Wesleyan University.
Western Reserve Historical Society.
William Jewell College.
Williams College.
Wilson, H. W., Co.
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Wisconsin Library Commission.
Wisconsin, State Historical Society of.
Worcester Academy.
Worcester Art Museum.
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Worcester Gazette.
Worcester Historical Society.
Worcester Polytechnic Institute.
Worcester, Public Education Association of.
Worcester Rotary Club.
Worcester, School Department of.
Worcester Telegram.

Worcester Woman's Club.

Worcester Young Women's Christian Association.

Wyoming Commemorative Association.

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A FAMOUS COLONIAL LITIGATION

THE CASE BETWEEN RICHARD SHERMAN
AND CAPT. ROBERT KEAYNE, 1642.

BY ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG

THE most celebrated law suit of the colonial period of Massachusetts Bay was *Richard Sherman v. Robert Keayne*. Its importance does not rest upon the magnitude of the matter at stake, the eminence of the parties immediately concerned, or the leading legal principle established. These features which commonly distinguish renowned cases, such as the Tichbourne Case, the impeachment of President Johnson, and *Marbury v. Madison*, are conspicuously absent. This was a simple action of tort for the conversion of an ordinary white sow. The plaintiff was a poor man in whose name the cause was prosecuted by his wife during his absence in England. The defendant was a tailor by trade, of frugal habits, not then of great prominence in the colony, who beside trafficking at large was also a money-lender and thereby gained a general reputation for being a hard dealer. No far-reaching principle of law was declared, the only point in dispute being the pure question of fact whether the plaintiff was the owner of the swine in controversy. As might be expected, the case has been the subject of many a gibe and jest, and much humor has been expended in its exploitation.

Notwithstanding these common aspects, the case is nevertheless one of foremost significance in the history of the Commonwealth and consequently of the country. It was fraught with consequences of no small gravity. It was the occasion for the final establishment of the division of the legislative department of government into two co-ordinate branches. This is one of the

primal securities of constitutional government as understood and practiced in this country. The adoption of this principle in Massachusetts was a momentous if not an essential step in fixing the character of government in the colony as representative and deliberative rather than a pure democracy. Anything, therefore, pertaining to this litigation possesses historical value.

The original sources of information concerning this law suit are first and chiefly the History of New England by John Winthrop, and then the records of the court of assistants, the Records of Massachusetts Colony, The Colony Archives, The General History of New England by the Rev. William Hubbard, minister of the church at Ipswich, and the History of Massachusetts Bay by Gov. Thomas Hutchinson. Hubbard was not a participant in the proceedings so far as known. But he was a contemporary, being one of the first class of graduates of Harvard College in 1642, and he writes apparently out of independent knowledge. Although Hutchinson wrote something over a hundred years later, his intimate familiarity with the sources of colonial history and his insight into the character of our early institutions almost give the weight of first-hand information to his observations on this subject. Excerpts from the original sources, complete as to this matter, are added to this paper as appendices. The subject has received much attention from other writers, but so far as I have been able to discover there are no other sources of information touching the facts. By far the most detailed account and fullest discussion of the case is given by Winthrop. Several pages of his history are devoted to it.

The proposed publication by the American Antiquarian Society of one of its manuscript possessions calls attention anew to this ancient action at law. This manuscript is entitled, "A breaviate of ye Case betwene Richard Sheareman plt by petition & Capt. Robert Keaine defen^t aboute ye title to a straye Sowe

supposed to be brought frõ Deare Iland about (9)^{ber} 1636." It is nothing less than a summary of the case. It is dated "at Boston this 5, 15, 1642." It is said by Palfrey, in his History of New England, Vol. I, p. 619, note, to be "in Winthrop's handwriting, with his signature at the end." On the other hand, it is said by Robert C. Winthrop in Vol. 2 of the Life & Letters of John Winthrop, p. 283, "It is not in the handwriting of Governor Winthrop. We doubt whether even the signature is his; and certainly the spelling and abbreviations differ widely from those which he was accustomed to use. But it was unquestionably one of the manuscript copies prepared for circulation among the magistrates and people—that being the ordinary mode of *publishing* papers at that day." I will not undertake to settle this question of handwriting. It is quite sufficient for present purposes that there is no controversy as to the authenticity of the manuscript and that it was composed by Winthrop. Its genuineness as a Winthrop production and its historical value are beyond cavil. It consists of eight leaves or sheets of paper about $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches by 6 inches, of which two are blank and six are closely written. It is of deep interest because of its author and its substance. Winthrop was a man of learning, of profound wisdom, of judicial temperament, and a writer of no mean capacity. He had personal knowledge of the matter. This manuscript is a complete and detailed history of the salient points of the case. It is divided into four parts:

1. A recital of the undisputed or agreed facts.
2. An abstract of the evidence produced on both sides at the trial before the General Court in 1642.
3. A discussion of the weight and probative effect of that evidence illustrated by reference to scripture.
4. A statement of the time consumed in the trial and of its indecisive result, with reference to a pertinent statute.

The legal training of Winthrop in the Middle Temple is manifest in the precision, perspicuity and logical

sequence of the document. This "breaviate" of the case was written that the justness of the position of the magistrates in deciding against the plaintiff might be made clear in order to overcome the "much laboring in the country upon a false supposition" as to their position. It was Winthrop's intention apparently to print the "breaviate" in his history. There it is said (Vol. 2, p. 72), "because there was much laboring in the country upon a false supposition, that the magistrate's negative voice stopped the plaintiff in the case of the sow", one of the magistrates published "a declaration of the necessity of upholding the same," (which doubtless refers to this manuscript); and it is added: "It may be inserted here, being brief." That intention was abandoned for this reason, I suspect: In the following year, as he narrates (Vol. 2, p. 117), it was found that this paper had given affront to some and he, desiring as governor to compose all occasions for dissension, made a speech as soon as he came into the General Court wherein, while not retracting, after re-examination, any of the matter therein set forth, he acknowledged his failings as to the manner thereof and "humbly entreated those who had been displeased to pardon and pass them by." After thus publicly declaring such penitence and showing such magnanimity toward those who had criticised him, he hardly could print the offending "breaviate."

This manuscript was mentioned first, so far as I know, by Palfrey, who refers to it in a note in volume 1 of his *History of New England*, page 619.

In view of its succinct narrative, further elaboration of the facts of the case would be superfluous since a copy of the manuscript itself and the other original sources of knowledge about the case, so far as I have been able to discover them, are to be printed herewith. It only need be added that the matter finally was adjusted probably by the remission by Capt. Keayne of his judgment for costs against Mrs. Sherman and a discharge by the Shermans of all controversies con-

cerning the sow. It has been suggested that the matter was submitted to General Gibbons and Colonel Tyng as referees, who are said to have "most sensibly permitted the thing to die of its own folly." (Vol. 1, History of the Ancient & Honorable Artillery Co. 14). Of the accuracy of this statement I have been unable to find confirmation from original sources.

A word may be said as to the parties. Whether Richard Sherman was in the colony during any part of this litigation, which appears to have been fomenting in some form or other from 1636 to 1644, is not certain. Without doubt he was absent for a substantial part of that time. In any event, the active prosecution of the claim seems to have fallen upon his wife, who was aided and encouraged by the energetic participation of one George Story. Since Winthrop says that he was unable to find any traces of this man save that he was a young English merchant who boarded with Mrs. Sherman, nothing further can be said of him. It is generally conceded that at this time the Shermans were poor in this world's goods. Apparently they were of good standing in the community because, under date of May 14, 1635, are found these entries in 2 Records of Massachusetts, 116-117: "It is ord^ed, y^e y^e Treasurer should pay 13 $\frac{1}{3}$ ^s to y^e wife of Rich^d Sherman, as a gratuity for her care & paines y^s Cort about o^r dyet, and a noble to y^e oth^r helpers in the house." "It is ordered, y^t Rich^d Sherman should be alowed 19^s for lodging 3 of y^e deputies & y^e Gov^rn's men." It is hardly likely that the members of the General Court in that day would have diet and lodging with any except those who held the respect and esteem of their townsfolk. This entry is interesting also as bearing some indication of acquaintance on the part of the Shermans with members of the General Court. Richard Sherman's will was dated July 31, 1660, wherein he mentions five daughters and no sons. His daughter Abigail married a man named John Damon. Damon came to this country in 1633. One of their descendants was Rev. Samuel C. Damon, born in

Holden, Mass., and graduated at Amherst College in the class of 1836. He studied theology at Princeton and Andover and was a missionary at Honolulu where he also was chaplain of the Seaman's Friend Society.

Robert Keayne, after having been a member of the Honorable Artillery Company, of London, came to America in 1635. He is said to have been the founder of the Ancient & Honorable Artillery Company of Boston. His name is first on the roll of members, and in the charter, and he was its first commander. He was also a deputy for several terms and speaker of the House in 1646. He was punctilious in attendance upon religious services and industrious in taking notes of sermons. Being shrewd in business matters, he soon was regarded as sharp at a bargain and was publicly rebuked for his offenses of covetousness. A fine of 200 pounds, ultimately remitted to 80 pounds, was imposed on him for extortionate charges. Doubtless he would be called either a leading merchant or a profiteer, according to the point of view. Keayne died in 1655. He left a will, which is probably the longest on the records of Suffolk County, comprising one hundred fifty-eight of its original pages and one hundred forty-two pages in a recopied record. His benefactions were catholic in extent and generous in nature and include legacies to Boston for a market house, and a free school, to Harvard College, to the Ancient & Honorable Artillery Company and for other good causes. Drake says of him in the *History of Boston*, p. 246, 247: "From all that can be learned of Captain Keayne it does not appear that he was a bad man, but that on the contrary he was a very good man; yet he was one of that peculiar mind and temperament, which rather invited than repelled the insults from a class common in all communities. He was deeply religious, but, like nearly all men who buy and sell, his interest in his business was so strong, that he could not well help losing sight of his scruples at times. But when abstracted from his business he

relented and condemned himself. He appears to have been of a forgiving disposition, and more ready to receive an injury than to give one, and could be oppressed with impunity."

It is manifest from Winthrop's account that the merits of the cause were plainly in favor of Captain Keayne. That is clear from his statement of the facts and the evidence. This is strongly confirmed by three facts: (1) that the elders, upon a thorough investigation of the matter and after hearing the material witnesses, found in favor of Keayne, (2) that the jury in the court at Boston, in a direct action by Sherman for the conversion of the pig, found also in Keayne's favor, and (3) that in an action brought in court by Keayne against Mrs. Sherman and Story for slanderously reporting that he had stolen her sow, a jury again returned a verdict in favor of Keayne and assessed damages in his behalf in the sum of twenty pounds. These three successive findings all one way, separated by considerable intervals of time, two of them being verdicts by a jury, afford rational ground for the inference, indeed almost indubitable proof to the effect, that Winthrop and the magistrates were right in their stand against Sherman and in favor of Keayne on the merits of the case. That aspect of the case would seem to be set at rest by this "breviate" and the other documents to be published herewith. However, in a popular contest in which such a woman as Mrs. Sherman, sufficiently good cook to satisfy the members of the general court in their diet, a house-keeper of such merit that they were content to lodge under her roof, was pitted against the sharp trader with a reputation for hard dealing, the advantage naturally would be with the representative of the fair sex. Even so good a soldier as Captain Keayne would be pretty apt to ride to his fall in any controversy with such a suitor for popular sympathy. It therefore is not surprising that after the matter had been talked over by the people at large without the evidence before them, the trend of public feeling should be with Mrs. Sher-

man, and that this should be reflected in the attitude of the deputies on the subject. When, however, it was sought by the deputies by sheer force of numbers to out-vote the magistrates or assistants and thus reach a decision in favor of Sherman, a delicate and fundamental principle in government was reached transcending in significance the decision of any controversy between parties over their private rights, important as that always is. There the statesmen of the colony practically without exception were on one side. This question whether, in matters brought before the General Court, the assistants or magistrates and the deputies acted or had the right to act as separate bodies, the approving vote of each body being essential for affirmative action, had been under discussion for some time. The phrase by which reference commonly is made to it is "The Negative Voyce" or "The Negative Vote." Since the deputies constituted the more numerous body and therefore would have greater power in joint session, the term was used as indicating the negative of the assistants or magistrates upon measures receiving the approval of the deputies. Although the charter gave important powers to the governor, deputy governor and assistants, no difficulty on this point seems to have developed so long as the body of freemen met together with the assistants constituting the General Court. Up to 1634 the government of the colony had been almost that of a pure democracy. The General Court was composed of both the assistants or magistrates and all the freemen. The inconvenience and even danger of this soon became manifest. As the settlements were more and more scattered, they were exposed to the hazard of Indian attack and the other manifold perils of pioneer times if all the freemen left at one time for attendance on the General Court. Moreover, the loss of time in travel and attendance was no inconsiderable factor. Therefore, on May 14, 1634, an order was passed by the General Court that there should be four sessions yearly to be summoned by the governor and not to be

dissolved without the consent of the major part of the court. On the same day provision was made for a representative body of deputies in place of the gathering of freemen at large in the General Court. The order was that two or three deputies might be chosen from each town. [2 Records of Massachusetts, 118]. On March 4, 1635, the nature of the deputies as a separate body was recognized by conferring upon them power to hear and decide disputes as to the election of their members, and "to order things amongst themselves that may concerne the well ordering of their body." [1 Records of Massachusetts, 142.] This was in effect the establishment of the house of deputies as an independent body free at least in these particulars from interference by the magistrates or assistants. In 1634-35 a controversy arose whether Mr. Hooker and his friends should be granted permission by the General Court to leave for a settlement in Connecticut. A majority of the deputies, so great as to constitute a majority of the General Court in joint session of both the assistants or magistrates and the deputies, were for the removal, although all the assistants save two were against it. The deputies contended that a majority of the whole body should prevail while the assistants refused to recede from their stand that a majority of both the deputies and the assistants was necessary. This was the beginning of the controversy about the "negative voice" of the assistants. It was adjusted then by resort to a day of humiliation and prayer and a sermon by Mr. Cotton. After this the assistants prevailed. A short time later the substance of the matter was settled by a statute. On March 3, 1636, the number of annual sessions of the General Court was reduced to two, and it further was provided:

"And whereas it may fall out that in some of theis Genall Courts, to be holden by the magistrates & deputies, there may arise some difference of iudgem^t in doubtfull cases, it is therefore ordered, that noe lawe, order, or sentence shall passe as an act of the Court, without the consent of the great^r p^{te} of the magistrates on the one p^{te}, & the great^r number of the

deputyes on the other pte; & for want of such accorde, the cause or order shalbe suspended, & if either ptie thinke it soe materiall, there shalbe forthwith a comitteē chosen, the one halfe by the magistrates & the other halfe by the deputyes, & the comittē soe chosen to elect an umpire, whoe togeather shall have power to heare & determin the cause in question."¹

It is to be observed that the concluding words of this act, which provide for a committee of conference and the choice of an umpire, refer in terms only to "cause or order" and the only thing which they have power to "heare & determin" is "the cause in question." These words both in their common meaning and in their strict signification refer to something in the nature of a suit or litigation. No mention is made in this connection of a "lawe" as to which in the earlier part of the statute current action of the greater part of the magistrates and the greater number of the deputies is required. Concerning legislation in the nature of enactment of laws, the absolute negation of one branch on action by the other seems thus to have been established. However, even if the concluding words of this statute are given a broader scope than is indicated by their natural significance and the committee of conference and umpire be thought to apply to every vote, it still is indubitable that this statute established the separation of the legislative department of the colony into two separate, distinct and independent bodies, whose concurrent affirmative vote was required to the enactment of laws. Notwithstanding this positive action, still the subject of the negative voice was much debated. It was a fundamental question in government. It would not easily down. It required full discussion in order that the public mind might be at rest. The litigation between Richard Sherman and Captain Keayne afforded good ground for renewal of the arguments. The dramatic incidents of the case challenged universal attention. The simplicity of the issue involved could be comprehended by everybody. Its relation to the principle of the

¹[1 Records of Massachusetts, 170]

"negative voice" was direct and immediate. There was much writing concerning the point after the first decision by the General Court in 1642. "The deputies were very earnest to have it taken away." One of the magistrates wrote "a small treatise" about it and another wrote an "answer." Thereupon Winthrop himself wrote "a reply". This paper alone survives of those written at the time. The original is now in the archives of the commonwealth and a copy is printed in 2 Life and Letters of John Winthrop, 427-438; see also 440-459. While the controversy was at its heat the General Court took this action, May 10, 1643:

"This Co^t being to bee adiourned, it is desired, that ev^y member of this Co^t will use their best indeavo^r in the mean time to informe themselues & the Co^t concerning the question about the negative vote, & to take advice from any therein; and it is ordered, y^t it shalbee no offence for any of them, or any other, either elder or other pson, who shall, either privately or in any lawfull assembly, deliver their minds soberly & peaceably therein, or to deliver the same in writing, in any modest or breife way, so it bee under their hand, & the elders to bee desired to give their advice in the case."²

Doubtless as a result of this action, an illuminating discussion of the negative voice was contributed by one of the elders. See Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, Jan. 1913, p. 276, et seq. The conclusion of the whole affair was that not only was the statute of March 4, 1635, establishing the negative voice not repealed but the matter was set at rest by the passage on March 7, 1644, of this law:

"It is therefore ordered, first, that the magistrates may sit & act busines by themselues, by drawing up bills & orders w^{ch} they shall see good in their wisdom, w^{ch} haveing agreed upon, they may p^sent them to the deputies to bee considered of, how good & wholesome such orders are for the country, & accordingly to give their assent or dissent, the deputies in like mann^r siting a p^t by themselues, & consulting about such orders & lawes as they in their discretion & expⁱence shall find meete for com^on good, w^{ch} agreed upon by them, they may

²[2 Records of Massachusetts, 40.]

present to the magistrates, who, according to their wisdom, having seriously considered of them, may consent upon them or disallow them; & when any orders have passed the approbation of both magistrates & deputies, then such orders to be ingrossed, & in the last day of the Court to be read deliberately, & full assent to be given; provided, also, that all matters of judicature which this Court shall take cognizance of shall be issued in like manner."⁸

In 2 Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England, 46, under date Sept. 7, 1643, appears this:

"Three conclusions were delivered in by Mr Cotton, in the name of himselfe & other elders about the negative voice."

It has been thought that these are the long answers of the elders printed in 2 Records of Massachusetts, 90-96, under date of Nov. 13, 1644, although the substance of these answers seems to relate largely to other matters and does not directly touch the negative voice. Moreover, they are subsequent to the law of March 7, 1644, by which the question was laid at rest. (See *Commonwealth v. Roxbury*, 9 Gray, 451, 481.)

It was resolved by a vote of May 6, 1646 that "notwithstanding all the reasons alleged" the separate sittings and actions of the house of deputies should be continued. 3 Records of Massachusetts 62 [65].

A superficial examination of the colony records might lead one to think that the controversy arose again. Under date of May 14, 1645, 3 Records of Massachusetts, 11, occurs this:

"Itt is ordered, yt Mr Speaker, Major Gibbons, Mr Dummer, Left Duncomb, & Mr Sparrowhawke shall joine wth o^r honno^{red} Dep^y Goun^t, Mr Bradstreete, & Mr Hibbings as a committee to consider of some way whereby y^e negative vote may be tempered, yt justice may have free passage, & yt y^e retourne of y^e committee be presented to y^e consideration of y^e Courte."

No record of a report of this committee is found. On October 17, 1649, by the General Court,

⁸[2 Records of Massachusetts, 58-59.]

"It is ordered, that in cases wherein there hath been difference the Generall Court should heare the case together, & determine the case by y^e major vote."⁴

This on its face was an abolition of the negative vote. But that this was not its purpose or intent or effect is manifest from a later vote. Under date of May 26, 1652, 4 Records of Massachusetts, Part I, 82, occurs the following:

"Whereas there is a manifest & inconvenient mistake in the penning of the order, title Gennerall Court, page the 8th of the last printed booke, that leaves all or most of the cases formerly issued in the Gennerall Court doubtfull & vncertjane, and takes away the negative vote, both of Magist^{as} and Deputjes, in making lawes, as well as in cases of judicature, which was not intended, much lesse consented to, itt is therefore ordered, that for tyme to come, if there fall out any difference betwixt y^e Magistrates and the Deputjes, in any case of judicature, either civill or criminall, it shall be determined by y^e major p^{rt} of the whole Court, and the forementioned lawe is hereby repealed."

Substantially the same entry is found in 3 Records of Massachusetts, 266, under date of May 27, 1652. A further record is found much later; under date of May 7, 1673, 4 Records of Massachusetts, Part II, 559, occurs the following entry:

"It is ordered, & Samuel Symonds, Esq̄, Dep^t Goû, Symon Bradstreet, & Wm Staughton, Esqs, M^r Jn^o Oxenbridge, M^r Vryan Oakes, Cap^t Joshua Hubbard, M^r John Richards, M^r Henry Bartholmew, Cap^t John Hull, & M^r Samuel Torrey shallbe & hereby are appointed a committee to consider of these three questions or proposalls, the magistrates to appoint time & place of meeting, making their return to the next sessions of y^e Court. 1 Q. Whither according to pattent there be a negative vote in any part of the Generall Court; if there be, then in what cases. Secondly. How farr our possitive lawes doe in this matter agree wth or disagree from the patent.

3Q. Where the vse of the neagative voat causeth an obstruction in any matter of necessity to be concluded or of great moment to the publick, what may be the best expedient for an issue, whither by lot or otherwise."

It does not appear that this committee ever made

⁴[2 Records of Massachusetts, 285.]

report. It seems manifest, however, that all these records relate to the decision of questions strictly judicial in their nature and have nothing to do with legislative principle involved in the earlier records. The statutes of 1635 and 1644 stand together unaffected in essence by later action, and apparently the governmental controversy was stilled by the statute of the latter year.

Thus separate sittings for the two houses came into existence as part of the government of the colony. Two houses as independent branches had been established nine years earlier. That was the vital step. Two distinct branches of the general court might in those days without inconvenience sit together except in cases of disagreement. Separate sittings were bound to come sooner or later. The *sow case* accentuated the difficulty of two independent branches sitting together and brought it distinctly to public attention. It was the occasion for the permanent establishment of separate sittings. Its real significance, however, is that it settled finally that in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, there should be two branches of the General Court. There was hammered out upon the anvil of free public discussion, to which the case gave rise, the mighty principle that this should be a government with a single legislative department divided into two distinct and independent branches. That itself was but an amplification of the deeper principle that this should be a representative government and not a pure democracy. That which has come down to us of the writings on the subject shows that the first settlers had a profound and accurate appreciation of the inherent and fatal weaknesses of a pure democracy and of the absolute necessity of a representative form of government for the preservation and permanence of free institutions. They bent their energies with deep conviction toward the establishment of a government which could endure. The march of events during the last three centuries has demonstrated their wisdom and foresight.

APPENDIX I

Copy of Manuscript in Possession of American Antiquarian Society.

ATT THE GENERAL COURTT (3) 18-1642

A breaviate of ye Case betwene Richard Sheareman plt by petition & Capt Robert Keaine defen^t aboute ye title to A straye Sowe supposed to be broughtt frō Deare Iland about (9)^{ber}-1636.

THE POYNTS IN THE CASE AGREED

1 The plt had a Sowe all white, save a black Spott under the eye of the bignesse of a Shilling & a ragged eare.

2 This Sowe was Carryed to deare Iland

3 Noe prfe that it was brought back. onelye prbable itt might be though neare 40 Swine miscaryed there that yeare

4 The defen^{dt} had a straye Sowe sposed to be brought frō Deare Iland last yeare

5 This Sowe was Cryed divers tymes, & many came & sawe her, in the tyme the defend^t kept her, w^{ch} was betwene one & 3 yeares.

6 The defend^{dt} had before this tyme, a faire white Sowe of his owne w^{ch} he kept in his yarde wth the straye Sowe about a yeare.

7 The defen^{dt} killed one of these Soves about (8)^{ber} 1637

8 The pl^{ts} wife soon after, charged the defen^{dt} to have killed her Sowe

9 The defen^{dt} shewing the pl^{ts} wife the Sowe w^{ch} remained alive she disclaimed itt

10 Upon Complaint of y^e pl^{ts} wife, the cause was brought to y^e Elders (as matter of offence) & upon hearing all Allegations, & the most materiall witnesses on booth parts, the defen^{dt} was cleared.

11 The cause thus rested till (2-1640 and then the pl^{ts} wife brought itt to the Inferyor Courte att Bostō where (upon a full hearinge) the jurye founde for y^e defen^{dt} & awarded him about 3[£] costs

12 Now (about 2 yeares after) the pl^t brings the cause (by petition) into the generall Courte declynyn the Court of

Assistants to w^{ch} itt prplye belonged, & declares againe for the Sowe w^{ch} was killed (8^{ber}-37.

THE EVIDENCE

pr.pl^t Two or three witnesses that the Sowe killed (8^{ber}-37 had sume such black spott under the Eye & some cutts or ragges on the eare

pr. def^t 1 This contradickt by more witnesses (w^{ch} yet may be reaconsiled by other witnesses of thee pl^{ts} (viz) that the defen^{ts} owne Sowe had sume such spott thereabout in the skinn butt not in the haire & soe might not be easye to discerne when the haire was thick, butt apparent when the haire was off.

2 prvd by 6 or 7 witnesses whoe then lived in the defen^{ts} famelye, but are all gone since (but one or two) y^t this Sowe was the defend^{ts} owne, & bought of one Houghton.

For the other Sowe w^{ch} was alive a yeare after pr.pl^t divers witnesses, that this Sowe had such markes as the pl^{ts}

pr.def^{tt} 11 more witnesses (& of as good credytt) that this Sowe (which was the straye) had other markes & not such as the pl^t Claimed itt by

2 Itt was clearely prvd that this was the onely straye Sowe the defen^{dt} had, that this was offered to be shewed to the pl^{ts} wife before the first Sowe was killed though att another tyme denyed her, for some reasons then alledged by y^e defen^{tt} & that she was shewed itt after in thee defen^{ts} yeard & confidently disclaimed itt as none of hers, And now againe, upon her Oath in the Courtt did claime A Sowe by other markes & not such as this Sowe had.

For a 3 Sowe never spoaken of before this Courte pr.pl^t A wnesse or 2 that they sawe a 3^d Sowe in the defen^{ts} yarde.

pr.def^{tt} 1 This can be of noe waight against soe manye witnesses to the contrarye.

2 This 3^d Sowe is not prvd to have such markes as the pl^{ts}

3 This might be one of the broode of the other Soves, or some Neigh^{rs} swine taken in the defen^{ts} garden & kept up wth his owne, till the owner fetched it awaye.

4 the pl^{ts} claime & the scope of his Evidence being for the Sowe killed about (8^{ber})-37- if he faile of that the Courte is not to seeke out a Sowe for him.

THE WHOLE EAVIDENCE IS THUS BALLANCED.

pr.pl^t The testimon^y consider agt amount to a pbable eavidence, that the defen^{tt} had & converted to his owne use the pl^{ts} Sowe.

Ball^d The testimonyes reaching noe further, maye albe true, & yett the defen^{tt} not guiltye, nor anye of these Sowes the pl^{ts}.

pr.def^{tt} The testimonyes (whether considered agtt or wth the other) afforde Evidence of Certaintye, raised upon certaine grownds, as occasion, oppertunity, familiaritie, freaquencye &c.

Ball^d. If this testimonye be true, Itt is not possible the defen^{tt} should be guiltye, or anye of these Sowes the pl^{ts}.

FOR INSTANCE

Joseph wanders alone in the wilderness his Coate is founde torne & bloudie, he is never heard off for manye yeares: upon this pbable evidence, Jacob concluds that Joseph was devoured of a wilde beast: But when evidence of certaintye comes out of Aegypt that he was ther alive, & Lord of Egipe the former evidence was invailed & the Spirit of Jacob revived, & now he concluds he was living; though he knewe not how he should come thither, or how he should be soe advansed there, Now lett anye impartiall hande hold the scales while religion & sownde reason give Judgm^t in the case.

Yett (if neede weare) this might be added, that whereas the pl^{ts} wife was allowed to take her Oath for the markes of her Sowe, the defen^{dt} & his wife (being denyed the like libertye) come voluntarelye into y^e Court & solomelye in the preasence of god declared. 1. that y^e Sowe w^{ch} was first killed was there owne. 2. that y^e Sowe w^{ch} remained & was shewed the pl^{ts} wife & w^{ch} she disclaimed was the Straye Sowe. 3. that they never had anye other straye Sowe.

This cause (after the best pt of 7 dayes spent in Examinatio & agitation) is by the breakeing up of the Courte dismissed not by occasion of A negative voate in y^e Magistrats (as is misreported) but by A fundamentall & Just lawe agreable to sounde reason as shall appeare (the Lord willinge) in due season: The lawe was made upon searious consideratiō & advise wth all y^e Elders (1) 1635 to this effect.

Noe lawe Sentence &c shall passe as an act of the Courte, without the consent of the greater pt of the magistrats of the one pte & the greater number of the deaputies on the other parte.

There were p^rsent in y^e Courte, when ye voate was to be taken. 9. Magistrats & 30 Deaputies whoe had all heard the Cause examined and argued, soe as noe centance could be legally passed wthout Consent of 5 magistrats and 16 deaputies w^{ch} neither pl^t nor defen^t had for there were but 2 magist^{rs} & 25 deput^s for the pl^t & 7 magist^{rs} & 8 deput^s for the defend^t the other 7 stood doubtfull. yett was there noe necessitye that the cause might not have bene brought to an issue, for eyther the Court might have Argued the Case againe (by w^{ch}) meanes some who were doubtfull might have come to a reasolutⁿ or others might have changed there Judgm^{ts} & soe have p^rceeded to a new voate, or else Comittyes might have bene Chosen, to order the Cause according to lawe.

That this is the true state of y^e Case for the substance of itt, as it hath beene Considered & allowed, by other of my breethren & Assotiats booth Magistrats & deaputies (wth our p^rseedings therein) w^{ch} we shall not be ashamed (by the Lords helpe) to avouch & maintaine, before all y^e world I doe heare affirme under my hand: Dated att Bostō this 5.-15-1642

JOHN WINTHROP ^{GOVT}

APPENDIX II.

2 Winthrop's History of New England, 69-72.
1642, April 22.

At the same general court there fell out a great business upon a very small occasion. Anno 1636, there was a stray sow in Boston, which was brought to Captain Keayne: he had it cried divers times, and divers came to see it, but none made claim to it for near a year. He kept it in his yard with a sow of his own. Afterwards one Sherman's wife, having lost such a sow, laid claim to it, but came not to see it, till Captain Keayne had killed his own sow. After being showed the stray sow, and finding it to have other marks than she had claimed her sow by, she gave out that he had killed her sow.

The noise hereof being spread about the town, the matter was brought before the elders of the church as a case of offence; many witnesses were examined, and Captain Keayne was cleared. She, not being satisfied with this, by the instigation of one George⁵ Story, a young merchant of London, who kept in her house, (her husband being then in England,) and had been brought before the governour upon complaint of Captain Keayne as living under suspicion, she brought the cause to the inferiour court at Boston, where, upon a full hearing, Captain Keayne was again cleared, and the jury gave him 3£ for his cost, and he bringing his action against Story and her for reporting about that he had stolen her sow, recovered £20 damages of either of them. Story upon this searcheth town and country to find matter against Captain Keayne about this stray sow, and got §one§ of his witnesses to come into Salem court and to confess there that he had forsworn himself; and upon this he petitions in Sherman's name, to this general court, to have the cause heard again, which was granted, and the best part of seven days were spent in examining of witnesses and debating of the cause; and yet it was not determined, for there being⁶ ||nine magistrates|| and thirty deputies, no sentence could by law pass without the greater number of both, which neither plaintiff nor defendant had, for there were for the plaintiff two magistrates and fifteen deputies, §and for the defendant seven magistrates, and eight deputies⁷§, the other seven deputies stood doubtful. Much contention and earnestness there was, which indeed did mostly arise from the difficulty of the case, in regard of cross witnesses, §and some prejudices§ (as one ||⁸ professed||) against the person, which blinded some men's judgments that they could not attend the true nature and course of the evidence. For all the plaintiff's witnesses amounted to no more but an evidence of probability, so as they might all swear true, and yet the sow in question might not be the plaintiff's. But the defendant's witnesses gave a certain evidence, upon their certain knowledge, and

⁵My search for any traces of this man has been unsuccessful.

⁶||one magistrate||

⁷It is strange how the former editor could have suffered the mutilated sentence to pass.

⁸||protested||

that upon certain grounds, (and these as many and more and of as good credit as the others,) so as if this testimony were true, it was not possible the sow should be the plaintiff's. Besides, whereas the plaintiff's wife was admitted to take her oath for the marks of her sow, the defendant and his wife (being a very godly sober woman) was denied the like, although propounded in the court by Mr. Cotton, upon that rule in the law he shall swear he hath not put his hands to his neighbour's goods. Yet they both in the open court solemnly, as in the presence of God, declared their innocency, &c. Further, if the case had been doubtful, yet the defendant's lawful possession ought to have been preferred to the plaintiff's doubtful title, for in *equali jure melior est conditio possidentis*. But the defendant being of ill report in the country for a hard dealer in his course of trading, and having been formerly censured in the court and in the church also, by admonition for such offences, carried many weak minds strongly against him. And the truth is, he was very worthy of blame in that kind, as divers others in the country were also in those times, though they were not detected as he was; yet to give every man his due, he was very useful to the country both by his hospitality and otherwise. But one dead fly spoils much good ointment.⁹

⁹Frequent animadversions are found in our records on cases of real or supposed overcharge for labour and commodities. A ludicrous one, mentioned by Hubbard, 248, is more satisfactorily stated in our records of the colony I. 250, at a general court 22 of 3, 1639: "Edward Palmer, for his extortion, taking 1 pound 13.7, for the plank and woodwork of Boston stocks, is fined 5 pounds, and censured to be set an hour in the stocks." Afterwards the fine was "remitted to ten shillings." The remainder of the sentence, I fear, was executed. Our Ipswich chronicler is almost facetious about this part: he "had the honour to sit an hour in them himself, to warn others not to offend in the like kind."

The unhappy subject of the controversy in the text was exposed to very general blame, and several particular complaints. I have seen an original affidavit of Thomas Wiltshire, that for work done at Captain Keayne's house there was due to the deponent 38 shillings, and that K. sold him a piece of broad cloth, "which he said was Spanish broad cloth, and delivered for payment to this deponent at seventeen shillings per yard, the which cloth this deponent showed to Henry Shrimpton, and he said it was not worth above ten shillings per yard, for it was but cloth rash, and he said Goodman Read, and his wife showed a waistcoat of the same kind of cloth, which cost but nine shillings per yard, and in this deponent's judgment was better cloth; and this deponent showed the same cloth to Mr. Rock, and he said it was worth but ten shillings per yard, for it was but cloth rash, and this deponent showed it also to Mr. Stoddard, and he said likewise that it was cloth rash, and was not worth above ten shillings per yard, and was dear enough of that price, or words to that effect." Such was the dangerous form and matter of judicial investigations in the early days.

2 History of New England by John Winthrop, pp. 69-72

There was great expectation in the country, by occasion of Story's clamours against him, that the cause would have passed against the captain, but falling out otherwise, gave occasion to many to speak unreverently of the court, especially of the magistrates, and the report went, that their negative voice had hindered the course of justice, and that these magistrates must be put out, that the power of the negative voice might be taken away. Thereupon it was thought fit by the governour and other of the magistrates to publish a declaration of the truestate of the cause, that truth might not be condemned unknown. This was framed before the court brake up; for prevention whereof, the governour tendered a declaration in nature of a pacification, whereby it might have appeared, that, howsoever the members of the court dissented in judgment, yet they were the same in affection, and had a charitable opinion of each other; but this was opposed by some of the plaintiff's part, so it was laid by. And because there was much labouring in the country upon a false supposition, that the magistrate's negative voice stopped the plaintiff in the case of the sow, one of the magistrates published a declaration of the necessity of upholding the same. It may be here inserted, being but brief.

APPENDIX III

2 Winthrop's History of New England, 115-119.
1643.

The sow business not being yet digested in the country, many of the elders being yet unsatisfied, and the more by reason of a new case stated by some of the plaintiff's side and delivered to the elders, wherein they dealt very ¹⁰partially, for they drew out all the evidence which made for the plaintiff, and thereupon framed their conclusion without mentioning any of the defendant's evidence. This being delivered to the elders, and by them imparted to some of the other side, an answer was presently drawn, which occasioned the elders to take a view of all the evidence on both parties, and a meeting

¹⁰particularly

being procured both of magistrates and elders (near all in the jurisdiction) and some of the deputies, the elders there declared, that notwithstanding their former opinions, yet, upon examination of all the testimonies, they found ||¹¹such|| contrariety and crossing of testimonies, as they did not see any ground for the court to proceed to judgment in the case, and therefore earnestly desired that the court might never be more troubled with it. To this all consented except ||¹²Mr. Bellingham|| who still maintained his former opinion, and would have the magistrates lay down their negative voice, and so the cause to be heard again. This stiffness of his and singularity in opinion was very displeasing to all the company, but they went on notwithstanding, and because a principal end of the meeting was to reconcile differences and take away offences, which were risen between some of the magistrates by occasion of this sow business and the treatise of Mr. Saltonstall against the council, so as Mr. Bellingham and he stood divided from the rest, which occasioned much opposition even in open court, and much partaking in the country, but by the wisdom and faithfulness of the elders, Mr. Saltonstall was brought to see his failings in that treatise, which he did ingenuously acknowledge and bewail, and so he was reconciled with the rest of the magistrates. They laboured also to make a perfect reconciliation between the governour and Mr. Bellingham. The governour offered himself ready to it, but the other was not forward, whereby it rested in a manner as it was. * * * The deputies, also, who were present at this meeting and had voted for the plaintiff in the case of the sow, seemed now to be satisfied, and the elders agreed to deal with the deputies of their several towns, to the end that that cause might never trouble the court more. But all this notwithstanding, the plaintiff, (or rather one G. Story ||¹³her|| solicitor,) being of an unsatisfied spirit, and animated, or at least too much countenanced, by some of the court, preferred a petition at the court of elections * * * it was returned that the greater part of them did conceive the cause should be heard again, and some

¹¹||much||

¹²||blank||

¹³||his||

others in the court declared themselves of the same judgment, which caused others to be much grieved to see such a spirit in godly men, that neither the judgment of near all the magistrates, nor the concurrence of the elders and their mediation, nor the loss of time and charge, nor the settling of peace in court and country could prevail with *§them§* to let such a cause fall, (as in ordinary course of justice it ought,) as nothing could be found in, by any one testimony, to be of criminal nature, nor could the matter of the suit, with all damages, have amounted to forty shillings. But two things appeared to carry men on in this course as it were in captivity. One was, the deputies stood only upon this, that their towns were not satisfied in the cause (which by the way shows plainly the democratical spirit which acts our deputies, &c.) The other was, the desire of the name of victory; whereas on the other side the magistrates, &c. were content for peace sake, and upon the elders' advice, to decline that advantage, and to let the cause fall for want of advice to sway it either way.

Now that which made the people so unsatisfied, and unwilling the cause should rest as it stood, was the 20 pounds which the defendant had recovered against the plaintiff in an action of slander for saying he had stolen the sow, &c. and many of them could not distinguish this from the principal cause, as if she had been adjudged to pay 20 pounds for demanding her sow, and yet the defendant never took of this more than 3 pounds, for his charges of witnesses, &c. and offered to remit the whole, if she would have acknowledged the wrong she had done him. But he being accounted a rich man, and she a poor woman, this so wrought with the people, as being blinded with unreasonable compassion, they could not see, or not allow justice her reasonable course. This being found out by some of the court, a motion was made, that some who had interest in the defendant would undertake to persuade him to restore the plaintiff the 3 pounds (or whatever it were) he took upon that judgment, and likewise to refer other matters to reference which were between the said Story and him. This the court were satisfied with, and proceeded no further.

There was yet one offence which the elders desired might also be removed, and for that end some of them moved the

governour in it, and he easily consented to them so far as they had convinced him of his failing therein. The matter was this. The governour had published a writing about the case of the sow, as is herein before declared, wherein some passages gave offence, which he being willing to remove, so soon as he came into the general court, he spake as followeth, (his speech is set down verbatim to prevent misrepresentation, as if he had retracted what he had wrote in the point of the case:) "I understand divers have taken offence at a writing I set forth about the sow business; I desire to remove it, and to begin my year in a reconciled estate with all. The writing is of two parts, the matter and the manner. In the former I had the concurrence of others of my brethren, both magistrates and deputies; but for the other, viz. the manner, that was wholly mine own, so as whatsoever was blame-worthy in it I must take it to myself. The matter is point of judgment, which is not at my own disposing. I have examined it over and again by such light as God hath afforded me from the rules of religion, reason, and common practice, and truly I can find no ground to retract any thing in that, therefore I desire I may enjoy my liberty herein, as every of yourselves do, and justly may. But for the manner, whatsoever I might allege for my justification before men, I now pass it over: I now set myself before another judgment seat. I will first speak to the manner in general, and then to two particulars. For the general. Howsoever that which I wrote was upon great provocation by some of the adverse party, and upon invitation from others to vindicate ourselves from that aspersion which was cast upon us, yet that was no sufficient warrant for me to break out into any distemper. I confess I was too prodigal of my brethren's reputation: I might have obtained the cause I had in hand without casting such blemish upon others as I did. For the particulars. 1. For the conclusion, viz. now let religion and sound reason give judgment in the case; whereby I might seem to conclude the other side to be void of both religion and reason. It is true a man may (as the case may be) appeal to the judgment of religion and reason, but, as I there carried it, I did arrogate too much to myself and ascribe too little to others. The other particular was the profession I

made of maintaining what I wrote before all the world, which, though it may modestly be professed, (as the case may require,) yet I confess it was now not so befitting me, but was indeed a fruit of the pride of mine own spirit. These are all the Lord hath brought me to consider of, wherein I acknowledge my failings, and humbly intreat you will pardon and pass them by; if you please to accept my request, your silence shall be a sufficient testimony thereof unto me, and I hope I shall be more wise and watchful hereafter."

The sow business had started another question about the magistrates' negative vote in the general court. The deputies generally were very earnest to have it taken away; whereupon one of the magistrates wrote a small treatise, wherein he laid down the original of it from the patent, and the establishing of it by order of the general court in 1634, showing thereby how it was fundamental to our government, which, if it were taken away, would be a mere democracy. He showed also the necessity and usefulness of it by many arguments from scripture, reason, and common practice, &c. Yet this would not satisfy, but the deputies and common people would have it taken away; and yet it was apparent (as some of the deputies themselves confessed) the most did not understand it. An answer also was written (by one of the magistrates as was conceived) to the said treatise, undertaking to avoid all the arguments both from the patent and from the order, &c. This the deputies made great use of in this court, supposing they had now enough to carry the cause clearly with them, so as they pressed earnestly to have it, presently determined. But the magistrates told them the matter was of great concernment, even to the very frame of our government; it had been established upon serious consultation and consent of all the elders; it had been continued without any inconvenience or apparent mischief these fourteen years, therefore it would not be safe nor of good report to alter on such a sudden, and without the advice of the elders: offering withal, that if upon such advice and consideration it should appear to be inconvenient, or not warranted by the patent and the said order, &c. they should be ready to join with them in taking it away. Upon these propositions they were stilled, and so an

order was drawn up to this effect, that it was desired that every member of the court would take advice, &c. and that it should be no offence for any, either publicly or privately, to declare their opinion in the case, so it were modestly, &c. and that the elders should be desired to give their advice before the next meeting of this court. It was the magistrates' only care to gain time, that so the people's heat might be abated, for then they knew they would hear reason, and that the advice of the elders might be interposed; and that might there be liberty to reply to the answer, which was very long and tedious, which accordingly was done soon after the court, and¹⁴ published to good satisfaction. One of the elders also wrote a small treatise, wherein scholastically and religiously he handled the question, laying down the several forms of government both simple and mixt, and the true form of our government, and the unavoidable change into a democracy, if the negative voice were taken away; and answered all objections, and so concluded for the continuance of it, so as the deputies and the people also, having their heat moderated by time, and their judgments better informed by what they had learned about it, let the cause fall, and he who had written the answer to the first defence, appeared no further in it.

APPENDIX IV

2 Winthrop's History of New England, 160.
1644.

At the same court in the first month, upon the motion of the deputies, it was ordered, that the court should be divided in their consultations, the magistrates by themselves, and the deputies by themselves, what the one agreed upon they should send to the other, and if both agreed, then to pass, &c. This order determined the great contention about the negative voice.

¹⁴ Publishing does not here mean printing. The tract, written for circulation by Winthrop, is in Our [Mass.] Historical Society's library, dated 5 of 4th mo, 1643. It contains sixteen pages, and is among the Hutchinson MSS.

APPENDIX V

2 Records of Massachusetts, 3.

1642.

"George Story undertook for Rich'd Sherman that if he shalbee cast, what cost shalbee ceased he will beare it."

APPENDIX VI

2 Records of Massachusetts, 12.

1642, June 14.

In the case between Rich'd Sherman & Capt. Keayne, this was ppounded to vote: Whether the defend^t bee found to *have bene possess^t of the plaintiff's sowe, & converted her to his owne use, or not: it was voted by 2 ma^{trats} & 15 deputies for the plaintiffe, & by 7 ma^{trats} & 8 deputies for the defend^t, & 7 deputies were newters.

APPENDIX VII

2 Records of Massachusetts, 51.

1643, October 17.

Mr. Stories petition is answered thus: Wee conceive that hee can blam none but hemselfe that his causes were not tryed the last Quarter Co^rt; & therefore hee must stay till the Co^rt come againe, unlesse in the mean time Capt. Keayne & hee come to an agreem^t betwixt themselues, w^{ch} wee much desire.

Goodm Shermans petition is answered thus: Wee conceive that if Capt. Keayne bee willing, & accordingly shall pforme what was undertaken for him in the first session of this Co^rt, that then Sherman shall give him a discharge for all differences & controversies concerning the sowe; w^{ch} if hee refuse to do, hee shall bee debarred any further hearing forever; but if Capt Keayne refuse, Goodm Sherman may take the benefit of the lawe.

APPENDIX VIII

2 Records of the Court of Assistants Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 119.

1642, December 20.

George Story appearing is discharged of his Bond for appearance to answer Capteine Keayne this Cort.

APPENDIX IX

Hubbard's History of New England, 382-383.

1642.

In the same year [1642] fell out a new occasion of starting the old question about the negative vote in the magistrates; for the country, and all the Courts thereof, (General and Particular,) in a manner, were filled with much trouble, about something¹⁵ that strayed from a poor man's possession in the year 1636; but in this year were revived so many controversies about the true title thereof, as engaged all the wisdom and religion in the country to put an end thereunto. The poor man's cause is like to engage the multitude with a kind of compassion, against which, as well as against the bribes of the rich, the law of God doth caution judges. It proved almost as long and chargeable as *Arrestum Parliamenti Tholosanni*, in the case of Martin Guerra,¹⁶ to find who was the right owner of the thing in controversy.¹⁷ It is much to see the restless and unreasonable striving in the spirit of man, that a lesser Court, that hath power to determine an action of an hundred or a thousand pounds, could not put an issue to a matter of so small a value. It proceeded so far at the last, (through some prejudice taken up against the defendant,) that the very foundations of the whole authority of the country were in danger to be blown up thereby; a report being taken up by the common people of the country that the negative vote of the magistrates (who did in that, as they should in all cases, look more to the nature of the evidence than any preoccupating notion or prejudice to or against the plaintiff or defendant) had hindered the course of justice. On that occasion it was strongly moved

¹⁵First written, *a swine*, which was, in truth, the "something." See Sav. Win. II. 69.—H.

¹⁶The "thing in controversy," in this case, was a woman, whom two individuals claimed as wife.—H.

¹⁷First written, *of the said swine*.—H.

that the said negative vote might be taken away; for, by the Patent, no matter should pass in the General Court, without the concurrence of six of the magistrates, at the least, with the Governor or Deputy, which, in this case, could not be found; therefore was it the more on this account solicitously endeavored that the power of the negative vote in the General Court might be taken away. And it was so impetuously now carried on, that there was scarce any possibility to resist the torrent of common fame, jealousy,¹⁸ * * * * and prejudice of minds, so as at the last, for peace sake, and quieting the minds of the people in the present exigence of the said¹⁹ business, the magistrates yielded to a private reference, as to some circumstances of the action; and the defendant was persuaded to return the poor woman her charges, i. e. what he had received upon the account of a former action, viz., £3, as part of £20, that was granted by the jury; which was done rather out of charity, and respect to the public good, than out of conviction of duty in point of justice, as wise men always apprehended the case. But for the negative vote, it will more naturally fall to be spoken to afterwards.

APPENDIX X

Hubbard's History of New England, 389-391.
1643.

But this business of the book against the Standing Council was no sooner ended, but another controversy was revived about the negative vote, upon occasion of the forementioned controversy, which at this time, in the year 1643, was, by the restless importunity of some, that liked to labor in the fire, called over again; and this caused the same question to be moved afresh, about the magistrates' negative vote in the General Court. The deputies were very earnest to have it taken away. Whereupon one of the magistrates wrote a small treatise, wherein he laid down the original of it from the Patent, and the establishing of it by order of the General Court, in the year 1634; showing thereby how it was funda-

¹⁸MSS. illegible.—Ed. I am obliged to acknowledge it.—H.

¹⁹First written *sow*.—H.

mental to the government, which, if it were taken away, would be a mere democracy. He showed also the necessity and usefulness of it, from Scripture, reason, and common practice, &c. Yet this would not satisfy, but the deputies were earnest to have it taken away; and yet it was apparent, (as some of the deputies themselves confessed,) the most did not understand it. But where men's affections are once engaged upon any design, whether reason persuade to it or not, it is usually with great earnestness pressed on. Those that were, at this time, inclined that way were much strengthened in their purpose by a discourse that fell into their hands, (drawn up by one of the magistrates, as was conceived;) supposing they had now enough clearly to carry the cause, and avoid the danger of all arguments and reasons laid down in the former treatise, and therefore pressed earnestly to have the matter presently determined. But the magistrates told them the matter was of great concernment, even to the very frame of their government, and that it had been established upon serious consultation and consent of all the ministers, and had been continued without any apparent mischief and inconvenience now these fourteen years; therefore it would not be safe nor convenient to alter on such a sudden, and without the advice of the ministers of the country, offering withal that if, upon such advice and consideration, it should appear to be inconvenient, and not warranted by the Patent and by the said order, &c., they should be ready to join with them in the taking it away. Upon these propositions their heat was moderated, and an order drawn up that every member of the Court should take advice; and that it should be no offense for any, either publicly or privately, with modesty to declare their opinion in the case; and that the ministers should be desired to give their advice, before the next meeting of the Court. It was the magistrates' only care to gain this, that so the people's minds might be the more easily quieted; for they knew the ministers would hear reason, and that so there might be liberty to reply to the said answer of one of the magistrates, (very long and tedious, but not with that strength of reason, as was by some apprehended,) which accordingly was done soon after the Court, and published to good satisfaction. One of the ministers also

wrote a small treatise, wherein he, both scholastically and religiously, handled the question, laying down the several forms of government, both simple and mixed, and the true form of the Massachusetts government, and the unavoidable change of the government into a democracy, if the negative vote were taken away.

Thus the deputies, and the people also, having the heat of their spirits allayed by time, and their judgments better informed by what they had learned about it, let the cause fall, and the gentleman who had written the answer to the first defence, &c., appeared no further in it for that time; and it was conceived that there would have been a final end put to that controversy by an Order made in the next Court, March 25, 1644, when there was a motion of the deputies that the Court should sit apart in their consultations, the magistrates by themselves, and the deputies by themselves, and what the one agreed upon they should send to the other, and if both agreed, then to pass, &c. But the controversy could not be so easily determined, so it was laid aside for that time; but afterwards it was agreed that, in case the major part of the deputies, and also of the magistrates, did not unite in the same conclusion in any matter of judicature, that then, the whole Court being met together, the vote of the major part should put an issue to the case; which establishment continued for a long time after.

APPENDIX XI

1 Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, 142-144.
1645.

About this time [1645] there was another struggle for power between the assistants or magistrates, and the deputies. The latter could not bear their votes should lose their effect by the non-concurrence of the former who were so much fewer in number; but, by the firmness of Mr. Winthrop, the assistants maintained their right at this time, and (March 25, 1644) the deputies, not being able to prevail, moved that the two houses might sit apart, and from that time votes were sent in a parliamentary way from one house to the other, and the consent of both was necessary to an act of the court. This continued a

short time, without any further provision, but finally the magistrates consented, that in appeals from the lower courts and all judicial proceedings, if the two houses differed the major vote of the whole should determine. The deputies also looked with envy upon the powers exercised by the magistrates in the recess of the general court, and sent up a vote or bill to join some of their number with the magistrates, who should receive a commission from the court, but this was refused as an innovation upon the charter. The house then desired the magistrates would suspend the exercise of their executive power until the next session. They answered that they must act as occasion required according to the trust reposed in them. The speaker told them they would not be obeyed. The court broke up in this temper. But, disturbances happening with the Indians, it was called together again in a short time, and the deputies voted that (*salvo jure*) for the peace and safety of the colony the governor and assistants should take order for the welfare of the people, in all sudden cases which may happen within the jurisdiction, until the next session of the court. By agreement, all the ministers were called in at the next session, in order to give their opinion upon the point in difference. They determined that the governor, deputy governor, and assistants were invested with the magistral power, (the nature and extent of this power is left in the dark,) and that they do not derive it from the people, who were only to design such persons as they thought fit for the exercise of those powers. Several other points were referred to the ministers at the same time, and all agreed to by both houses with some small amendment.

The controversy between the two houses at this time, was occasioned by a difference in sentiment upon the identity of a swine, which was claimed by a poor woman as having strayed from her some years before, and her title being disputed by a person of more consequence, divided not the court only but the whole country. The identity of Martin Guerre was not more controverted in France. Pity and compassion for the poor woman prevailed with the common people against right. At last those magistrates who had been in favour of the other side, for the magistrates were divided too,

Dudley on one side and Bellingham the other, persuaded the person who they supposed had a good title, and who had recovered below, to relinquish it, that the public peace might be restored.

APPENDIX XII

Mass. Archives, Vol. 38B, p. 214 a.

The Humble Petitioner of Richard Shearman Humbly Sheweth That:

Whereas yo^r Petio^r at the last Court did humbly Petitioner that an issue might bee put to the differrance depending betwixt Cap^t Keayne & himselfe since w^{ch} tyme in answeare therevnto the wor^{ppll} Mr Hibbins resolud your Petio^r that he was sent as from that Honrd Court to tender his goods againe (and that the Petio^r should receiue them as full satisfacon and thervpon discharge the Captaine from all former contraveries &c the w^{ch} he could not doe (because therein he should not onely wronge his owne conscience but alsoe as much as in him Lyeth condemne the vote of the Gennerall Courte, (And if the cause doth remayne Dubious in the Highest Courte yo^r Petice^r knoweth not how the former Act of an inferio^r Court can rest certaine or that it is Lawfull for the Captaine to keepe his goods.

Wherefore yo^r Petio^r haueing ben damnified aboue 30^l: in expence & lose of tyme by waiting for Justice Doth humbly supplicate that he maye nowe obtaine the same and not suffer for some speeches of his wifes any longer Seing the wittness Against her haue erred in there testimonyes & since doe confesse that she vttered not those words as he shall pue before this Honrd Courte.

Maye it therefore please this Honoured Courte tenderly to Compassionate the condiceon of yo^r poore Petio^r and to releiue him therein According to the wayes of Justice

And yo^r Petio^r shall praye &c

Wee conceaue that if Capt Keayne be willing & accordingly shall pforme w^t was vndertaken for him in the first session of this Court that then Sherman shall giue him a discharge for

all differences & controversies concerneing the sowe w^{ch} if hee refuse to doe hee shalbee debarrd any furth^r heareing fo^reuer but if Capt Keayne refuse Sherm[~] may take the benefitt of the lawe.

APPENDIX XIII

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PASTED BY SHARPLES

THE PORTRAITS OF ISAIAH THOMAS

WITH SOME NOTES UPON HIS DESCENDANTS.

BY CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS

ONE hundred years ago, on the 24th of August (1820), the first library building of the American Antiquarian Society was dedicated. On that occasion a formal address was delivered by Isaac Goodwin and during that year the first volume of our Transactions was published under the title, "Archaeologia Americana." It seems not inappropriate that we should recall, at this meeting, Isaiah Thomas, by whose gift that building was erected, by whose foresight the books, then placed in it, were gathered together and by whose interest and active exertions the Society itself had been originated eight years before. In the eulogy delivered by the Hon. Levi Lincoln, in 1831, soon after the decease of Mr. Thomas, we have the only word picture of our founder by a contemporary. While without question a faithful description and an interesting statement, this pen portrait leaves much to be desired by those who would see the features and realize the form of one of the famous figures of the past.

A recent editorial in the daily press¹ claims that the present progress in the use of the pictograph seems certain to destroy all need of written language. Whatever may be in store for us in the future, because of the remarkable development of the film and the graphophone, singly and combined, it is a curious fact that, after more than sixty centuries in perfecting the alphabet, we should seem to be returning to the ideographic form of recording our thoughts in the

¹New York Times, August 15, 1920.

abstract and our impressions and pictures of people in particular for the benefit of posterity. This statement does not ignore the fact that the arts of painting and sculpture, from the dawn of history, have preserved to us most of the knowledge of those early times which we possess. It is my desire merely to indicate a probable development, along these different lines, of these new processes in the future.

In the early part of the 18th century, oil painting and crayon were the favorite forms of preserving the features and figures of their contemporaries, together with that art, which was named in derision, because of his pleas for economy, after the minister of finance of Louis XV, Etienne de Silhouette. The silhouette picture was not only cheap and popular, but the method was practiced by artists whose reputations were the best of their time as well as by many peripatetic wielders of brush and scissors. A high grade of artistic skill was often manifested in these and it would surprise those whose attention has not been called to the subject, to learn the size and number of collections accumulated at the present day, by persons interested in preserving these "shadow pictures" as they were called by Benjamin Franklin. It was my hope to discover an outline portrait of Isaiah Thomas cut by William Brown, by George B. King, or by William M. S. Doyle, the latter a Boston miniature and silhouette artist of merit, but none has yet come to my attention.

In June, 1818, Thomas wrote in his diary, "Engaged Mr. (Ethan Allen) Greenwood to take my likeness. I sat at his request five weeks since, when he finished one for himself. I sat again today for him to make one for myself. I sat six times for this last picture." That the result of Greenwood's work was satisfactory to his sitter is proved by the fact that ten years later in 1828, Thomas commissioned Henry Harding of Boston to make, for him, two copies of this portrait. One of these was presented to Alleghany College of Pennsylvania, from which he had received the degree of LL. D. July 2,

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PAINTED BY GREENWOOD

1818, the other being reserved for "another purpose," as he wrote in his diary. Knowing the intense interest of Thomas in free-masonry and knowing that the Morning Star Lodge of Worcester, which was founded by him, has a portrait of him, like the Greenwood, with the addition of a masonic jewel, it is a fair inference that the other purpose was a gift to that lodge. On the frame of this portrait is inscribed, "1769—Isaiah Thomas,—1831 Master of Morning Star Lodge, 1793-4-7-9-1801-2. Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Mass. 1803-4-5-9. Grand High Priest of the Grand R. A. Chapter of Mass. 1806-7-8." This masonic portrait was copied in 1875 by Charles K. Hardy of this city, and presented by the Worcester lodge to the Royal Arch Chapter of Boston of which Thomas was a member and high official, as the inscription, just read, indicates. There are two other portraits which are evidently copies of the Greenwood, one of which hangs on the walls of Leicester Academy, an institution in which Thomas was warmly interested and to which he sent at least two of his grandsons for education. This portrait has the inscription,—"Isaiah Thomas—Donor, 1831," but it has not been possible to discover from the records of the Academy the occasion of this gift, nor can we be certain by whom it was copied although it resembles very closely the other Harding pictures. The other portrait hangs in the masonic lodge room at Millbury and was presented to that lodge in 1906 by the Misses Randall, now of Boston, who lived in that town until after the death of their father, Abraham G. Randall. In the letter of gift, it is stated that the painting was an heirloom, having been given by the hand of their great grandfather, Isaiah Thomas, to their mother, Elizabeth C. (Simmons) Randall. This portrait, while unsigned and in poor condition was copied from the Greenwood by Edward Dalton Marchant who was born at Edgartown in 1806, and is the only American painter of that name in this period. As he was only 20 at this time, the portrait must be placed among his early work, it having been done before

1828. The proof of this statement lies in the following facts: a portrait of Thomas was drawn on stone and printed by William Pendleton of Boston. On the left side of this plate we find, "Marchant, from the painting by Greenwood," and on the right, "Pendleton's Lithography, Boston." The peculiarities in the face of the portrait, repeated in the print, prove that it was copied from that painting and that therefore the artist of the painting was Marchant. Our associate, Charles H. Taylor, Jr., who has studied this print, and is an authority on these lithographs, states that Mr. Scott, one of Pendleton's workmen, told him that the date of this print was 1828. As Pendleton Bros., who claim to have introduced lithography into America, moved to Philadelphia in 1829, it is probable that this date is correct. As it is also a fact that Thomas owned the painting at this time, it is probable that he intended this print as a frontispiece for his "History of Printing," which had had none. This print is found in some of the copies of that book which had not been bound when published in 1810. An additional argument, that the print was ordered by Thomas lies in the fact that copies of it finished in color are in the possession of several of his descendants of today, through the bequests of a previous generation, no other copies in color being known.

Other portraits of Thomas were made by W. M. S. Doyle, Henry Williams, and Sarah Goodrich. W. M. S. Doyle, previously referred to as a silhouette artist, made a miniature before 1811. This was engraved by William R. Jones of Philadelphia, for the November number of the "Freemason's Magazine," 1811, published in that city. It accompanied an address by Thomas on the occasion of his resignation as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. The plate of this engraving is in the possession of this Society and the picture is recorded in Stauffer's list of American Engravers as number 1526.



PAINTED BY MARCHANT AFTER GREENWOOD

The portrait by Williams, was engraved on copper, in stipple, by John R. Smith for the "Polyanthos," a magazine published in Boston by Joseph T. Buckingham. The portraits for the larger series of this magazine which began in 1812, were all done by J. R. Smith or David Edwin. This appeared in the number for August, 1814 and accompanied a short sketch of Mr. Thomas. It is listed in Stauffer as number 2932.

The more recent picture by Henry Billings was engraved on steel by Stephen A. Schoff and was used in connection with an account of the life and work of Thomas, in Buckingham's "Reminiscences," published in Boston, in the year 1852. It is an excellent likeness and must have been very satisfactory to his lifelong friend, Mr. Buckingham.

Sarah Goodrich, or Goodridge, as Dunlap records it, was born in Templeton in 1788, and died in 1853. The picture by her was copied on steel by Henry W. Smith and the plate used in the second edition of Thomas's "History of Printing," published in 1875. These three plates, also, are in the possession of the Society.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, one of the attractions for the entertainment of people was found in museums containing paintings of eminent men, sculptures, wax figures and objects of local, or national interest and importance. One of the earliest of these, the Columbian Museum, was opened in 1795, in Boston, by Daniel Bowen and Edward Savage. In 1807, W. M. S. Doyle became one of the proprietors and continued his interest until the collection was sold, in 1825, to the New England Museum, of which E. A. Greenwood was the proprietor. Greenwood had opened a small room, in 1812, called the New York Museum, which, in 1818, was named the New England Museum and was enlarged from time to time by the purchase of three, or four other museums in addition to the Columbian, acquired in 1825. This undertaking proved too expensive and it was sold, in 1834, to Moses Kimball, by the assignees of Greenwood, who had failed and retired to

Hubbardston. In 1841, Kimball changed its name to the Boston Museum and, for the first time, combined the performance of theatrical plays with the museum attractions. This action proved so successful that, in 1846, he erected the building in which was housed for many years the famous Boston Museum, which is so familiar to us of the older generation.

These facts are given in such detail because Dunlap states that many of the portraits in the Columbian Museum were painted by Greenwood and Savage, its proprietors. It is therefore certain, that the Greenwood painting, noted in the Thomas diary in 1818, was placed in that museum and indeed hung in the Boston Museum until quite recent years. It is not known today where that or any of the paintings are, as Kimball sold some of them, from time to time, and when the last reconstruction of the Museum took place, the remainder were sent away. While we have been able to trace, thus far, the original Greenwood, we know nothing of the portraits of Thomas by Henry Williams, and Henry Billings, if indeed they were more than sketches for the engravings made from them. In addition to these pictures and standing in this hall is a marble bust of Mr. Thomas, made in 1859 by Benjamin H. Kinney of Worcester, which reflects very happily the expression of the Greenwood painting. An etched plate of Isaiah Thomas, with very ornate border, made for the Society of Iconophiles, hangs on our walls, but the miniature of him in the bookplate of this Society, made by John A. J. Wilcox, better preserves the accepted likeness by Greenwood.

These portraits and prints, largely copied from the Greenwood painting were more or less for the public eye, but there were others, intended for the intimate family life, which should be included in this summary. Isaiah Thomas was married three times, but had children by his first wife only, the names of the living children being, Mary Anne and Isaiah, Junior. The daughter by her second and third husbands had four children, who

were living in 1819. The son, by his wife, Mary Weld had twelve and from these have come the many branches of this Thomas family of the present day. Appended to this paper is a genealogy of Isaiah Thomas, Senior, prepared in part from his Ms. notes, deposited in this library in 1819, and brought to date by correspondence with those of the family within our reach. While there are more than seventy in the present generation, it will be interesting to state here that, of the direct descendants, there are at this date but four bearing the name Thomas: William Thomas, of San Francisco, a member of this Society and his son, Benjamin Franklin Thomas, and William R. Thomas of New York and his son, William Trumbull Thomas. Among many bequests in the will of Isaiah Thomas, written in the year 1820, we find the following of interest in connection with the present subject:

"I bequeath, to my grandson, Isaiah Thomas the large crayon picture of myself together with the small crayon picture of his deceased grandmother.

to my granddaughter, Augusta, the daughter of my son, I give a miniature picture of myself, which picture is set in a gold frame and has plaited hair in the back of it.

to my granddaughter, Caroline, I give another miniature of myself (a crayon).

to my granddaughter, Hannah, I give the crayon picture of her aunt, Miss Hannah Weld, together with a profile framed and a print of myself.

to my grandson, Isaiah Thomas Simmons, I give another crayon picture of myself, a small one but drawn on a larger scale than that given to Caroline.

to my granddaughter, Elizabeth C. Simmons, I give a miniature picture of myself, set in gold, which is now in a small oval wooden box, in the sideboard standing in the parlor, In the same box is the other miniature picture bequeathed to my granddaughter, Caroline."
(This bequest appears in the codicil added in 1830.)

and finally "to the American Antiquarian Society, the recent portrait of myself by Greenwood." (written in 1820.)

To trace these bequests among the members of the present generation has been a very interesting problem and my efforts have everywhere met with keen interest and active assistance. A most interesting miniature, because it represents Thomas as a young man, is in the possession of Mrs. George R. Minot and came from her mother with a miniature of Benjamin F. Thomas, her grandfather. It is set in gold and has the old style of loop at the top showing it to be contemporary work.

A miniature on ivory has just been found by Mrs. George R. Minot, among the papers of Miss Mary Thomas, recently deceased. There has been a tradition for many years that this was painted by Sarah Goodrich and this fact is proved by its resemblance to the engraving by Henry W. Smith in the second edition of Thomas' "History of Printing."

The two miniatures, described in the will as "in a small wooden box" and given to Caroline and Elizabeth, are in the hands of two members of the Thomas family. The one set in gold, left to Elizabeth, belongs to Isaac Rand Thomas, a member of this Society who traces his descent from Elias Thomas, an uncle of Isaiah. This, also is in the original setting.

The unmounted miniature was acquired by William Sloane of New York, who after having it suitably mounted has given it to his daughter Margaret Sloane, she being descended from Frances, wife of William A. Crocker of Taunton. Both of these miniatures came from the Misses Randall, who are granddaughters of Mary Thomas Simmons. The miniature, set in gold with hair in the back, is now in the possession of William Guild Taussig of Boston.

In the preparation of such a paper, one is certain to come across interesting and important information in unexpected places, and it is just this element of discovery which makes pioneer work often seem like



MINIATURE, ARTIST UNKNOWN



MINIATURE BY DOOLE

romance. One such example has been cited in the discovery, from the lithographic print, that Marchant painted the Millbury portrait. The miniatures belonging to Mr. Sloane and to Mr. Thomas are not signed but must have been painted by the same artist. They resemble also so closely the print which appeared in the "Freemason's Magazine" of 1811 that there can be no question that W. M. S. Doyle, whose name appears on that print as the painter, is the artist who made these two miniatures. The inscription on this print reads "Isaiah Thomas, P. G. Master of Massachusetts and Author of History of Printing," and thus proves the miniature to have been painted before 1811, and we know that Doyle was active in Boston in his profession from 1807.

The crayon profile framed, given by will to Hannah, first wife of Samuel L. Crocker, descended to Leonard C. Couch of Taunton. This portrait is now presented by Mr. Couch and myself to this Society. On the back of the frame is written in ink in the handwriting of Thomas, "Isaiah Thomas, 1804, aged 55 when this picture was taken." There is nothing to indicate the artist of this pastel, but through the energy of our librarian, Mr. Brigham, it was examined by Frank W. Bailey and Lawrence Park, both of whom feel sure that it is the work of James Sharples. In the edition of Dunlap's "History of the Arts of Design in the United States," published by Goodspeed and Bailey, it is stated that Sharples painted large numbers of distinguished people, travelling throughout the United States for that purpose. These portraits were finished in about two hours and when in profile were strikingly like the subject, but when in full face never so good. The cost in profile was \$15.00, and most of these are today very valuable, but those in full face have not the same value although the original cost was \$20.00.

In the possession of Mr. Francis H. Bigelow of Cambridge are two pastels, one of Thomas and the other of his wife, Mary. The size of the Thomas head is a

little larger than ours but the resemblance of these profiles to ours proves them to have been made by the same artist. A third pastel, formerly belonging to Mr. Bigelow, is of Mary, wife of Dr. Simmons and has on the back of its frame the date 1804. This would confirm the belief that these, also, were made by Sharples.

These constitute all the known portraits and prints of Isaiah Thomas which have come to my notice, and these facts regarding them have been gathered together in order to preserve in our records, before it is too late, all the definite knowledge of the likenesses of our founder that can be obtained.

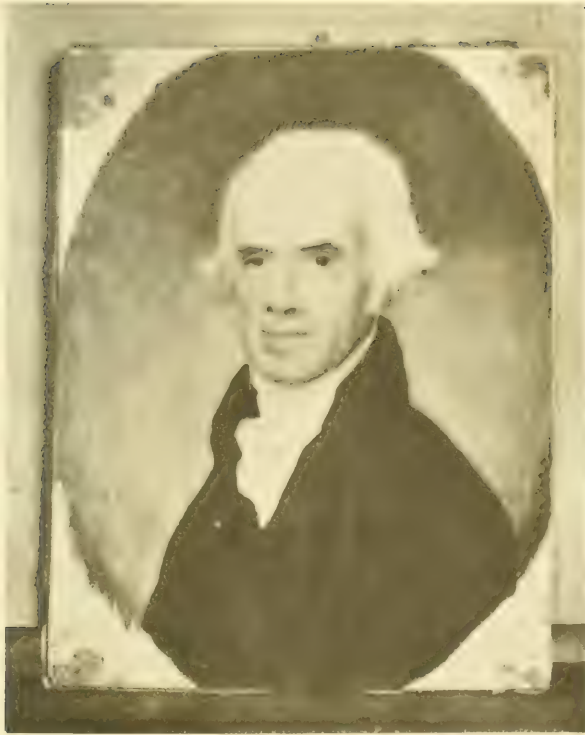
In the manuscript will, which is in our archives, duly signed by Mr. Thomas and later probated, he wrote:

"As I think it the duty of every man, who is a member of any institution established for the public good, to contribute some thing in time and attention or property during his life time or otherwise by legacy for the promotion of its objects and as there are several such institutions of which I have received the honor of membership and for which I have done but little, I do will and bequeath etc, etc."

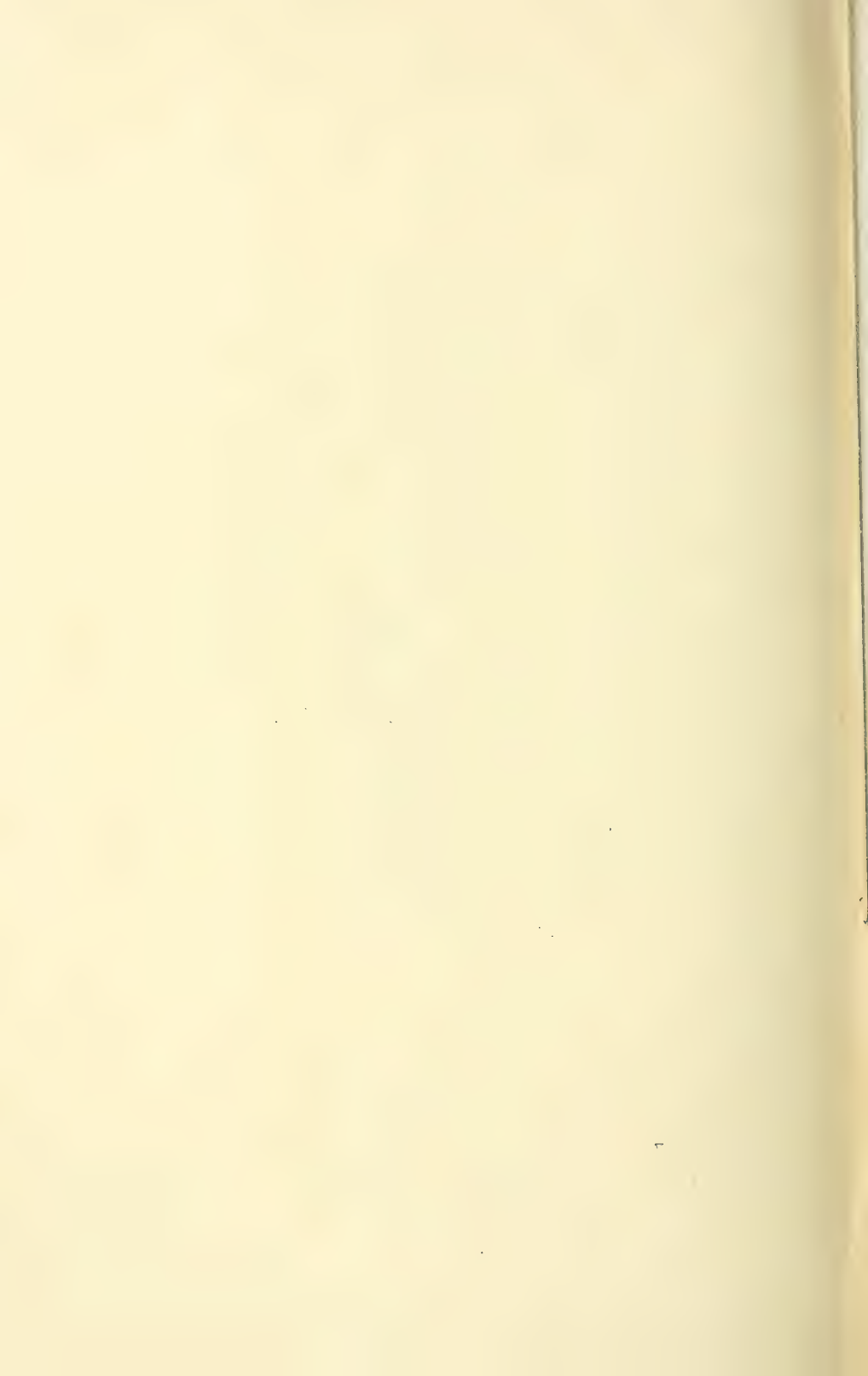
Then follow bequests to eighteen masonic, literary and historical societies as an earnest of his convictions thus expressed.

It is needless to state that, of all these bequests, the largest was to the child of his heart and brain, our own Society. Let me quote his opinion of the Society recorded in the same document:

"The American Antiquarian Society is, in some respects, different from all other societies established in the United States. Membership is restricted to no state, or party. There are no members merely honorary, but all have an equal interest and concern in its affairs and the objects of this institution, whatever part of the United States they may reside in. It is truly a national institution. It has no local views nor private concerns. Its objects (to collect and preserve) embrace all time, past, present and future.



MINIATURE BY GOODRICH



* * * The benefits resulting from the American Antiquarian Society will be increased by time and will be chiefly received by a remote posterity."

These quotations from the last will and testament of Isaiah Thomas, like the recorded acts of his long life, prove the existence of those qualities of intellect, benevolence and vision which are so perfectly portrayed in the Greenwood painting, and so well shadowed forth in the profile presented to the society this day.

LIST OF PORTRAITS, PRINTS AND OTHER REPRESENTATIONS
OF ISAIAH THOMAS, SENIOR

1. Painting by E. A. Greenwood, in 1818, for New England Museum and later the Boston Museum. Present location unknown.
2. Painting by E. A. Greenwood, in 1818, for Thomas. Gift to American Antiquarian Society.
3. Painting, copied by Henry Harding of Boston by order of Thomas, in 1828, for Alleghany College of Pennsylvania.
4. Painting, copied by Henry Harding of Boston by order of Thomas in 1828. Probably the one now in Morning Star Lodge of Worcester.
5. Painting, copied by E. D. Marchant (by order of Thomas?). Given by Thomas to his granddaughter Elizabeth C. Simmons and given by her daughters, the Misses Randall, to the Olive Branch Lodge of Millbury.
6. Painting, copied from Greenwood (by whom unknown) given by Thomas to the Leicester Academy.
7. Portrait by Henry Williams, a Boston painter who lived from 1787 to 1830. This was engraved by J. R. Smith. See below. Present location unknown.
8. Portrait by Henry Billings, location unknown. Copied on steel by S. A. Schoff. See below.
9. Portrait by W. M. S. Doyle of Boston, 1769 to 1828. He painted a miniature of Thomas, unsigned. This was given, unframed, by Thomas to his granddaughter Caroline and is now owned by Miss Margaret D. Sloane, great granddaughter of Frances (Thomas) Crocker. This was engraved by W. R. Jones by whose plate Doyle is acknowledged as the painter. See below.

10. Miniature of Thomas, set in gold, given, by codicil of 1830, to Elizabeth C. Simmons, from whose daughters it was obtained by Isaac Rand Thomas, a member of this Society and descended from Elias Thomas, an uncle of Isaiah. This must have been painted by the same artist as No. 9.
11. Miniature of Thomas, set in gold, in possession of Mrs. George R. Minot. Artist unknown. Represents Thomas as a young man.
12. Miniature of Thomas, in possession of Mrs. George R. Minot unsigned but undoubtedly by Sarah Goodrich. See No. 18.
13. Pastel by Sharples? Bequeathed to Hannah, first wife of Samuel L. Crocker. Owned by Leonard C. Couch, her grandson. Given to American Antiquarian Society.
14. Pastel, now owned by Mr. Francis H. Bigelow, who received it from the Misses Randall, by same artist as No. 13.
15. Print engraved on copper in stipple by W. R. Jones of Philadelphia, for the "Freemason's Magazine," Nov., 1811. From the Sloane miniature. Plate in American Antiquarian Society.
16. Print engraved on copper in stipple by J. R. Smith, for the "Polyanthos." August, 1814. From picture by Henry Williams. Plate in American Antiquarian Society.
17. Print engraved on steel by S. A. Schoff, from picture by Henry Billings for Buckingham's "Reminiscences," published in 1852. Plate in American Antiquarian Society.
18. Print engraved on steel by H. W. Smith, from picture by Sarah Goodrich, for second edition of "History of Printing." Plate in American Antiquarian Society.
19. Lithograph by Pendleton Brothers of Boston, from Marchant painting.
20. Etching for Society of Iconophiles.
21. Etching by J. A. J. Wilcox, for the American Antiquarian Society bookplate.
22. Marble Bust by B. H. Kinney in 1859, in American Antiquarian Society.
23. Miniature of Thomas set in gold, with hair in back. Owned by William Guild Taussig.

THE DIRECT DESCENDANTS OF ISAIAH THOMAS OF WORCESTER

1. EVAN¹ and JANE THOMAS of Wales, came to Boston in 1640 with four children, one being named GEORGE. In Boston, they had two more children:

- i. JANE, b. May 16, 1641; m. Nov. 14, 1657, JOHN JACKSON.
- ii. DORCAS, b. Jan. 25, 1643; d. Feb. 28, 1643.

Jane, wife of Evan, died Jan. 12, 1658 and Evan married, as second wife, the widow of Philip Kirkland in 1659 or 1660. The Boston Vital Records state that Seargant Evan Thomas died Aug. 25, 1661. Alice, the second wife, at first with some difficulty but later with profit, continued the business of Evan and she died in 1697. The records state that Evan had many children and grandchildren, one of the latter being the wife of the Rev. Joseph Belcher.

2. GEORGE² THOMAS, one of the children born in Wales, m. REBECCA MAVERICK. b. Jan. 1, 1660 in Chelsea.

They had eight children.

3. i. PETER, b. Feb. 6, 1681-2.
- ii. MARTHA, b. Sept. 22, 1683.
- iii. GEORGE, b. March 16, 1684-5; m. June 16, 1709, SUSANNA GUTRIDGE.
- iv. REBECCA, b. March 25, 1687.
- v. ANN, b. April 30, 1688.
- vi. DOROTHY, b. Dec. 20, 1690.
- vii. ELIZABETH, b. July 28, 1693.
- viii. MAVERICK, b. Feb. 24, 1694-5; m. JOANNA——and had four children: 1. *James*, b. Oct. 5, 1720. 2. *English*, b. Jan. 4, 1722. 3. *Love*, b. Mar. 19, 1725. 4. *George* b. July 9, 1729.

3. PETER³ THOMAS, b. Feb. 6, 1681-2. m. twice. 1st., Nov. 2, 1704, ELIZABETH, daughter of Rev. George Burroughs. They had six children, all born in Boston. 2nd., March 1, 1719, MARY ROBY, by whom he had five children, two of whom died in infancy.

Children by first wife.

- i. GEORGE, b. July 20, 1705.
- ii. PETER, b. —; m. Mar. 7, 1728, KATHARINE WEBBER and had two daughters.
- iii. ELIAS, b. June 4, 1710; m. July 22, 1735, HANNAH MACMILLON and had several children.
- iv. ELIZABETH, b. Aug. 18, 1714. d. before 1721.
4. v. MOSES, b. Feb. 25, 1715.
- vi. MARY, b. —; m. twice, 1st: March 12, 1732, THOMAS NEWMAN and had two children. 2nd: GEORGE GIBBS.

Children by second wife.

- vii. ELIZABETH, b. May 31, 1721. She died unmarried.
- viii. MERCY, b. Dec. 23, 1724; m. Oct. 20, 1741, GEORGE EUSTIS.
- ix. WILLIAM, b. —; m. Oct. 20, 1748, REBECCA BASS, daughter of Samuel and Christian Bass, born Dec. 27, 1727. They had a daughter *Mary*, b. June 9, 1750. She was second wife of 8. ISAIAH. William d. April 19, 1760 and Rebecca m. June 12, 1769, ZECHARIAH FOWLE who d. in 1776 and she d. in Worcester, July 17, 1803.

4. MOSES⁴ THOMAS and FIDELITY GRANT were married about 1740 and had five children. Moses was born in Boston in 1715 and died in North Carolina in 1752. FIDELITY GRANT of Rhode Island was born in 1725 and died in Worcester, at the home of her son Isaiah, Jan. 17, 1798. She married June 12, 1764, EBENEZER BLACKMAN of Westcambridge and they had a daughter, Mary, who married and lived in Westcambridge. MOSES and FIDELITY had five children, two being born at Hempstead, Long Island and brought up there.

The other three were born in Boston.

- i. ELIZABETH, . m. at Hempstead and went to the West Indies.
5. ii. PETER.
6. iii. JOSHUA, b. March 3, 1745.
7. iv. SUSANNA AMELIA, b. 1747.
8. v. ISAIAH, b. Jan. 19, 1749.

5. PETER⁵ THOMAS, lived at Hempstead. He was twice married. By his first wife, he had two sons, John and Amos. John died at the age of 17 and Amos became a sailor. By the second wife, he had one daughter, Elizabeth, born Jan. 10, 1785. She was formally adopted by her uncle Isaiah and later married, Dec. 9, 1811, Stephen T. Soper of Boston. She died at Braintree, July 12, 1813. Peter also had by second wife a son Isaiah, who died in infancy.
6. JOSHUA⁵ THOMAS, born March 3, 1745 in Boston, married twice. 1st. MARY TWING of Brighton, Mass. and had by her seven children. She died in Lancaster, May 27, 1808. 2nd. MARY ARMSTRONG, daughter of John Armstrong of Boston. Joshua lived at Arlington for many years and finally went to Lancaster where he died, Feb. 4, 1831.
7. SUSANNA⁵ AMELIA THOMAS, b. 1747, married four times, the last husband being CAPT. HUGH McCULLOUGH of Philadelphia. She, again a widow, died on Feb. 20, 1815.
8. ISAAH⁵ THOMAS, born Jan. 19, 1749, in Boston was apprenticed by his mother on June 4, 1756 to Zachariah Fowle and brought up as a printer. He lived in Boston until 1775 when, because of his newspaper activities in behalf of the Colonies, he moved to Worcester. He gave up active work as a printer, in 1802. In 1810 he published a "History of Printing" and founded the American Antiquarian Society in 1812. He received the honorary degree of A. M. in 1814, from Dartmouth College, and that of LL.D. in 1818, from Alleghany College of Pennsylvania. He died, April 4, 1831, in Worcester.
He married three times: 1st. Dec. 25, 1769, in Charleston, S. C., MARY, daughter of Joseph and Anne Dill, of Bermuda, and had three children. He was divorced from her in 1777 by decree of the Supreme

Court of Mass. 2nd. May 26, 1779, in Boston, MARY FOWLE, who died in Worcester, Nov. 16, 1818. She was daughter of William and Rebecca (Bass) Thomas and was born June 9, 1750. She married, May 11, 1769, Isaac Fowle and had two daughters, Rebecca T., b. Feb. 4, 1770., d. Dec. 6, 1773 in New York, and Dorothea Whitmarsh, b. Nov. 5, 1771, d. Sept. 10, 1772. Isaac Fowle died in the Continental Army in 1777. 3rd. Aug. 10, 1819, in Boston, REBECCA ARMSTRONG, daughter of John and Christian Armstrong of Boston.

Her mother, Christian, was daughter of Samuel and Christian Bass whose other daughter, Rebecca, wife of William Thomas, had a daughter Mary, who was the second wife of Isaiah and they were thus cousins. She, born in 1757, died Oct. 21, 1828, in Roxbury.

Children by first wife.

- i. Son, stillborn, Sept. 1770.
9. ii. MARY ANNE, b. March 27, 1772.
10. iii. ISAAH, JUN. b. Sept. 5, 1773.

9. MARY ANNE⁶ THOMAS, daughter of Isaiah and Mary (Dill) Thomas, b. March 27, 1772, in Boston.

While living with her uncle, Joshua, she was admitted to the Precinct Church in Arlington (Menotomy), and baptized Aug. 21, 1791. After her first marriage, she was dismissed to the first church in Springfield, where she went with her husband. She was married three times. 1st. In Arlington, at her uncle's on Jan. 16, 1792, to JAMES R. HUTCHINS of Windsor, Vt. He was a printer and published the "Federal Spy" in Springfield from 1793-96, when he sold it. In 1795 he printed books in Worcester but after that time his career is not known. 2nd. On Oct. 1, 1797, to SAMUEL MATHER, who was b. March 19, 1773 in Whately; Mass., 3rd. In Worcester, May 7, 1805, to DR. LEVI SIMMONS. They lived in St. Albans, Vt., where her children by this marriage were born, and later in Burlington. She was divorced from both second and third husbands by decree of the Supreme Court of Vt.

Child by second marriage.

- i. VALERIA, b. Nov. 24, 1801. She married SAMUEL WILLIAMS of Burlington, Vt., in April, 1818.

Children by third marriage.

- ii. ISAAH, b. July 24, 1806; d. March 7, 1808.
11. iii. MARY THOMAS, b. Sept. 17, 1808.
- iv. ISAAH THOMAS, b. April 20, 1810. He was educated as a printer by his grandfather, and it is said that he worked at his trade in Little Falls, N. Y.
12. v. ELIZABETH CORNELIA, b. Feb. 12, 1813.

The Mss. records prepared by Isaiah Thomas, senior, and placed by him in the library of the American Antiquarian Society state that another child by one of her marriages was named Babbet (Barbara) but no other trace of such child has been found in record or tradition.

10. ISAAH⁶ THOMAS, JUN., born, Sept. 5, 1773 in Boston. He lived in Worcester from 1779 to 1810, when he moved to Boston where he died, June 25, 1819, in consequence of an accident. He married, in May 1797, MARY, daughter of Edward Weld of Boston formerly of Marblehead. He was educated as a printer by his father and bought out his business in 1802. He moved this business to Boston in 1810 where he continued until his death. His wife died, April 26, 1825, in Boston. They had twelve children, six daughters and then six sons.

- i. Daughter, stillborn, Feb. 5, 1798.
- ii. MARY REBECCA, b. July 6, 1799; d. June 17, 1859 in Boston. She m. May 23, 1821, HON. PLINY MERRICK. He was b. Aug. 2, 1794 and d. Feb. 1, 1867 in Boston. They had no children.
13. iii. FRANCES CHURCH, b. Aug. 12, 1800.
- iv. AUGUSTA WELD, b. Aug. 1, 1801; d. Aug. 19, 1822 in Taunton. She never married.
14. v. CAROLINE, b. Sept. 26, 1802.
15. vi. HANNAH WELD, b. Oct. 25, 1803.
- vii. ISAAH, b. Dec. 11, 1804; d. Oct. 4, 1805 in Worcester.
16. viii. ISAAH, b. Nov. 29, 1805.

17. ix. WILLIAM, b. April 11, 1808.
 x. EDWARD WELD, b. Feb. 15, 1810; d. Oct. 4, 1810 in Worcester.
 xi. EDWARD ISAIAH, b. Nov. 11, 1811, in Boston; m. HARRIET, daughter of Bishop Brownell of Hartford and d. on his wedding journey at Saratoga.
18. xii. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, b. Jan. 25, 1813.
 The last two were born in Boston the others in Worcester.

11. MARY⁷ SIMMONS, b. Sept. 17, 1808 in St. Albans; d. Nov. 21-1873 in New Orleans. She married twice: 1st. A. DEMING of Montpelier, Vt., The diary of Isaiah Thomas (Sept. 1, 1826) reads "aged 18, and lately married." 2nd. COL. ALBERT GALLATIN TARLETON of Benton, Ala. They had six children. He was a confederate soldier, although of northern sympathies, and was killed with his four sons in the same year. She went to New Orleans, lived with her daughter and died there of yellow fever in 1873.
 Children of second marriage:
 - i. JAMES.
 - ii. THOMAS.
 - iii. MOSES.
 - iv. JOHN.
 These sons were killed during the Civil War the same year as their father.
 - v. JANE, who married MR. NELSON of Montreal.
 - vi. CORNELIA FERRIS, b. July 29, 1841 in Vermont; m. FRANCIS McKEOUGH. They lived in New Orleans and had a son, *John*, who died at the age of four. She died, a widow, October 12, 1911, in New Orleans.

12. ELIZABETH⁷ CORNELIA SIMMONS, b. Feb. 12, 1813 in St. Albans; d. July 8, 1891 in Boston. She married, Nov. 23, 1831, ABRAHAM GARLAND RANDALL and lived in Millbury, Mass. He was born Jan. 19, 1804 in Manchester, Mass., and died in 1878. He entered Yale in 1822, but transferred his studies to Harvard, where his father, Rev. Abraham Randall graduated in 1798. He continued with the Class of 1826. He was admitted to the Worcester County bar in 1831 and practiced law in

Millbury until 1860 when he moved his office to Worcester. He was, in 1849, postmaster of Millbury.

Children:

- i. CLARA ELIZABETH b. Dec. 7, 1838, now living in Boston.
- ii. MARY THOMAS, b. May 9, 1845, now living in Boston.

13. FRANCES⁷ CHURCH THOMAS, b. in Worcester, Aug. 12, 1800; d. in Staten Island, Apr. 23, 1868. She married, Nov. 10, 1824, WILLIAM ALLEN CROCKER of Taunton. He was b. in Taunton, March 14, 1801; d. in New York, May 13, 1871. He was in Class of 1822 at Brown University, was a Trustee from 1841-1871, and lived in Taunton from 1824 to 1863, when he moved to Staten Island and in 1868 to New York. He was a prominent business man in Taunton, establishing many important industries and taking an active part in the growth of the city.

They had eleven children, all born in Taunton.

Children:

- i. WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, b. Aug. 5, 1825; d. Aug. 18, 1825.
- ii. WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, b. July 4, 1826; d. Feb. 26, 1828.
- iii. SALLY AUGUSTA, b. Sept. 29, 1827; d. Feb. 22, 1828.
19. iv. FRANCES THOMAS, b. Feb. 19, 1829.
- v. ISAIAH THOMAS, b. Feb. 3, 1830; d. Aug. 10, 1830.
20. vi. GEORGE AUGUSTUS, b. Sept. 1, 1831.
- vii. ELIZABETH ANDREWS BAYLIES, b. Dec. 23, 1834; d. Feb. 9, 1910. She was unmarried.
21. viii. WILLIAM BAYLIES, b. July 22, 1836.
- ix. MARY AUGUSTA, b. July 26, 1839; d. Mar. 17, 1916. Unmarried.
- x. HARRIET BEHLING, b. Nov. 26, ; d. March 17, 1846.
- xi. LOUISA MARSTON, b. Sept. 18, 1844. Unmarried, living in New York.
14. CAROLINE⁷ THOMAS, b. Sept. 26, 1802; d. about 1875. She married, as second wife, HON. SAMUEL LEONARD CROCKER of Taunton, who was born there Mar. 31, 1804, and died in Boston, Feb. 10, 1883. He graduated from Brown University in the Class of 1822, was elected a Trustee in 1882, to which office he never qualified because of his sickness and death the following year.

He was a man of large affairs in Taunton, aided in its industries and was in the National House of Representatives from 1853 to 1855.

They had three children, all born in Taunton.

- 22. i. SALLY, b. Nov. 24, 1832.
- 23. ii. SAMUEL LEONARD, JR., b. May 25, 1835.
- iii. ELLEN, b. about 1843; d. July 1904, in Boston; m. in 1870 GEORGE GORDON CROCKER. No children. He was in Class of 1855, Harvard.

- 15. HANNAH⁷ WELD THOMAS, b. Oct. 5, 1803, in Worcester; d. Nov. 22, 1827. m. June 14, 1825, as first wife, HON. SAMUEL LEONARD CROCKER.

Child:

- 24. MARY CAROLINE. b. May 1826.

- 16. ISAAH⁷ THOMAS, b. Nov. 29, 1805. d. lost at sea in 1862. He, graduate of Harvard, Class of 1825, married, May 30, 1831 MARY ANN, eldest daughter of Nathaniel Reeder of Virginia. She was born, June 3, 1808 and died, March 19, 1851. They had nine children. He was appointed by President Lincoln Consul to Algiers and sailed with three children on S. S. Milwaukee in Feb., 1862, for Havre, but the ship was never heard from.

Children:

- i. MARY LOUISE, b. Feb. 26, 1832, at Cincinnati; d. Feb. 16, 1833.
- 25. ii. EDWARD ISAAH, b. Nov. 19, 1833, at Cincinnati.
- iii. ELIZABETH ANDREWS, b. Dec. 1, 1835, at Cincinnati; d. May 23, 1842.
- iv. AUGUSTA WELD, b. Jan. 13, 1838 at Cincinnati; d. Feb. 18, 1838.
- v. MARY CAROLINE, b. Jan. 26, 1839 at Detroit; d. at sea in 1862.
- vi. HENRY CLAY, b. May 18, 1841 at Detroit; d. at sea in 1862.
- 26. vii. WILLIAM REEDER, b. July 18, 1843 at Mt. Auburn, Ohio.
- viii. PLINY MERRICK, b. Mar. 17, 1847 at Springfield, O; d. lost at sea in 1862.
- ix. ALICE, b. May 16, 1849 at Springfield; d. April 15, 1852.

17. WILLIAM⁷ THOMAS, b. April 11, 1808 in Worcester; d. in Longwood, June, 1872. He married twice, 1st. in Aug., 1831, CATHERINE, daughter of Calvin and Naomi Crombie. She died June 16, 1838 in Boston. 2nd. Aug. 28, 1839, CORNELIA JANE, daughter of Benjamin Bangs.

There were no children by this marriage.

Children by first wife:

- 27. i. HELEN, b. Sept. 8, 1832.
 - 28. ii. MARY MERRICK, b. July 31, 1834.
 - iii. CATHERINE CROMBIE, b. June 15, 1836; d. Nov. 28, 1918;
18. BENJAMIN⁷ FRANKLIN THOMAS, b. Feb. 12, 1813 in Boston; d. Sept. 27, 1878, in Beverly. He graduated from Brown, Class of 1830, and received the degree of LL.D. from Brown in 1853, and from Harvard in 1854. He was a Trustee of Brown from 1874 to 1878 and its Chancellor during that time. He was on the Supreme Bench of Mass. 1853-59, and in the National House of Representatives, from 1861 to 1863. He m. MARY ANNE, daughter of John and Agnes Park of Worcester, on Oct. 1, 1835. She died Nov. 13, 1885, in Boston.

Children:

- 29. i. AGNES PARK, b. July 19, 1837.
 - ii. PLINY MERRICK, b. Aug. 24, 1839; d. Feb. 28, 1883.
 - iii. MARY, b. Jan. 25, 1841; d. July 20, 1920. Never married.
 - iv. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, JR., b. Oct. 11, 1842; d. July 21, 1861.
 - v. JOHN PARK, b. Feb. 23, 1845; d. Oct. 18, 1870.
 - vi. AUGUSTA, b. Feb. 23, 1848; d. July 25, 1848.
 - 30. vii. WILLIAM, b. Sept. 5, 1853.
 - 31. viii. ISAAH, b. Sept. 24, 1855; d. April 10, 1890.
19. FRANCES⁸ THOMAS CROCKER, b. Feb. 19, 1829 in Taunton; d. Oct. 16, 1874 in Brookline. m. April 12, 1855 WILLIAM RUSSELL PAINE who was b. Jan. 26, 1823 in Worcester and d. Jan. 9, 1877 in Brookline.

Children:

- i. LILLIE CROCKER, b. May 11, 1856; d. Feb. 19, 1905.
- ii. MARY PICKFORD, b. Dec. 5, 1858; d. April 28, 1859.
- iii. FRANCES THOMAS, b. Sept. 6, 1861.
- iv. BESSIE STURGIS, b. Dec. 15, 1862.
- v. FREDERICK WILLIAM, b. Feb. 22, 1866; m. Nov. 2, 1910 in Providence, R. I., ELIZABETH HARRIET (LYNCH) PEGRAM. No children.

20. GEORGE⁸ AUGUSTUS CROCKER, b. Sept. 1, 1831; m. Jan. 26, 1875, LEAH REESE. d. Oct. 20, 1906.

Children:

- i. JACOB REESE, b. Jan. 1, 1876; m. and lives in Cleveland.
- ii. FRANCES CHURCH, b. Aug. 23, 1877; m. Nov. 22, 1904. WILLIAM SLOANE of New York. Child *Margaret Douglas*, b. June 28, 1910.
- iii. GEORGE AUGUSTUS, JR., b. Aug. 6, 1880; m. ELIZABETH MASTEN of New York. Children: 1. *Arthur Masten*, b. March 6, 1909. 2. *William Reese*, b. June 17, 1919.

21. WILLIAM⁸ BAYLIES CROCKER, b. July 22, 1836. A. M., Brown, 1856. m. ALICE FELLOWES in 1866. He d. January 1886.

Children:

- i. ROBERT IVES, d. in 1915, unmarried.
- ii. WILLIAM BAYLIES, JR., unmarried in Cleveland.

22. SALLY⁸ CROCKER, b. Nov. 24, 1832 in Taunton; d. Oct. 11, 1911. m. June 29, 1853 EDMUND HATCH BENNETT of Taunton. He was born in Manchester, Vt., April 6, 1824. d. Jan. 2, 1898. A. B., Univ. of Vt., 1848. LL.D., in 1872 from same college. Judge of Probate, Bristol County, many years. First Mayor of Taunton. Dean of Law School of Boston University.

They had four children:

- i. CAROLINE, b. Oct. 6, 1854; d. July 25, 1855.
- ii. EDMUND NEVILLE, b. May 23, 1856; d. May 28, 1881 while at Brown University.
- 35. iii. SAMUEL CROCKER, b. April 19, 1858. See number 35.
- 32. iv. MARY ANDREWS, b. Jan. 18, 1861.

23. SAMUEL⁸ LEONARD CROCKER, JR. b. May 25, 1835. A. M. Brown, 1856. LL.B., 1859, Harvard. d. May 27, 1904, at Naples, Italy. m. May 25, 1885 in Italy, CLEMENTINA CIOFFI. A widow, she m. Edgar W. Smith.

Children:

- i. ALICE LEAVENWORTH, b. 1891; m. PERCY G. SMITH of Montpelier, Vt. Children: 1. *Emma Crocker*, b. 1916. 2. *Samuel Crocker*, b. 1917.
- ii. SAMUEL LEONARD, JR., b. 1893; m. RUTH BIGELOW. Children: 1. *Nina Bigelow*. 2. *Lucille Ruth*.

24. MARY⁸ CAROLINE CROCKER, b. May 1826. m. MAJOR GENERAL DARIUS NASH COUCH of Taunton in 1854. He was born July 23, 1822, and graduated from West Point in 1846. He was a Lieutenant in the Mexican War and Colonel at beginning of the Civil War. Later he was General in command of a division in the Army of the Potomac—the division later headed by Gen. Devens. He had charge of the ceremonies at Gettysburg when Lincoln delivered his address. He, later, resigned from the army and lived in Norwalk, Conn.

Children:

33. i. ALICE LEAVENWORTH, b. July 5, 1855.
34. ii. LEONARD CROCKER, b. 1857.

25. EDWARD⁸ ISAIAH THOMAS, b. Nov. 19, 1833 at Cincinnati. m. Dec. 31, 1857 in Boston, HENRIETTA WILLIAMS, daughter of Henry and Almira Briggs. She was a descendant of Roger Williams. d. Jan. 22, 1905 at Brookline where her husband d. Dec. 26, 1890.

Children:

- i. ADA, b. March 14, 1860 at Brookline; m. Oct. 18, 1882, LIVINGSTON CUSHING who was born June 1856. He was of Class of 1879, Harvard and had LL. B. in 1882. He died in 1916. They had no children.
35. ii. AMY REEDER, b. Feb. 4, 1862, at Brookline.
36. iii. BERTHA WILLIAMS, b. Jan. 2, 1869, at Brookline.

26. WILLIAM^s REEDER THOMAS, b. July 18, 1843 at Cincinnati; m. HARRIET D. TRUMBULL of New York. They had two children.

Children:

- i. KATHARINE TRUMBULL, b. Nov. 26, 1892; m. Jan. 20, 1916, LESLIE B. COOPER of Morristown, N. J. Child, b. 1920.
- ii. WILLIAM TRUMBULL, b. May 12, 1894, unmarried.

27. HELEN^s THOMAS, b. Sept. 8, 1832. m. June 5, 1862, CHARLES MAYO ELLIS. She d. Dec. 28, 1878. They had two children.

Children:

- i. WILLIAM THOMAS, b. Aug. 14, 1865; d. Oct. 15, 1865.
- ii. HELEN, b. May 4, 1870; m. June 5, 1893, REV. STOPFORD BROOKE, later M.P. for Cranleigh. Children: 1. *Somerset Stopford*, b. June 16, 1906. 2. *Edith Howe Stopford*, b. Feb. 14, 1911.

28. MARY^s MERRICK THOMAS, b. July 31, 1834, who d. in Nov. 1915. m. twice, 1st. Sept. 13, 1860, GEORGE DWIGHT GUILD, Class of 1845, Harvard, who d. 1862. 2nd. WILLIAM H. GORHAM, M.D., Harvard, 1850, who d. in Florence, April, 1895. No children by this marriage.

Child by first marriage.

37. i. EDITH THOMAS, b. Sept. 22, 1861.

29. AGNES^s PARK THOMAS, b. July 19, 1837. m. RICHARD OLNEY of Oxford, who was born there Sept. 5, 1835. He graduated from Brown University in 1856 and received the degree of LL. D. 1893, Harvard. He was member of Board of Fellows at Brown from 1894 to 1897. Attorney General of United States from 1893 to 1895 and Secretary of State from 1895 to 1897. He d. April 1917 and his wife d. Jan. 25, 1919.

Children:

38. i. AGNES, b. Dec. 3, 1861.
39. ii. MARY, b. Aug. 15, 1864.

30. WILLIAM⁸ THOMAS, b. Sept. 5, 1853. Class of 1873, Harvard LL.B. 1878. Overseer of Harvard from 1916-m. EMMA A. GAY of Ashland, Mass.

Children:

- i. MOLLY, b. 1875; m. LATHAM McMULLIN. Child: *Virginia*.
- ii. HELEN, b. 1878; m. FRED W. KIMBLE. Child: *Barbara*.
- iii. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, b. 1880; m. CHARLOTTE M. EVANS.
Children: 1. *Charlotte*, died in infancy. 2. *Mary Emma*. 3. *Grace*.
- iv. GRACE, b. 1887; d. 1890.
- v. GERTRUDE, b. 1891; m. ROGER BOQUERAZ. Children:
1. *Jeannie*. 2. *Marie Louise*.

31. ISAAH⁸ THOMAS, b. Sept. 24, 1855 in Worcester; d. April 10, 1890 in Goffstown, N. H. He entered Harvard with the Class of 1872 but did not graduate because of ill health. He married, Dec. 27, 1875, at Nashua, N. H., CAROLINE WARE, daughter of George and Elizabeth Lane of Newton. They lived at Goffstown, until his death. His widow married, in 1894, Rev. Cyrus W. Heizer of Wayland and they moved to Ithaca, N. Y. where he died in a few years when she returned to Newton.

Children:

40. i. ELIZABETH, b. April 12, 1877 in Manchester, N. H.
- ii. MARIAN, b. August 12, 1879; d. Sept. 27, 1880.

32. MARY⁹ ANDREWS BENNETT, b. Jan. 18, 1861. m. Nov. 12, 1884 WILLIAM MERRITT CONANT, M.D. He was born Jan. 5, 1856, at Attleboro, R. I. Class of 1879, Harvard and M.D., 1884. Children born in Boston except Ira.

Children:

- i. RUTH, b. Sept. 14, 1885; m. June 10, 1909 CLARENCE MASON JOYCE.
- ii. EDMUND BENNETT, b. Dec. 6, 1886; m. Oct. 11, 1911 ELEANOR EASTMAN HAWKESWORTH. Child: *Robert H*.
b. Aug. 25, 1913.
- iii. IRA MERRITT, b. Aug. 17, 1888 at Bridgewater. m. Nov. 12, 1914, GRACE MADELEINE LOUD.

- iv. WILLIAM MERRITT, b. Mar. 23, 1891; m. June 4, 1919.
DINSMORE PATRICK. Child, *Mary Wolcott*, b. June 9, 1920.
- v. EDITH WATERS, b. Aug. 6, 1896.

33. ALICE⁹ LEAVENWORTH COUCH, b. July 5, 1855; d. July 4, 1884. m. June 8, 1881 H. LEROY RANDALL of New Milford, Conn.

Children:

- i. ALICE NEVILLE, b. May 5, 1882; m. June 1, 1907, GEORGE H. ALLEN of Buffalo, N.Y. Children: 1. *George Randall*, b. April 26, 1908. 2. *Richard LeRoy*, b. Nov. 4, 1910. 3. *Charles Bowker*, b. April 10, 1914. 4. *David William*, b. June 9, 1916. 5. *Ethel Jane*, b. March 22, 1918. 6. *Maria Caroline*, b. June 6, 1920.
- ii. CHARLES COUCH, b. June 25, 1884; d. July, 1885.

34. LEONARD⁹ CROCKER COUCH, b. 1857. m. in 1882, CECILIA MAY FRANCIS of Taunton.

Children:

- i. CECIL THOMAS, b. 1883.
- ii. CAROLINE AVIS, b. 1885.
- iii. DARIUS NASH, b.

35. AMY⁹ REEDER THOMAS, b. Feb. 4, 1862. m. Sept. 9, 1885, SAMUEL C., son of Judge Bennett of Taunton.

Children:

- i. EDMUND NEVILLE, b. Aug. 31, 1887. Harvard, 1910.
- ii. SAMUEL CROCKER, JR., b. Mar. 18, 1890. Harvard, 1912.
m. April 21, 1917, ELIZABETH JACKSON.
- iii. ROGER WILLIAMS, b. Feb. 3, 1892. Harvard, 1913.
- iv. BARBARA, b. Dec. 30, 1893; m. June 26, 1920 LOUIS CAPPEL ZAHNER.
- v. ROSAMOND THOMAS, b. Nov. 13, 1895.
- vi. THOMAS DACRE, b. Dec. 7, 1900.

36. BERTHA⁹ WILLIAMS THOMAS, b. Jan. 2, 1869. m. Apr. 4, 1894, EDWARD M. BEALS, he b. March 30, 1868.

Children:

- i. MADELAINE THOMAS, b. Aug. 16, 1900.
- ii. EDWARD MAURAN, JR., b. May 25, 1902.

37. EDITH⁹ THOMAS GUILD, b. Sept. 22, 1861; d. Apr. 15, 1910. m. June 29, 1888, PROF. FRANK W. TAUSSIG of Harvard College, Class of 1879. Ph. D. & A. M. 1883, and LL.B. in 1886 from Harvard.

Children:

- i. WILLIAM GUILD, b. May 3, 1889; m. Jan. 5, 1918, BEATRICE MURRAY of England. She b. Dec. 1, 1891.
- ii. MARY GUILD, b. May 8, 1892; m. Nov. 10, 1918, GERARD CARL HENDEREN of New York.
- iii. CATHERINE CROMBIE, b. Dec. 7, 1896.
- iv. HELEN BROOKE, b. May 24, 1898.

38. AGNES⁹ OLNEY, b. Dec. 3, 1861. m. Oct. 28, 1890, GEORGE RICHARDS MINOT, Class of 1871, Harvard. He b. Mar. 3, 1849; d. 1894.

Child:

FRANCIS, b. Nov. 8, 1891; m. Apr. 30, 1914, ISABEL QUACKENBUSH. Child: *Agnes Olney*, b. July 17, 1915.

39. MARY⁹ OLNEY, b. Aug. 15, 1864. m. Oct. 9, 1886, CHARLES HENRY ABBOTT, D.D.S. Harvard, 1885. He b. Sept. 6, 1862 in Berlin.

Children:

- i. MARY PERKINS, b. March 22, 1888 in Berlin.
- ii. FRANCIS PEABODY, b. Aug. 15, 1889 in Berlin. Class of 1914, Harvard.
- iii. CHARLES BENJAMIN, b. June 6, 1892 in Berlin. Class of 1911, Harvard.
- iv. AGNES ANN, b. Aug. 24, 1897 in Boston.

40. ELIZABETH⁹ THOMAS, b. April 12, 1877. m. April 12, 1895 in Boston at the home of her guardian, Miss Mary Thomas, to FREDERIC CHRISTOPHER DUMAINE. They had seven children, all born in Concord, Mass.

Children:

- i. MARY THOMAS, b. April 19, 1897.
- ii. ELIZABETH, b. January 3, 1900.
- iii. HARRIETTE RODMAN, b. March 12, 1901.
- iv. FREDERIC C., JR., b. Sept. 5, 1902.
- v. CORDELIA, b. Feb. 17, 1907.
- vi. CHRISTOPHER, b. April 6, 1910.
- vii. PIERRE, b. August 21, 1912.

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

BY ARTHUR LORD

THE incident in Pilgrim history often selected as best representing the idea of civil liberty and local self-government is the signing of the Compact.

The poet and the artist are more successful than are the historians in preserving and symbolizing some of the great events of human history. The canvas of Sargent portrays and the verses of Mrs. Hemans describe their ideas of the Landing at Plymouth rather than what in fact happened on the Plymouth shore on the 21st of December, 1620. But the picture and the poem have impressed themselves upon the popular imagination and best describe the idea of the Landing which is held apparently by the great majority of English-speaking people who have occasion to consider that event.

Monuments are erected, historical and hereditary patriotic societies meet on the 21st day of successive Novembers to commemorate the signing of the Compact on that day in 1620, because the Compact expresses and typifies to them that ideal of civil liberty and pure democratic government which Theodore Parker first expressed in the line which Lincoln made famous:—

"Government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

In 1841, Dr. Alexander Young, the learned annalist and editor of "*The Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*," printed therein, under the title of "*Bradford and Winslow's Journal, A Diary of Events from November 9, 1622 to December 11, 1621*," that early relation of events usually cited as "*Mourt's Relation*," published in London in 1622.

In "Mourt's Relation," which contains the earliest printed reference to the instrument now known as the "Mayflower Compact," it is stated that "This day before we came to harbor, observing some not well affected to unity and concord but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement that we should combine together in one body and to submit to such government and governors as we should by common consent agree to make and choose and set our hand to this that follows word for word." Then appears for the first time in print the familiar Compact.

In Dr. Young's note to that extract from "Mourt's Relation" he says—

"And yet it seems to me that a good deal more has been discerned in this document than the signers contemplated. * * Their purpose in drawing up and signing this compact was merely, as they state, to restrain certain of their number who had manifested an unruly and factious disposition. This was the whole philosophy of the instrument, whatever may since have been discovered and deduced from it by astute civilians, philosophical historians and imaginative orators."

Since I first read this statement of Dr. Young some years ago, I have given some consideration to the real meaning, purpose and effect of this agreement, as Bradford terms it, the circumstances which occasioned it, and the form of government adopted by the Pilgrims before leaving England, under the provisions of their patent. The result of that inquiry I take this occasion to submit for your consideration.

It may be noted in the first place that this instrument was not signed in the harbor of Provincetown, as often erroneously stated. The statements of Bradford and Winslow in "Mourt's Relation" that the instrument was executed "before we came to harbor," is conclusive.

It is an interesting fact that the term "compact" apparently was not applied to that instrument before 1793. The elaborate researches of Mr. Albert

Matthews and Mr. George E. Bowman show no earlier references. Mr. Bowman notes that the word "compact," as applied to this agreement, first appears in "A Topographical Description of Duxborough, in the County of Plymouth," by Alden Bradford, which was published in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society's first series, Volume 2:

"John Alden, who came to Plymouth in 1620, was one of the signers of the compact established immediately upon the arrival of the first settlers," etc.

The reference to the instrument found in "Mourt's Relation," describes it as "an association and agreement." Bradford, in his *History of Plymouth Plantation*, (Ford, Volume 1, Page 189,) refers to it as a "combination made by them before they came, a shore," and states that it was—

"Occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship; That when they came ashore, they would use their owne libertie, for none had power to command them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New england, which belonged to another Government with which the Virginia company had nothing to doe"

And in the Plymouth Colony Records, the same term "combination" is used. In Prince's *Chronological History*, he refers to it as "a solemn contract," and the Rev. Charles Turner, in his sermon at the church in Plymouth in 1774, describes it as "the covenant." The Rev. Chandler Robbins defines it as "a solemn contract" in his *Anniversary Sermon* in 1793.

The first historian or orator who found in it the meaning and importance which is sometimes given to it at the present time, when referred to in public addresses, was John Quincy Adams, in his oration at Plymouth in 1802.

The most complete account of the cause and effect of the Compact, and the one which most fully and accurately defines the antecedent procedure of the

Pilgrims in the matter of civil government, written by an historian of the 17th century, is by the Rev. William Hubbard in that manuscript history which secured for the author a grant from the General Court of fifty pounds in 1682, "as a manifestation of thankfulness" for his work.

He was born in 1621, graduated in the first Harvard Class of 1642, and settled in the ministry at Ipswich in 1656 or 1657, and died in 1704. He is described as "a learned and ingenious author," by the Rev. Thomas Prince.

The Rev. John Eliot, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts and the old Colony of Plymouth" pays to William Hubbard this high compliment: "He was the best writer in New England while he lived; learned, judicious and capable of giving a proper arrangement to his facts." (M. H. S. Coll. First Series, Vol. VII, page 263.) Hubbard writes:

"That which our Savior once affirmed concerning a kingdom is as true of the smallest colony, or puny state, or least society of mankind, that if it be divided against itself it cannot stand; and how can divisions be avoided where all sorts of people are to be at their liberty, whether in things civil or sacred, to do all that doth, and nothing but what doth, seem good in their own eyes. Our first founders of this new colony, were aware of this, before they removed themselves from the parts of Europe, whether England or Holland, to those of America, and, therefore, according to the prudent advice of Mr. Robinson, their Pastor, they had procured a Patent for themselves, or had a power granted from their Sovereign Prince, whereby they might form themselves into a body politic in the place specified in their Patent. But missing of the place, the things contained therein were utterly invalidated, and made useless thereby, which they wisely considered in the first place, as was said before, and therefore they all signed an instrument, concerning some way of order and government, which they, according as necessity required, intended to mould themselves into, upon the first opportunity which should offer itself, after they found a place of habitation fit to settle upon. By the aforesaid accident, things so fell out, that for the present they could not fall into any order of government, but by way of combination; with which they intended to content themselves till occasion might serve for the obtaining another Patent from

the King, for that place where Providence now had cast their lot. For the present, therefore, they devolved the sole power of government upon Mr. John Carver, in whose prudence they so far confided, that he would not adventure upon any matter of moment without consent of the rest, or at least advice of such as were thought to be the wisest amongst them, and not to increase the number of rulers where the persons were so few to be ruled; knowing also that they could at their pleasure add more as there might be occasion, much better than to have eased themselves of the burden, if they should pitch upon too many at first. One Nehemiah is better than a whole Sanhedrim of mercenary Shemaiahs.

"The Laws they intended to be governed by were the Laws of England, the which they were willing to be subject unto, though in a foreign land, and have since that time continued in that mind for the general, adding only some particular municipal laws of their own, suitable to their constitution in such cases where the common laws and statutes of England could not well reach or afford them help in emergent difficulties of the place, possibly on the same ground that Pacuvius sometimes advised his neighbors of Capua, not to cashier their old magistrates till they could agree upon better to place in their room. So did these choose to abide by the Laws of England, till they could be provided of better."

This statement of Hubbard's that their combination or compact was the instrument merely "with which they intended to content themselves till occasion might serve for the obtaining another Patent from the King, for that place where Providence now had cast their lot," is a clear statement by one of the foremost authorities of that century in which the Compact was written that the instrument was but a temporary expedient, based upon the scheme of a body politic found in their first patent and described by Robinson in his letter hereafter referred to, and entirely superseded upon the arrival of the second patent, defining their powers and conferring an authority which they fully recognized as of superior weight.

The text of the Compact varies slightly in punctuation and a few verbal changes not material to the enquiry, as printed in "Mourt's Relation," Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," and Morton's

“New England’s Memoriall.” In “Mourt’s Relation” it is printed as follows:

“In the name of God, Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal Subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith. &c.

Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the northerne parts of Virginia, doe, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God & one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: unto which, we promise all due submission and obedience.

In witnesse whereof we have here-under subscribed our names, Cape Cod, 11 of November, in the yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord King James, of England France and Ireland 18. and of Scotland 54. Anno Domino 1620.”

Its recitals follow the formal phrasing of the time and describe its signers as the loyal subjects of the King of England. It states the purpose of their undertaking to be for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith and honor of our King and country, and to plant the first colony in the northern part of Virginia. Then follows the expression not unlike that found in the Church covenant, “We do by those presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and of one another covenant and combine ourselves together.”

The political agreement follows the phraseology of the religious agreement. It presents in form the Church covenant idea, and properly uses the term covenant. The material provisions of the Compact, which follow, are three in number: first, the organization of a civil body politic for certain definite purposes (a) their better ordering, (b) their preservation, (c) the glory of God and the honor of King and country,

and (d) the planting of a colony in the northern part of Virginia; secondly, to enact, constitute and frame just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; and thirdly, their promise to pay to these just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices all due submission and obedience.

It may be here noted that the promise was a cautious and a qualified one. There was no unlimited and unrestricted submission and obedience pledged to any law, ordinance, act or constitution which might be framed, or to any office which might hereafter be established, for it was distinctly provided that their submission and obedience was to just and equal laws, ordinances and constitutions. Was the individual Pilgrim or were a majority of the Pilgrims, or all of the Pilgrims, to determine whether the law, to which they pledged submission and obedience, was just and equal or not? Was the law to be enacted by all or a part of the Company? Was it necessary before the law became effective and compulsory that all should assent to it, or was the law enacted by a majority binding on the minority? Some ingenuity has been exercised by commentators upon the importance of the qualifying adjectives "just" and "equal," and high praise paid to the wisdom and foresight which thus defined the laws which they were to enact and promised to obey. But that qualification had but a brief life in the history of legislation, colonial, provincial, state and national. It lasted with the Pilgrims not later than the arrival of the *Fortune* in 1621.

Over the entrance of your Court House, I note the fine line, "Obedience to Law is Liberty." If you had written in the words "just and equal laws," in place of "Law," its meaning and effect would be materially changed. When the will of the majority is expressed in law today, the only relief from its provisions,

which may seem to some unjust or unequal, is that the law as enacted is unconstitutional. If the law were not binding on anybody who thought it unjust and unequal, we should not proceed far with its strict enforcement. If we assume that the Pilgrim meant that all laws passed by the majority were of a necessity just and equal and binding upon a recalcitrant minority, then the phrase was unnecessary and unfortunate. If we assume that the recalcitrant minority were to determine whether the law was just and equal before it submitted to and obeyed it, then majority rule is an idle term and government by the majority hopeless and ineffective. There is no record of any law, constitution, act or ordinance framed and enacted under the provisions of the agreement, and while it is stated by Winslow and Bradford that some laws and orders were in fact enacted, it does not appear whether they were put in operation by the vote of all or only a majority of these signers. In view of the fact that only twenty of the forty-one signers survived the first year, it perhaps may be assumed that any law which was adopted expressed the will of all. There is nothing, however, in the phraseology of the Compact which declares the voice of the majority to be the voice of God, or that any individual is bound by any law which in his opinion is not just and equal.

It is important to consider the provisions of the charters and patents material to our inquiry.

The first charter from King James of date April 10, 1606, made provision for the establishment of two colonies or plantations in Virginia and other parts and territories in America.

The first colony, viz., the Southern or London Company, was authorized to locate between 34° and 41° north latitude. The second colony was authorized to locate between 38° and 45° north latitude. The territorial limits overlapped each other and provision was made that neither was to make a plantation within 100 miles of the other.

To the settlers and their children who are born within the limits of these colonies were granted all the liberties, franchises and immunities of Englishmen within the realm of England, and all lands were to be held "as of our manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent in free and common socage only and not in capite," thus abolishing primo-geniture and granting the broadest possible title.

The second charter of May 23, 1609, gave to the London Company additional privileges and further enlarged their prior grant.

The third charter of March 12, 1612, further enlarged the boundaries of the London Company's prior grants and gave it additional privileges.

To the Virginia Company of London, the representatives of the Pilgrim Company made application for a patent which would authorize the location of a plantation in the new world.

The patent was taken by the advice of friends in the name of John Wincob, or more accurately, Whincop or Wincop, "a religious gentleman then belonging to the Countess of Lincolne."

The patent could not have included the territory where Plymouth is situated, which is north of the 42° north latitude, but "where it (the patent) is or how it came to be lost is not known to any that belong to the said colony."—Hubbard, p. 95.

In February, 1620, the Virginia Company passed the following order:

"It was ordered also by general consent that such captains or leaders of particular plantations that shall go there to inhabit by virtue of their grants and plant themselves, their tenants and servants in Virginia, shall have liberty till a form of Government be here settled for them, associating unto them divers of the gravest and discreetest of their companies, to make orders, ordinances and constitutions for the better ordering and directing of their servants and business provided they be not repugnant to the Laws of England." Records Vol. 1. p. 303.

Before the Pilgrims left Southampton a letter from John Robinson was received, which, as Bradford describes it, was "large" and "fruitful in itself and suitable to their occasion." In this letter Robinson refers to their "intended course of civill communitie," which, as he says, "will minister continual occasion of offence," and then proceeds to state—"Whereas you are become a body politic, using amongst yourselves civill governments," thus clearly anticipating the material purpose of the Compact, viz. the formation of a "civil body politic."

Robinson then refers to the fact that they "are not furnished with any persons of spetiall eminencie above the rest to be chosen by you into office of government. Let your wisdom and godlines appeare not only in chusing shuch persons as doe entirely love and will promote the commone good, but also yeelding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawfull adminstrations." And again to the same effect that they are "at least for the present to have them only for your ordinarie governours which you yourselves shall make choyse of for that worke."

We find here in Robinson's letter the recognition of a "body politic," of a "civil government," of the election of officers by the members of the Company as an accomplished fact, and the direction to yield unto those elected into the offices of government "due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations." Then when all things were "ready, and every bussiness dispatched, the company was caled together and this letter read amongst them, which had good acceptation with all and after fruit with many," writes Bradford. And they chose a Governor and assistants for each ship to "order the people by the way and see to the dispossing of their provissions and shuch like affairs." When they executed the Compact at Cape Cod, they chose, "or rather confirmed" Mr. John Carver their Governor for that year.

It is not material to the inquiry to determine why Bradford made use of this expression, but the evidence seems to justify the conclusion that the body politic, the civil government, and the majority rule, which it is claimed the compact exemplifies and symbolizes for the first time, was fully determined and acted upon prior to the departure of the Mayflower from South-ampton water.

On November 3-13, 1620, the charter for the Council for New England passed the seals on the Petition of Sir Ferdinando Gorges granting to the Duke of Lenox and his associates the territory from 40 to 48 degrees north latitude, with the same provision as to the tenure of land, and giving to the settlers "and their children, all the rights of natural born Englishmen." The Mayflower was then on the ocean westward bound. They had formed their civil body politic and had elected officers by the most voices.¹

The Pilgrim company having adopted a polity, its form defined in this letter from the Pilgrim pastor and authorized by the provisions of their Patent, now find themselves, upon landing in the New World, outside of the territorial limits of the patent. So long as they remained on the ship the problem which confronted them was not serious. The master of the ship had the right and authority to enforce discipline whenever necessary, for the security of the vessel and the safety of the passengers. When the passengers have been landed and the master's authority over them is terminated, some practical method must be promptly adopted to maintain law, order and discipline and restrain any unruly and dissatisfied person in the company.

¹"The body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals. It is a social compact by which the whole people covenants with each citizen and each citizen with the whole people that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good."—(*Preamble of the Constitution of Massachusetts.*)

Now the obvious thing for a company of Englishmen, wisely led, to do under the then existing circumstances, was to enter into an agreement which shall carry into effect the existing plan under the new conditions with which they are surrounded and to follow, as nearly as may be, the language of the instrument which they had received before they sailed and under which they had so far proceeded in their voyage to the New World, until a new patent could be secured. It was not only the practical, sensible and natural thing to do, but there was a clear direction in the Order of the Virginia Company, passed in February 1620, which authorized and justified the course adopted. Under that Order, before referred to, they had "liberty till a form of Government be here settled for them, of associatinge unto them divers of the gravest and discreetest of their companies to make orders and ordinances for the better orderinge and directing of their servants and business."

Of the 102 passengers on the Mayflower, 41 signed the Compact; and of the entire number 29 were female and 73 male passengers. Prof. Arber in his *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers* gives the number of adult males at 65. Later investigations lead to the conclusion that there were only 50 adult males. Of that number 7 were probably servants, 2 were seamen, hired under contract for a single year. Under the Order of the Virginia company, above referred to, there was no occasion for the servants to sign, for the purpose of the association was the better ordering and directing of the servants.

Upon the return of the Mayflower, which reached England in May 1621, a formal application through Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was made in behalf of the Plymouth settlers to the Council for New England. In Gorges' *Description of New England* (M.H.S. Coll. Third Series, Vol. VI, p. 73), he clearly states the course of procedure.

"After they had well considered the state of their affairs, and found that the authority they had from the Company of Virginia could not warrant their abode in that place, which they found so prosperous and pleasing to them, they hastened away their ship, with order to their Solicitor to deal with me to be a means they might have a grant from the council of New England's affairs to settle in the place; which was accordingly performed to their particular satisfaction and good content of them all; which place was after called New Plymouth, where they have continued ever since very peaceable and in all plenty of all necessities that nature needeth, if that could satisfy our vain affections. Where I will leave them for the present."

The application was granted and on June 1, 1621, the patent issued to John Peirce and his associates, bearing the signatures of the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Warwick, the Marquis of Hamilton, Lord Sheffield and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and one other signature, now illegible.

This patent, the oldest state paper in New England, is now preserved in Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth.

The grant of land under this patent was one hundred acres for every person at any place in New England "not already inhabited by any English" at a yearly rental of two shillings for the term of seven years, and provided that at any time within seven years the Council would grant to Peirce and his "Associate Undertakers & Planters their heires and assignes" request, "Letters & Graunts of Incorpora^con" with liberty "to make orders, Lawes, Ordynaunces and Constitu^cons for the rule, governement, ordering and dyrecting of all persons," etc. Then follows the important and material provision:

"And in the meantyme untill graunt made it shall be lawfull for the said John Peirce his Associate Undertakers and Planters their heires and assignes by consent of the greater pt of them To establish such Lawes and ordynauce as are for their better government and the same by such Officer or Officers as they shall by most voyces elect and chose to put in execu^con."

On the 9th of November, 1621, the "Fortune," a vessel of 55 tons with some 35 passengers, of whom the

adult males exceeded in number the survivors of the original signers of the Compact, arrived bringing the patent which gave them the full authority for their civil government. The patent was in terms more democratic than the Compact in that it more clearly defined the rule of the majority. The Compact had well served the temporary purpose and its further usefulness, except as a symbol, ended.

There is no record of any action under this Compact by the Pilgrim company, except the statement in Mourt's Relation that on Friday, the 23rd day of March, 1621, we "concluded both of Military Orders and of some Laws and Orders: as we thought behoveful for our present estate and condition. And did likewise choose our Governor for this year, which was Master John Carver, a man well approved amongst us," and the statement of Bradford in his History of Plymouth Plantation that "they mette and consulted of lawes and orders, both for their civil and military Governement as the necessitie of their condition did require."

No copy of these "Laws and Orders" remains and there is no other evidence of their nature and purpose. The only references to the Compact found in the laws of the Colony of New Plymouth are in the recital of authority to make laws, declared at a meeting of the Governor and Assistants and members of the Committee for the Towns of Plymouth, Duxbury and Scituate, held on the 15th of November, 1636, at Plymouth, in which the "combinacon made at Cape Cod the 11th of November, 1620" and the letters patent of 1629 are referred to, and also in "A forme to be placed before the records of the several inheritances granted to all and every the King's subjects inhabiting with the government of New Plymouth." (Plymouth Colony Laws, p. 49.)

In this they define their authority for their government and base the title to their lands subsequent to the arrival at Cape Cod on the civil combination

formed at Cape Cod, Nov. 11, 1620, the treaty with Massasoit, who "freely gave them all the lands, adjacent to them, and their heirs forever," the charter to John Peirce and his associates "whose name we only made use of and the charter to William Bradford and his associates, whose name we likewise used and whose associates as formerly we are."

A fair construction of these formal declarations at the meeting of November 15, 1636, seems to establish that the Compact was temporary in its nature and superseded by the charter to John Peirce and his associates, before referred to, the provisions of which were further enlarged by the charter to William Bradford and his associates of 1629.

Of late years especially the philosophical historians and imaginative orators, as Dr. Young calls them, have described and defined this agreement as a constitution. A slight examination shows that the term "constitution" applied to this instrument is inaccurate and misleading.

The draughtsman clearly distinguished between the agreement which the Pilgrims signed, and a constitution, for the agreement in terms provides that later, or from time to time, they were to constitute and frame a constitution under and by virtue of their agreement. The agreement gave the authority to make a constitution, but the signers never thought that they had made a constitution when they combined themselves into a civil body politic. Nor does the term constitution, as applied to this agreement, find any support in our American use of the word.

"In American Constitutional law the word 'Constitution' is used in a restricted sense as implying the written instrument agreed on by the people of the Union, or any one of the states, as the absolute rule of action and decision for all departments and offices of the Government in respect to all the points covered by it which must control until it shall be changed by the authority which established it."

(Cooley, *Constitutional Limitations*, p. 3.)

Or better still, as Justice Miller defines it:

"A Constitution, in the American sense of the word, is a written instrument by which the fundamental powers of the government are established, limited and defined, and by which these powers are distributed among several departments for their more safe and useful exercise for the benefit of the body politic,"

and, he added,

"A search for a more satisfactory definition has been in vain, but this language perhaps fairly expresses the meaning of the term in this country."

If we will use the exact and admirable definition of Blackstone, the distinction between a compact and a law, ordinance, act or constitution is easily recognized and appreciated.

"A compact," writes Blackstone, "is a promise proceeding from us; a law is a command directed to us."

The Mayflower Compact was a promise not a command. Cotton Mather's analysis of the cause and effect of the Compact is well supported by the evidence.

"Finding at their arrival that whatever powers they had were made useless by the undesigned place of their arrival, they did as the light of nature itself directed them, * * * * sign an Instrument as a Foundation of their future and needful Governmenet."

The statement in Neal's History of New England (Ed. 1720) Vol. 1, p. 81, is to the same effect.

"But then there was an Inconvenience attending it, (their settling here) which was, That Cape Cod not being within the Limits of their Patent, the Powers they had received from the Crown of England would become void. But necessity has no Law, and therefore before they went ashore they entered into a solemn Combination to submit to such Laws as should by the Majority be approved of."

The claim often made for the Compact by some writers and orators, that it is the basis of our American Constitution, finds little support from any direct authority. So far as my examination goes, and I should be glad to be corrected by any gentleman present, it never was referred to by any statesman who took part in the constitutional conventions which

framed either the state or federal constitution, nor was it ever cited in the deliberations and discussions which preceded the final adoption of either of those important instruments. The Pilgrim story has sufficient to justify the admiration, respect and reverence of succeeding generations without making exaggerated or unfounded claims, the effect of which tends to weaken the real meaning and influence of their lives and labors, of their teachings and their example.

Among the many admirable qualities which characterized the great leaders of the Mayflower Company not the least important and effective was their sound common sense. Constrained by the imperious necessities of their present situation, they put into practical effect the civil policy already adopted under the only plan possible to make it immediately operative until they could secure the requisite authority under a second patent to govern and direct the persons and affairs of the members of the Company in their new and undesigned home.

“They did the work
They had to do;
They builded better
Than they knew,
So must the few whom fate
Selects to found a state.”

AN ARTIST INDEX TO STAUFFER'S "AMERICAN ENGRAVERS"

BY THOMAS HOVEY GAGE

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

NO more impossible subject upon which to address this Society could be found than an "Index" unless it were the dictionary, or the encyclopedia. If, as has been said, the last thing in a book to read is the preface, it may be that the first thing to examine is the index. Certainly no book of reference is worth anything without an index.

Stauffer's and Fielding's works on American Engravers bid fair to remain authoritative, and both are well indexed for engravers and partly indexed for subjects. But engravers are for the most part only copyists; they reproduce on copper, steel or stone the work of another.

The late Frank Bulkeley Smith, whose pictures at one time hung on these walls, became very much interested in early American portraiture. It occurred to him that much valuable information as to the identity of the painters of early portraits would be obtained from an examination of engraved copies, and he expressed a purpose to prepare such a list. After his death there were enquiries for it from gentlemen in New York and Boston and among his papers was found an Artist Index to Stauffer and Fielding which his sons and daughter presented to this Society as a contribution to the study of art in America.

Stauffer and Fielding do not pretend to bring their list down later than to include men who were working before 1825. They therefore deal with the beginnings

of art in America. Now the engraver copies; he seldom originates. When photography made copying easy, his art languished. But when he flourished he reproduced the work of artists which appealed to the public taste and would sell. There were artists whose chief employment was to supply material for the engravers. In England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, portraits were painted for the express purpose of being engraved. Everyone knows the fine mezzotints issued by the Fabers, father and son. Thomas Hudson must have been kept fairly busy supplying their needs and some of the rarest and best impressions of their prints are now worth as much as the original portraits in oil.

In this country personages were not so much respected. There are innumerable prints of a few persons of distinction and popularity like Washington and Franklin; but we find a brisk business in painting or drawing scenes and buildings. For example our index shows 90 engravings after Birch, father and son, most of them views. Their work was more admired by Dunlap and Tuckerman than it is by us, although some of Thomas Birch's marine views are still esteemed. It seems quite certain that they painted for the engraver. So we find 35 prints after John Paradise, many of them by his son, John W. Paradise. Dunlap tells us that the Methodists contributed to the elder's employment as a portrait painter and that most of the engravings in the *Methodist Magazine* are from paintings by him.

Those who contend that contemporary judgment of art is usually wrong will notice that the index gives very few prints after Copley and only one after Malbone. But to offset this we find 104 reproductions of Gilbert Stuart and 42 of Thomas Sully. There are also 40 prints after Joseph Ward, 33 after Neagle, 23 after Inman and 11 after Henry Williams, including one of Isaiah Thomas.

The student will be glad to know that George Catlin, besides painting Indians, made portraits of DeWitt Clinton, Timothy Pickering and Tapping Reeve. There are also listed 15 portraits or miniatures by William M. S. Doyle or his daughter Margaret (one of Isaiah Thomas among them). One wonders why Doyle's portrait of Harriet Newell should have been engraved by three different engravers. The inscription on Ralph Rawdon's plate discloses that she died at Port Louis in the Isle of France, November 30, 1812, in the 20th year of her age, having accompanied her husband in the benevolent attempt to preach Christ to the heathen. The inference is irresistible that the reproductions were to embellish missionary tracts.

The versatile Peale family is well represented in the index. There are engravings from the work of Charles Wilson, Rembrandt, Titian, Anna, James and Raphael. These brief references will show the sort of information to be found in this Artist Index. Of course, comparatively few portraits were ever engraved, but with this index and access to a good collection of American prints like the Goodspeed collection owned by the Worcester Art Museum, enough authenticated work of early artists can be identified to afford the student and collector some basis for attributions to be given early American paintings.

This index also suggests a subject which has never yet received any attention. I refer to the itinerant portrait painters. They were interesting and picturesque personalities who have preserved for us the forms, features and dress of the people of their day. They were self-taught or received some meager instruction from one of the craft. Some of them, like Morse and Harding and Greenwood, settled down to careers of distinction; but most of them lived and worked in obscurity. In the small classes graduating at Dartmouth College in the year 1806 and 1807 there were three young men who became itinerant painters. One wonders what influence directed them, for, so far

as is known, there was absolutely nothing at the time in that outpost of education to stir the artistic imagination.

A few years ago I talked with a very old lady, the daughter of one of these itinerant painters, and learned from her somewhat of her father's life. There were no supply houses then, and in the winter he prepared his own canvases, stretchers and panels and most important of all ground his own colors in oil and so prepared his paints. In the summer he set out, avoiding large places and cities and keeping to the countryside. He stopped with the farmers and in return for his keep, and such modest sums as they could pay, he painted the family. I have seen many examples of his work. Some of it is as hard and cold and stiff as the hospitality and pay were meager. Sometimes, however, he reflected, in the warmth of his color and ambitious attempt to vitalize the subject, the cheer and sociability of a happy home. So they wandered about, bringing the mysteries of the art into the family circle. Once in a while, either because they satisfied their own standards or because of the importance of the subject, or because the compensation and hospitality were generous, they signed and dated a portrait. But this was rare. For the most part they left it to speak for itself.

STAUFFER'S LIST

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
AGATE	Jones, George	Durand	603
ALBANO	St, Francis	Boyd	261
ALBRIGHT	Washington's Headquarters	Steel	3036
ALLSTON	The Valentine	Longacre	2145
AMES, E.	Allen, Solomon	Tanner-Jones	1507, 3081
	Clinton, George	Maverick	2195
	Hamilton, Alexander	Leney	1768
	Hamilton, Alexander	Hoogland	1423
	Nott, Eliphalet	Durand	625
ANDERSON	Newark Presbyterian Church	Tiebout	3219
	New York City		
	Columbia College	Tiebout	3205
	Trinity Church	Tiebout	3232
	Sandy Hook Lighthouse	Tiebout	3227
	Sandy Hook Monument	Tiebout	3228
ANDREWS	Yellow Springs, Pa.	Murray	2297
ARLAUD	Bruen, M.	Longacre	1945
ATKENSON	The Retreat, Pa.	Kennedy	1638
BADGER, J. W.	Emmons, Nathaniel	Pelton	2486
	Page, Harlan	Prud'homme	2507
BAILIE	McNiece	Leney	1805
BAQUOY	Molay, Jacques de	Tanner	3098
BARBER, J. W.	Hartford, Conn.	Willard	3396
	New Haven, Conn.	Willard	3399
BARBER, T.	White, Henry Kirke	Annin	83, 84
	White, Henry Kirke	Boyd	267
BARKER, J.	Smith, Elizabeth	Leney	1855
BARNETT	St. Helena, Island of	Strickland	3062
BARR	Hell-Gate, N. Y.	Tiebout	3210
BARRALET, John J.	America, Frontispiece	Edwin	925
	America Guided by Wisdom	Tanner & Co.	3115
	Baptism of Christ	Tiebout	3237
	Francisco, Peter	Edwin	921
	"Fulton First", Launch of	Tanner	3131
	Macpherson Blues	Lawson	1693
	Master of Ships	Edwin	938
	Society of, Penn, William	Lawson	1683
	Perry's Victory	Tanner	3138
	Philadelphia, Pa.		
	Academy of Fine Arts	Tanner	3137
	Water Works, Centre Square	Tiebout	3234
	Schuylkill Bridge	Lawson	1695-96
	Trenton Bridge	Murray	2294
	Washington, George	Houston	1464
	Washington, George	Lawson	1688-89
BARTLETT, J. J.	Partridge, Alden	Willard	3386
BARTOLI, F.	Washington, George	Edwin	905
	Washington, George	Galland	1024
BARTRAM	Mico-Chlucco	Trenchard	3275

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
BATLEY	New York City		
	Grace Church	Prud'homme	2626
	St. Stephen's Church	Prud'homme	2627
	Trinity Church	Prud'homme	2628
BEECHY	George III—England	Longacre	1985
BELL	Anatomy	Edwin	941
BENNETT, W. J.	"Archipelago" U. S. Sloop	Bennett	145
	Falls of the Sawkill	Durand	675
	Niagara Falls, N. Y.,	Hill	1348-49
	Weehawken, N. J.	Durand	677
BEVAN	Penn, William	Edwin	841-43
BIGG	Cottage Scene	Tiebout	3207
BILLING	McLean Asylum, Mass.	Smith, G. G.	2913
BIRCH, T.	"Albion," Loss of the	Tiebout	3200
	Andalusia, Pa.	Steel	3038
	Bethlehem, Pa.	Strickland	3053
	Breck, Samuel, Residence	Steel	3038
Wm.	China Retreat, Pa.	Birch	192
T.	"Constitution" and		
	"Guerriere"	Tiebout	3206
Wm.	Decatur, Stephen	Edwin	747
T.	Delaware River	Tucker	3318
	Delaware Water Gap	Strickland	3066
	Devon, Pa.	Birch	193
Wm.	Echo, Pa.	Birch	195
	Elysian Bower, Pa.	Birch	196
	Fountain Green, Pa.	Birch	197
	Hampton, Md.	Birch	198
T.	Hermitage, The	Steel	3029
Wm.	Hoboken, N. J.	Birch	199
	Landsdown, Pa.	Birch	200
	Market St. Bridge, Pa.	Seymour	2885
	Mendenhall Ferry, Pa.	Birch	201
	Montibello, Md.	Birch	202
	Mount Sidney, Pa.	Birch	203
	Mount Vernon, Va.	Birch	204
	Mount Vernon, Va.	Seymour	2883
T.	Mount Vernon, Va.	Tucker	3327
Wm.	New York City	Seymour	2884
T.	View of Battery	Tucker	3327
	View from Niagara Falls, N. Y.	Steel	3032
	Pass of La Cabrera	Kearny	1577
	Passaic Falls, N. J.	Tucker	3324
T.	"Peacock" and "L'Epervier"	Strickland	3060
	Perry's Victory	Lawson	1691
W.	Philadelphia		
	View of	Birch	178
T.	View of	Cone	429
T.	View of	Seymour	2882
T.	View of	Tucker	3327
W.	Almshouse, Spruce St.	Birch	160
	Arch St. Ferry	Birch	161
	Bank of Pennsylvania	Birch	162
	Bank of Philadelphia	Birch	163
	Bank of United States	Birch	164
	Chestnut St. Theatre	Fox	1012
	Christ Church	Birch	165

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
BIRCH, W.	Congress Hall, etc.	Birch	171
T.	Fairmount Water Works	Campbell	302
	Fairmount Water Works	Tanner	3124
	Fairmount Water Works	Tiller	3248
W.	High St., View on	Birch	184
	High St. Markets	Birch	174-79
	High St. Markets	Birch	155
	Jail, Walnut St.	Birch	172
	Library and Surgeon's Hall	Birch	159, 176
	Lutheran Church, Old	Birch	166
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	Market St. Bridge	Seymour	2885
	New Market, Second St.	Birch	177
	New Theatre	Birch	171
	Pennsylvania Hospital	Birch	159, 179
	Presbyterian Church, 1st	Birch	168
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	Robert Morris House	Birch	173
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	State House, Back View	Birch	182
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	Swedes' Church	Birch	159, 179
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T.	Sacketts Harbor, N. H.	Plocher	2548
	Sacketts Harbor, N. H.	Strickland	3063
W.	Schuylkill Bridge	Seymour	2885
	Sedgley, Pa.	Birch	205
	Solitude, Pa.	Birch	206
T.	"United States" and "Macedonian"	Seymour	2879
	"United States" and "Macedonian"	Tanner	3143
	Upper Ferry Bridge, Pa.	Plocher	2549
	Washington, George	Lawson	1690
W.	Washington, Capitol	Birch	190
T.	"Wasp" and "Frolic" Battle	Seymour	2880
	Water Gap, Pa.	Strickland	3066
	Woodlands, Pa.	Birch	277
T.	Woodlands, Pa.	Tucker	3320
W.	York Island	Birch	208
BLACKBURN	Otis, James	Durand	629
	Otis, James	Smith, J. R.	2925
BLANCHARD	Cooper, J. Fennimore	Dodson	487
BLODGET	Lake George, Battle of	Johnston	1501
BLYTH	Washington, Martha	Norman	2356
	Washington, George	Norman	2351
BLYTHE	Adams, Abigail	Pelton	2477
BOGLE	Chase, Philander	Prud'homme	2561
	Gillies, John	Chapin	305
BONNETHEAU	Greene, Nathanael	Longacre	1993
	Pinckney, Charles C.	Durand	635
BOWMAN	Eastburn, Joseph	Frederick	1917
BOXALL	Wordsworth, William	Longacre	2131

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BRACKENRIDGE	Dickinson College, Pa.	Tanner	3122
BRANWHITE	Jay, William	Durand	602
	Ryland, John	Hoogland	1431
BRENTON	Perry, O. H., Memorial	Willard	3387
BREWSTER	Allen, Benjamin	Edwin	699
BRIDGES	New York City, Plan of	Maverick	2250
BRIDPORT	Bordentown, N. J.	Steel	3038
	Tilghman, William	Bridport	278
	Versailles Insurrection	Nesmith	2322
	York, Attack on	Nesmith	2321
BROUGHAM	Warren, Joseph	Kelly	1629
BROWN, W. H.	Bruce, Archibald	Hoogland	1416
	Johnson, Samuel	Maverick	2214
Geo. L.	Crown of New England	Smith, G. G.	2914
BUCK	Jerningham, Edward	Leney	1792
BULFINCH, C.	Hollis St. Church	Vallance	3341
	Washington, Capitol	Child	379
	Washington, Capitol	Stone	3042-43
BURNET	Playing Draughts	Otis	2382
BURNEY	Ovid	Scoles	2801
BURTON	New York City		
	Bay of New York	Smith, W. D.	2970
	Park Row	Smith, W. D.	2969
	Wall Street	Hoogland	1439
BUSBY	New York City		
	Almshouse	Hooker	1447
BYRD, H.	Horton, James	Smith, W. D.	2954
CALTON	Caslon, Mrs. E.	Leney	1723
CARLETON	Maine, Map of	Norman	2362
CARMAN	Riley, James	Gimbredé	1086
CARTER	Freemasons' Charity School	Leney	1886-87
CATLIN, Geo.	Clinton, De Witt	Longacre	1961
	Pickering, Timothy	Longacre	2071
	Reeve, Tapping	Maverick	2228
	Washington, President's House	Frederick	1019
	West Point Academy	Hill	1354
CERRACHI	Hamilton, Alexander	Durand	592
	Hamilton, Alexander	Leney	1769-70
	Washington, George	Prud'homme	2615
CHADWICK	Cambridge, Colleges at	Revere	2682
CHAMBERLIN	Franklin, Benjamin	Haines	1197
CHAMBERLAYNE	Strahan, William	Leney	1859
CHANDOS	Shakespeare, William	Field	1002
	Shakespeare, William	Kelly	1624
CHANTRY	Montgomery, James	Jones	1523
	Scott, Sir Walter	Kelly	1621
	Wordsworth, William	Pelton	2536
CHAPMAN, John G.	Landing at Jamestown	Danforth	458
	Montpelier, Va.	Prud'homme	2629
CHOQUET	Bichat, M. F. X.	Annin & Smith	90
CHORLEY	Peak, John	Annin & Smith	97
CLAY, E. W.	Governor's Guard	Childs	364
	Sedgley Park, Pa.	Childs	374
	Stag and Hound	Longacre	2146
CLAXTON	"Wasp" and "Frolic"	Kearny	1581
	Battle		
COCHIN	Franklin, Benjamin	Tanner	3087

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COLE, T.	Fort Ticonderoga	Kearny	1574
	Lake George	Chapin	311
	Winnipisseege Lake	Durand	678
	Strong, Caleb	Edwin	882
COLES	Tighe, Mrs.	Boyd	265
COMERFORD	Ware, Thomas	Longacre	2101
CONARROE	Gaston, William	Durand	589
COOKE, Geo.	Moring, Christopher S.	Danforth	449
	Richmond, Va.	Bennett	143
	Washington, D. C.	Bennett	149
	West Point, N. Y.	Bennett	151
	Milton, John	Hoogland	1427
	Adams, John	Smith	2971
	Adams, Samuel	Goodman & Piggot	1126
COOPER, Samuel	Adams, Samuel	Longacre	1923
	Hancock, John	Longacre	1994-96
	Hancock, John	Pelton	2495
	Paca, William	Maverick	2225
	Welsteed, William	Copley	440
	Junius	Anderson	55
	Junius	Pekenino	2448
CORBOULD	Bainbridge's Return	Leney	1881
	"Chesapeake" and "Shannon"	Wightman	3360
CORNE, M.	Macdonough's Victory	Hoogland	1437
	Perry's Victory	Annin	87-88
CORREGGIO	Jesus Christ	Paradise	2416
COSSE	Scott, Thomas	Danforth	453
	Scott, Thomas	Longacre	2088
	Scott, Thomas	Main	2162
COSWAY	Errington, John	Leney	1750
	Erskine, Thomas	Maverick	2202
	Infancy of Scottish Music	Edwin	929
COUPIN	Contemplation	Longacre	2157
COYPEL	Rollin, Charles	Scoles	2805
	Rollin, Charles	Smith, W. D.	2963
CRAIG, W. M.	Calcutta	Campbell	300
	Edinburgh	Campbell	301
	Jerusalem	Kelly	1634
	Jerusalem	Main	2164
	Memphis, Egypt	Kelly	1633
	Naples, Italy	Campbell	303
	Paris, France	Neagle	2316
CRANCH	Dawes, Rufus	Prud'homme	2567
CRAWLEY	Thresher, G.	Leney	1862
CROOME	Franklin, Benjamin	Tucker	3307
CRUIKSHANK	Wilberforce, William	Murray	2287
	Wilberforce, William	Tanner	3109
CUMMINGS	Furman, Garrit	Durand	587
	New York City Castle Garden	Steel	3023
DACIER	Calvin, John	Kneass	1647
DANA	Dartmouth College	Bowen	226
DARLEY, J. C.	Darley, Ellen Westray	Steel	3004
	Wells, Joshua	Paradise	2414

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DAVID	Napoleon Bonaparte	Hooker	1447
	Napoleon Bonaparte	Houston	1454
	Napoleon Bonaparte	Pekenino	2457
DAVIS, A. J.	New York City		
	Exchange, The	Yeager	3432
	Jews' Synagogue	Smith, W. D.	2967
	Masonic Hall	Smith, W. D.	2967
	Merchants' Exchange	Smith, W. D.	2967
	Rotunda, The	Smith, W. D.	2967
	St. John Chapel	Smith, W. D.	2968
	South Street	Yeager	3437
	Unitarian Church,	Smith, W. D.	2967
	U. S. Branch Bank	Smith, W. D.	2967
DAVIS, W.	O'Neill, Miss	Longacre	2061
DA VINCI	Last Supper, The	Kearny	1582-83
DE BERNIERE	Bunker Hill, Battle	Smith, G. G.	2910
DE LA TOUR	Voltaire, F. M. A.	Gimbrede	1094
DE ROSE	Crocket, David	Durand	577
DE WILDE	Angelo, Mr.	Leney	1708
	Barclay, Miss	Leney	1711
	Barrymore, Earl of	Leney	1713
	Blanchard, Mrs.	Leney	1716
	Bland, Mrs.	Leney	1717
	Caulfield, Mr.	Leney	1725
	Collins, Mr.	Leney	1733
	Cooke, George Frederick	Anderson	49
	Esten, Mrs.	Leney	1751
	Goodall, Mrs.	Leney	1763
	Hull, Mr	Leney	1785
	Kelly, Mrs.	Leney	1796
	Kemble, Mrs. S.	Leney	1797
	Lewes, Lee	Leney	1801
	Martyr, Mrs.	Leney	1812
	Merry, Mrs.	Leney	1816
	Miller, Miss	Leney	1818
	Powell, Mrs.	Leney	1838
	Siddons, Sarah Kemble	Leney	1851-53
	Wallis, Miss	Leney	1864
	Wells, Mrs.	Leney	1871-72
	Wilson, Mr.	Leney	1876
	Withero, Capt.	Leney	1713
	Wroughton, Mr.	Leney	1878
DEMING	Cowen, E.	Smith, W. D.	2949
DERBY	Bunyan, John	Smith, W. D.	2945
	Clarke, Adam	Paradise	2393
	Clarke, Adam	Smith, W. D.	2948
DEVIS	Jones, Sir William	Haines	1203
DICKINSON, A.	Cheverus, John	Hoogland	1419
	Cutler, B. C.	Prud'homme	2566
	Salaberry, C. M. d'I.	Durand	644
	Van Rensselaer, Stephen	Durand	658
	Washington, George	Steel	3018
	Charlotte Elizabeth	Smith, W. D.	2950
DICKSON	Business Card, Ashton's	Sparrow	2999
DIGHTON	Horsley, Samuel	Leney	1783
DODGE	Canton Factories	Scoles	2829
	Jackson, Andrew	Danforth	443

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DOUGHTY,	Athens	Lang	1670
F.	Baltimore, Md.	Steel	3026
Thos.	Flat Rock Dam, Pa.	Steel	3038
	Gilpin's Mills, Pa.	Steel	3038
	Harper's Ferry, Va.	Steel	3028
	Harper's Ferry, Va.	Tucker	3321
	Highlands on Hudson	Tucker	3320
	Juniata River	Ellis	978
	Montmorenci Falls	Childs	363
	Philadelphia, Pa.		
	Fairmount Water Works	Cone	428
	Fairmount Water Works	Hill	1333
	Fairmount Water Works	Tucker	3319
	Water Works, Chestnut St.	Childs	382
	President's House, Wash.	Steel	3038
	Washington, Capitol	Steel	3038
DOUGLAS	Fort Erie, Siege of	Vallance	3342
DOUGLASS	Kollock, Henry	Longacre	2031-32
DOWNMAN	Rosalind and Orlando	Leney	1906
DOYLE,	Baldwin, Thomas	Gobrecht	1108
Miss M.	Baldwin, Thomas	Hoogland	1415
	Darley, Ellen Westray	Edwin	745
	Eaton, William	Snyder	2990
	Fennell, James	Snyder	2991
	Knowles, James D	Chorley	387
W.	Newell, Harriet	Annin	78
W.	Newell, Harriet	Edwin	838
W.	Newell, Harriet	Rawdon	2636
	Porter, Jacob	Gimbredé	1081
	Stillman, Samuel	Annin & Smith	102
	Stillman, Samuel	Leney	1858
W.	Strong, Caleb	Smith, J. R.	2931
	Thomas, Isaiah	Jones	1526
Miss M.	Winchell, James M.	Annin & Smith	104
DRAYTON	New York City		
	Battery, The	Hill	1387
DRUMMOND	Preston, William	Leney	1839
DUCHE	Seabury, Samuel	Gimbredé	1089
DUNCANNON	Portsmouth, England	Birch	156
DUNHAM	Dartmouth College	Hill	1401
DUNLAP, Wm.	Braithwaite, Anna	Durand	560
	Cooke, George Frederick	Leney	1735
	Darley, Ellen Westray	Leney	1742
	Hallam, Mrs. Lewis	Tiebout	3173
	Hodgkinson, John	Tiebout	3175
	Hodgkinson, Mrs. John	Tiebout	3178
	McFarland, Francis F.	Leney	1803
	Melmoth, Mrs.	Tiebout	3187
	Moore, Richard Channing	Maverick	2220
	Wignell, Anna Brunton	Edwin	913
DURAND, A. B.	Adams, John Quincy	Paradise	2385
	American Landscape	Smillie	672
	Catskill Mountains	Durand	673
	Cooke, Monument of	Durand	671
	Delaware Water Gap	Durand	674
	Musidora	Durand	683
	Ogden, Aaron	Durand	626

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DURAND, A. B.	Paulding, William	Durand	631
	Pekenino, Michele	Durand	632
DE SMITHIERE	Arnold, Benedict	Smith, G. G.	2902
DUVAL	Claiborne, William C. C.	Longacre	1957
LAFF, R. E. W.	Jackson, Andrew	Longacre	2014, 2020
of	Jackson, Andrew	Prud'homme	2583
EARLE	Lexington-Concord Battle	Doolittle	526-29
	Rutledge, Edward	Longacre	2084
	Sherman, Roger	Jocelyn	1553
	Sherman, Roger	Pelton	2520
ECKSTEIN, John	Schmidt, John F.	Eckstein	685
	Staughton, William	Eckstein	686
	Washington, George	Eckstein	687
EDES	Lighthouse	Hill	1393
	Eden Vale, Mass.	Hill	1404
EDGEWORTH	Edgeworth, Maria, Residence	Childs	362
EDWARDS	Bolles, Lucius	Pelton	2480
	Huntington, S.	Hoogland	1424
EDWIN	Penn, William	Longacre	2067-68
	Wirt, William	Maverick	2233
NICHOLTZ	Harlan, R.	Pekenino	2447
ELOUIS	Wayne, Anthony	Graham	1169
ELWELL	Hyde, Alvan	Pelton	2503
EMMONS	Sewall, Samuel	Pelton	2518
EVERS	New York City		
	Rutgers' Medical College	Durand	681
FAIRMAN, G.	Dennie Memorial	Fairman	996
	Ellison, Thomas	Fairman	987
	Ewing, J. S.	Childs	345
	Hicks, Elias	Childs	346
	Jay, John	Hooker	1442
	Washington, George	Kearny	1571
	Washington Grays	Childs	380
FANNING	Bainbridge's Squadron	Smith, G. G.	2909
FELLOWES	Abelard and Heloise, Tomb	Hill	1353
FERMIN	Budgell, Eustace	Leney	1721
FIELD, Robt.	Carroll, Charles, of C.	Longacre	1954
	Clifton, William	Edwin	729
	Hamilton, Alexander	Fairman	988
	Harwood, John Edmund	Edwin	775
	Sherbrooke, John Cope	Field	1003
FISHER	Connecticut River	Ellis	977
	Harvard College	Annin & Smith	109
	Harvard College	Bowen	229
	Harvard College	Torrey	3273
FOLWELL	Manheim Family, The	Maverick	2262
FORREST	New York City		
	Christ Church	Prud'homme	2625
FOUNTAIN	Bunyan, John	Longacre	1946
FOUQUEL	Mara, Madame	Leney	1810
FRANKS	Stanford, John	Tiebout	3191
FRASER, Chas.	Boston, Mass., View of	Childs	355
of	Dalcho, Frederick	Durand	578
FRAZER	Haddril's Point, S. C.	Hill	1334
of	Horry, Elias	Longacre	2005
FRAZIER	Horry, Mary Shubrick	Longacre	2006
	Horry, Thomas	Steel	3008

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	James River, Va.	Childs	366
	Passaic Falls, N. J.	Childs	370
	Richmond, Va.	Hill	1352
	West Rock, Conn.	Childs	381
FREEBAIRN	Haverstock Hill	Childs	365
FREEMAN	Woodworth, Samuel	Gimbrede	1104
FREY	Cruden, Alexander	Tucker	3303
FROTHINGHAM	Brooks, John	Chorley	384
	Webster, Daniel	Hoogland	1434
FULLERTON	Washington, George	Smith, G. G.	2907
FULTON, Robt.	Barlow, Joel	Durand	555
FUSELI	Falstaff	Leney	1908
	Nightmare, The	Boyd	273
GAINS	Honeyman, James	Okey	2372
GARDNER	Masonicus	Leney	1814
GARVEY	Plymouth Dock, Eng.	Birch	155
GIBSON	Nisbet, C., Monument of	Boyd	272
GIMBREDE, T.	Adams, John Quincy	Gimbrede	1032
	Gallatin, Albert	Jones	1513
	Madison, James	Jones	1521
	Scott, Winfield	Gimbrede	1090
GIOFATTI	Milan, Italy	Horton	1451
GODEFROY	Baltimore, Battle Monument	Tanner	3118
	Baltimore Court House	Cone	427
	Baltimore Independent Church	Tanner & Co.	3129
GOODRICH, Miss Sarah	Ballou, Hosea	Bowen	210
	Grafton, Joseph	Annin & Smith	93
	Stuart, Charles Gilbert	Durand	653
GRAHAM, J.	Crouch, Mrs.	Leney	1738
	Gough, Miss	Leney	1764
	Hannum, William	Leney	1771
	Holman, Mr.	Leney	1781
	Hull, Mr.	Leney	1787
	Mary, Queen of Scots	Longacre	2049
	Othello and Desdemona	Leney	1910-11
GRASSI	Kosciusko, Thaddeus	Houston	1461
GRAY	Salem Court House	Hill	1413
GREENWOOD,	Prince, Thomas	Pelham	2472
GROOMBRIDGE	Hodgkinson, John	Leney	1780
GUERARD	Maria Louisa, France	Edwin	821
GUERIN	Marcus Sextus	Hooker	1443
GUIDO	Jesus Christ	Pekenino	2458
HAILES	Pepys, Elizabeth	Steel	3013
HAINES, W.	Barton, Benjamin Smith	Haines	1190
	Moore, Thomas	Haines	1206
	Rush, Benjamin	Haines	1212
	Rush, Benjamin	Jones	1524
	Wistar, Caspar	Haines	1221
	Wistar, Caspar	Jones	1528
HALLOWAY	Franklin, Benjamin	Allardice	41
HAMILTON, W.	Adam and Eve	Newcomb	2326
	Siddons, Sarah Kemble	Leney	1852
HARDING, Chester	Boone, Daniel	Longacre	1941
	Carroll, Charles, of C.	Durand	566
	Carroll, Charles, of C.	Longacre	1953
	Channing, Wm. Ellery	Hoogland	1417-18

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HARDING, Chester	Howard, John Eager	Prud'homme	2580
	Washington, Bushrod	Longacre	2103
HARRISON	Dallas, George Mifflin	Harrison	1279
HAYLAND	Philadelphia		
	Eastern Penitentiary,	Childs	360
	Presbyterian Church	Boyd	271
HEINS	Cowper, Mrs.	Maverick	2199
HERRING	Francis, John W.	Prud'homme	2573
	Hibbard, B.	Danforth	443
	Lewis, Morgan	Durand	609
	Lewis, Morgan	Paradise	2403
HERVIEU	Spencer, Mrs. E.	Longacre	2093
	Spencer, H. E.	Longacre	2094
HEWINS	Hawes, Joel	Pelton	2498
HICKEL	Lambton, William H.	Leney	1799
HILL, S.	Boston, Mass., View of	Hill	1390
	Hancock House	Hill	1406
P.	Maffitt, John N.	Kelly	1614
I. W.	Philadelphia, View of	Hill	1350-51
HOFFMAN, Jacob	Broadhead's Creek, Pa.	Scoles	2827
	Bush Hill, Pa.	Tiebout	3203
	Green Hill, Pa.	Hill	1405
	Minisink, Pa.	Scoles	2834
	Pahaqualing, N. J.	Clarke	414
	Pahaqualing, N. J.	Scoles	2842
	Pennsylvania Hospital	Hill	1411
	Philadelphia, View of	Scoles	2844
	Schuylkill Falls, Pa.	Tiebout	3229
HOGARTH	Fielding, Henry	Leney	1754
HOIT	Harrison, William H.	Pelton	2496
HOLBEIN, H.	Bacon, Sir Francis	Haines	1189
	Boleyn, Anne	Cook	430
	Luther, Martin	Eckstein	684
	Luther, Martin	Eckstein	684
HOOKE	Albany Dutch Church	Snyder	2996
	Albany Lancaster School	Willard-Rawdon	3397
	New York City, Plan of	Hooker	1448
HOPPIN	Wharton, Capt., Escape of	Prud'homme	2621
HOPNER	Nelson, Horatio	Prud'homme	2595
HOBSON	Curran, John Philpot	Houston	1458
HOQUIER	Brown, Tipping	Leney	1720
HORNER	New York City, Broadway	Hill	1325
HOUDON	Washington, George	Durand	660
	Washington, George	Hamlin	1237
	Washington, George	Leney	1666
HOUSTON	Adams, John	Houston	1454-55
HOWELL	Baron, George	Anderson	67
HOWELL-LEWIS	Pennsylvania, Map	Scoles	2841
HUBARD	Clay, Henry	Longacre	1959
HUNTINGTON	Church of God	Hill	1356
HULLSTONE	Huntington, S.	Pelton	2502
INDIEWICK	Mitchell's Lighthouse	Leney	1889
INGHAM, CHRIS.	Clinton, De Witt	Durand	571
	Clinton, De Witt	Prud'homme	2563
	Cooper, Thomas	Durand	573
	Fuller, William	Durand	586
	Lafayette, Marquis de	Danforth	447

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	Stewart, Mrs.	Paradise	2409
INMAN, Henry	Clarke, McDonald	Maverick	2194
	Clinton, De Witt	Durand	570
	Dismal Swamp, Va.	Maverick	2239
	Fisher, Clara	Bennett	122
	Gilpin, Henry D.	Dodson	490
	Griswold, Alexander V.	Dodson	491
	Hackett, James H.	Durand	591
	Hicks, Elias	Maverick	2205
	Macready, William C.	Durand	612
	Marshall, John	Durand	615
	Moore, Richard Channing	Dodson	496
	Mott, Valentine	Durand	623
	Mount Joliet	Maverick	2247
	Nevins, William	Paradise	2407
	Physick, Philip Syng	Dodson	498
	Physick, Philip Syng	Durand	634
	Rock Fort	Maverick	2254
	Rutgers, Henry	Wright	3413
	Saratoga Springs, N. Y.	Maverick	2255
	Stanford, John	Main	2163
	Swain, William	Durand	655
	Van Buren, Martin	Chapin	306
	White, Rev. William	Dodson	505
ISABEY	Napoleon, Francois	Gimbrede	1072
	Charles Jos.		
JACOBS	Humboldt, Alex. von	Prud'homme	2581
JACKSON, J.	Bennett, George	Pelton	2479
	Clarke, Adam	Longacre	1958
	Emory, John	Longacre	1970
	McJilton, Daniel	Piggot	2542
	Macready, William C.	Longacre	2045
	Wesley, John	Longacre	2116-19
	Wesley, John	Munson	2282
	Luther, Martin	Longacre	2040
JAGEMAN			
JAMES	Plessis, Joseph Octave	Durand	638
	Sutton, Amos	Pelton	2523
JANINET	Franklin, Benjamin	Murray	2285
	Franklin, Benjamin	Pekenino	2441-42
JANSEN	Lesley, Alexander	Tiebout	3183
	Bainbridge, William	Durand	553
JARVIS, J.	Bainbridge, William	Maverick	2183
	Baker, Rachel	Gimbrede	1035
	Blackburn, Gideon	Maverick	2184
	Brown, Jacob	Durand	562
	Brown, Jacob	Maverick	2187
	Chase, Samuel	Longacre	1956
	Crawford, William H.	Durand	576
	Decatur, Stephen	Pekenino	2438
	Gaines, Edmund P.	Longacre	1983
	Graham, Isabella	Leney	1765
	Graham, Isabella	Leney-Valetine	3337
	Graham, Isabella	Rollinson	2708
	Hanson, Alex. Contee	Edwin	774
	Jackson, Andrew	Phillips	2540
	McKendree, William	Gimbrede	1062

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JARVIS, J.	MacDonough, Thomas	Gimbrede	1061
	Mason, John M.	Durand	616
	Mitchell, Samuel L.	Durand	621
	Moore, Benjamin	Edwin	830
	Moore, Benjamin	Paradise	2406
	Perry, Oliver H.	Pekenino	2451
	Randolph, John	Gimbrede	1085
	Ridgely, C.	Goodman & Piggot	1150
	Rodgers, John	Edwin	861
	Sampson, William	Gimbrede	1088
	Warrington, Lewis	Gimbrede	1096
	Munson, Aeneas	Jocelyn	1547
	Ashman, Jehudi	Jocelyn	1530
JENNYS JOCELYN, N.	Leffingwell, William	Jocelyn	1545
	Porter, Ebenezer	Longacre	2076
JOHNSON, E. F.	Taylor, N. W.	Jocelyn	1558
	Truair, John	Jocelyn	1559
	Norwich, Vt.	Peabody	2421
	Norwich Military Acad.	Peabody	2420
	Stillman, Samuel	Snyder	2994
JOHNSON-DOYLE	Waters, Abigail	Annin	81
JOHNSTON, D. C.	Adams, Samuel	Graham	1161
	Alston, Washington	Johnston	1484
	Boston, Mass., View of	Steel	3021
JONES	Breed's Hill, Mass.	Steel	3022
	Matthews, Charles	Johnston	1489-91
	Philadelphia		
	Masonic Hall, Fire at	Hill	1345
	Transylvania University	Gridley	1186
	Shelby, Isaac	Durand	649
	Paley, William	Prud'homme	2598
	Hampton Beach, Mass	Bowen	228
	White Mountains, N. H.	Bowen	234
	Adams, John Quincy	Kearny	1565
KING, C. B.	Adams, John Quincy	Moore	2275
	Barry, William T.	Longacre	1930
	Calhoun, John C.	Longacre	1949-50
	Clay, Henry	Maverick	2192
	Johnston, Josiah S.	Longacre	2027
	McKendree, William	Edwin	815
	Monroe, James	Goodman & Piggot	1145
	Pawnee Brave	Jocelyn	1550
	Pinkney, William	Longacre	2072
	Whitney, Eli	Hoogland	1435
	Addison, Joseph	Ellis	963
	Addison, Joseph	Kelly	1592
	Congreve, William	Leney	1734
	Hughes, John	Leney	1784
	Locke, John	Harrison	1281
KNELLER, Sir Godfrey	Pepys, Samuel	Steel	3014
	Pope, Alexander	Hoogland	1430
	Pope, Alexander	Longacre	2075
	Tickell, Thomas	Leney	1863
	New Orleans Orphans' Asylum	Hill	1346
	Luther, Martin	Rawdon	2635
	Philadelphia, Election Scene	Lawson	1692
	Victuallers' Procession	Yeager	3438
KNOW KNANACH KIMMEL			

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
LACOUR	New York City Federal Hall	Doolittle	533
LAMB DIN	Harrison, William H.	Dodson	492
LAWRENCE, C.	Bedell, Gregory T.	Humphrys	1469
T.	Cowper, William	Gimbrede	1046
T.	George IV, England	Longacre	1986
C.	Gloucester, Jeremiah	Tiller	3240
C.	Meigs, Return Jonathan	Longacre	2050
C.	Smith, Samuel Stanhope	Goodman & Piggot	1154
LE BARBIER	Barlow, Joel	Anderson	45
LEHMAN	Gray's Ferry, Pa. Philadelphia	Steel	3027
	Fairmount Water Works	Steel	3025
	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Childs	371
	Pittsburgh, Pa.	Steel	3033
	Schuylkill Canal, Pa.	Childs	372
LELY	Arlington, Earl of	Haines	1188
	Clarendon, Earl of	Haines	1195
	Cromwell, Oliver	Prud'homme	2565
LEMET	Parkinson, William	Maverick	2226
LENHART	Livingston Monument	Wagner	3347
LEUSER	Balston Springs, N. Y.	Hill	1324
	Congress Springs, N. Y.	Hill	1326
	Elk, The	Ellis	980
LESLIE, C. R.	Blisset, Francis	Edwin	786
	Cooke, George Frederick	Edwin	734-36
	Cooper, Thomas Apthorpe	Edwin	737
	Cooper, Thomas Apthorpe	Lewis	1914
	Homer	Edwin	779
	Irving, Washington	Danforth	444-45
	Jefferson, J. and F. Blisset	Edwin	786
	Quixote, Don	Danforth	451
	Scott, Sir Walter	Danforth	454
	Scott, Sir Walter	Longacre	2089
	Sentry-Box, The	Danforth	460
LEWIS	Macdonough, Thomas	Annin	75
	Philadelphia, New Theatre	Ralph	2632
LINCOLN	Slater, Samuel	Steel	3016
LINEN	Clay, Henry	Prud'homme	2562
	Fitz, Henry	Smith, W. D.	2952
LIVINGSTON, H.	Indian Mounds	Tiebout	3211
	Livingston Saw Mill	Tiebout	3215
	Maelstrom, The	Tiebout	3216
	Mohawk River	Tiebout	3217
	Palisades, The	Tiebout	3225
	West Point, N. Y.	Tiebout	3235
LOGGAN	Ken, Thomas	Humphrys	1471
LONGACRE, Jas.	Barry, William T.	Longacre	1929
	Berrien, John McPherson	Longacre	1937
	Branch, John	Longacre	1943
	Chapman, Nathaniel	Longacre	1955
	Eaton, John H.	Longacre	1968
	Emmons, Richard	Longacre	1969
	Franklin, Benjamin	Dodson	489
	Hayne, Robert Y.	Longacre	1997
	Hewes, Joseph	Kearny	1567

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
LONGACRE, JAS.	Ingham, Samuel D.	Longacre	2010
	Jackson, Andrew	Longacre	2013, 2016-17
	Poinsett, Joel R.	Longacre	2074
	Ruter, Martin	Longacre	2083
	Sargent, Thomas	Longacre	2085
	Spencer, O. M.	Longacre	2095
	Van Buren, Martin	Longacre	2099
	Webster, Daniel	Longacre	2112-14
	Wirt, William	Longacre	2124-25
	Woodbury, Levi	Longacre	2129
LOSS	Boats on Mohawk	Maverick	2237
LOUTHERBOURG	Windermere, England	Birch	157
LOVETT	Baker, Mr.	Hill	1361
	Clarke, John	Graham	1162
LUBBER	Unknown Man	Gimbrede	1105
LYON	"Constitution" U. S. Frigate	Bowen	233
MAELLA	Columbus, Christopher	Maverick	2197
MAIBONE	Tousard, A. Louis	Edwin	885
MANGIN	New York City, Prison	Fox	1013-14
MARLING	Forster, Anthony	Goodman & Piggot	1135
	Franklin, Benjamin	Ellis	968
	Franklin, Benjamin	Gobrecht	1110
	Franklin, Benjamin	Goodman & Piggot	1136-37
	Franklin, Benjamin	Hamlin	1230
	Franklin, Benjamin	Kelly	1603
	Franklin, Benjamin	Longacre	1977-79, 2110
	Franklin, Benjamin	Maverick, S.	2267
	Franklin, Benjamin	Savage	2745
	Franklin, Benjamin	Smith, W. D.	2953
	Franklin, Benjamin	Willard	3371
	Franklin, Benjamin	Woodruff	3402
	Livingston, Brockholst	Prud'homme	2589
	Martin, John E.	Scoles	2792
MASON	Eaglesfield, Pa.	Childs	361
	Philadelphia		
	Eastern Penitentiary	Childs	359
McARTHUR	Penn. Hospital for Insane	Tucker	3326
	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania		
	Hospital	Tucker	3325
McPHERSON	Clay, Henry	Steel	3003
MEANCE	Dufief, N. G.	Edwin	752
MEDLEY	Pearce, Samuel	Annin & Smith	98
	Pearce, Samuel	Boyd	258
	Pearce, Samuel	Longacre	2066
METCALF, E.	Cornelius, E.	Longacre	1965
	Larned, Sylvester	Durand	608
	Patton, William	Durand	630
	Wilbur, Hervey	Durand	667
	Athens, Ruins of	Kelly	1632
METZ	Brooks, Nathan C.	Horton	1450
MILLER	King Henry VI	Michel-Leney	1909
MILLS	De Kalb Monument	Hill	1327
	Dorsey's Gothic Mansion	Tanner	3123
MIRBEL	Copper, J. Fennimore	Pelton	2485
MITCHELL	Adams, Samuel	Okey	2370
MORGAN	Kenton, Simon	Dodson	494
MORSE, S. F. B.	Cross, Jeremy L.	Jocelyn	1532

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
	Emmet, Thomas Addies	Smith, J. R.	2920
	Evarts, Jeremiah	Longacre	1972
	Evarts, Jeremiah	Pelton	2487
	Fisher, Alexander M.	Jocelyn	1538
	Parsons, Levi	Throop	3157
	Smith, Nathan	Jocelyn	1554
	Sprague, William B.	Durand	651
	Webster, Noah	Durand	664
	Worcester, Samuel	Annin & Smith	105
MORTON	Susquehanna River	Strickland	3064
MUNGER	Cross, Jeremy L.	Jocelyn	1531
	Trumbull, Benjamin	Jocelyn	1560
MURRAY	New York City Hospital	Leney	1892
NASH	Kenyon College	Hamm	1259
NASMYTH	Burns, Robert	Childs	343
	Burns, Robert	Ellis	965
	Burns, Robert	Lawson	1680
NEAGLE, J.	Barnes, John	Durand	556
	Barnes, Mary G.	Durand	557
	Barron, James	Steel	3000
	Bascom, Henry B.	Longacre	1931
	Bedell, Gregory T.	Longacre	1934
	Booth, Junius Brutus	Ellis	964
	Chapman, Nathaniel	Kelly	1599
	Collins, John	Longacre	1963
	Conwell, Henry	Bridport	274
	Cowell, Joseph	Durand	574
	Duff, Mrs.	Longacre	1967
	Duff, John	Durand	580
	Forrest, Edwin	Durand	584
	Francis, William	Longacre	1974
	Francis, Mrs. William	Longacre	1975
	Hilson, Ellen Augusta	Durand	594
	Hilson, Thomas	Durand	595
	Jefferson, Joseph	Edwin	785
	Kean, Charles	Goodman	1121
	Kelly, Lydia	Longacre	2029
	Lyon, Patrick	Kelly	1612
	Macready, William C.	Durand	611
	Newton, Robert	Dodson	497
	Ongpatonga, Chief	Bridport	276
	Petalesharoo	Maverick	2227
	Pilmore, Joseph	Goodman & Piggot	1149
	Roberts, Robert R.	Longacre	2081
	Stuart, Charles Gilbert	Edwin	883
	Warren, William	Longacre	2102
	Wemyss, Mr.	Longacre	2115
	Wood, William B.	Ellis	974
	Wylie, Samuel B.	Longacre	2132
	Young, David	Longacre	2134
NEELY	Matteawan, N. Y.	Hill	1344
NEILSON	Weehawken, N. J.	Ellis	979
NEWTON	Irving, Washington	Annin & Smith	94
	McLane, Louis	Kelly	1613
NORTHCOTE, J.	Banks, Thomas	Leney	1710
	Bourgeois, Sir Francis	Leney	1718
	Grey, Lady Jane	Longacre	1991
	Northcote, James	Leney	1824

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
OLIVER	Elizabeth, Queen	Edwin	756
	Horne, George	Longacre	2604
	Opie, John	Leney	1825
OTIE	Opie, Mrs.	Munson	2280
	Rees, Abraham	Gobrecht	1112
OTIS, B.	Barton, Benjamin Smith	Otis	2379
	Cooper, Ezekiel	Jones	1509
	Eastburn, Joseph	Clay	392
	Eastburn, Joseph	Otis	2384
	Ely, Ezra Stiles	Childs	344
	Glendy, John	Longacre	1989
	Helmouth, J. H. C.	Goodman & Piggot	1139
	Jefferson, Thomas	Kelly	1608
	Jefferson, Thomas	Neagle	2306
	Madison, Dorothy T. B.	Goodman & Piggot	1144
	Madison, James	Neagle	2310
	Monroe, James	Goodman & Piggot	1146
	Neill, William	Nesmith	2318
	Patterson, James	Smith, J. R.	2927
	Physick, Philip Syng	Otis	2381
	White, Rev. William	Otis	2383
	Wistar, Caspar	Goodman & Piggot	1157-58
	Wistar, Caspar	Longacre	2126
	Wistar, Caspar	Neagle	2314
PAON	Lafayette, Marquis de	Kearny	1509
PARADISE, J.	Asbury, Francis	Gimbrede	1034
	Asbury, Francis	Tanner	3082
	Bangs, Nathan	Durand	554
	Beach, W.	Paradise	2388
	Between the Logs	Smith, W. D.	2944
	Capers, William	Longacre	1952
	Chase, Henry	Paradise	2392
	Clark, Laban	Durand	567
	Cooper, Ezekiel	Prud'homme	2564
	Cox, Samuel H.	Durand	575
	Croes, John	Paradise	2394
	Finley, James B.	Durand	582
	Fisk, Wilbur	Paradise.	2398
	Garrettson, Freeborn	Danforth	441
	Garrettson, Freeborn	Durand	588
	Garrettson, Freeborn	Prud'homme	2575
	Hanna, John	Danforth	442
	Hart, N. C.	Paradise	2399
	Hedding, Elijah	Durand	593
	Hobart, John Henry	Main	2161
	Hobart, John Henry	Paradise	2400
	McKendree, William	Longacre	2044
	Ma-Nuncue	Durand	614
	Marsden, Joshua	Gimbrede	1065
	Martindale, S.	Smith, W. D.	2959
	Matthias, I. B.	Durand	618
	Mervin, Samuel	Paradise	2405
	Olin, Stephen	Durand	627
	Phoebus, William	Durand	633
	Reece, Richard	Durand	640
	Rees, William	Durand	642
	Soule, Joshua	Paradise	650
	Stend, Henry	Paradise	2408

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
PARADISE, J.	Thacher, William	Paradise	2410
	Woolsey, Elijah	Paradise	670
PARKYNS	Philadelphia, Treaty Tree	Cook	438
PARTRIDGE	Clarke, Adam	Durand	568
	Gano, Stephen	Annin & Smith	92
	Gano, Stephen	Pekenino	2443
PATE	Sibley, E.	Leney	1850
PAUL	Carroll, John	Leney-Tanner	1722, 3085
	Marshall, John	Edwin	822
	Pinckney, Charles C.	Tiebout	3189
	Rush, Benjamin	Akin	21
PEALE, R.	Allen, Richard	Boyd	244
R.	Biddle, Nicholas, Esq.	Longacre-Welch	1983
Anna C.	Branch, John	Longacre	1944
C. W.	Dearborn, Henry	Edwin	746
C. W.	Franklin, Benjamin	Edwin	764
C. W.	Franklin, Benjamin	Peale	2423
C. W.	Gray's Ferry, Pa.	Trenchard	3290-91
C. W.	Greene, Nathanael	Edwin	701, 773
	Greene, Nathanael	Gimbrede	1052
	Hone, Philip	Durand	596
C. W.	Jefferson, Thomas	Akin & Harrison	17
R.	Jefferson, Thomas	Edwin	787
R.	Jefferson, Thomas	Tiebout	3182
R.	Jones, Absalom	Jones	1519
	Jones, Jacob	Edwin	793
C. W.	Jones, John Paul	Longacre	2026
C. W.	Jones, John Paul	Rawdon Co.	2643
R.	Kemp, James	Schwartz	2767
C. W.	Knox, Henry	Edwin	796, 797
C. W.	Lafayette, Marquis de	Peale	2424
C. W.	Laurens, Henry	Neagle	2309
T.	Mastoden, The	Ellis	981
C. W.	Montgomery, Richard	Edwin	701
C. W.	Morgan, Daniel	Edwin	832
C. W.	Muhlenberg, G. H. E.	Goodman & Piggot	1147
C. W.	Muhlenberg, Henry M.	Steel	3012
C. W.	Peale, Charles Willson	Longacre	2065
C. W.	Philadelphia State House	Trenchard	3299
	Pike, Zebulon M.	Edwin	847
C. W.	Pilmore, Joseph	Peale	2425
R.	Pinkney, William	Durand	636
C. W.	Pitt, William	Peale	2426
James	Poulson, Susannah	Lawson	1684
C. W.	Ramsay, David	Longacre	2077
C. W.	Randolph, John	Goodman & Piggot	1151
C. W.	Rittenhouse, David	Edwin	860
C. W.	Rittenhouse, David	Gobrecht	1113
C. W.	Rittenhouse, David	Longacre	2080
C. W.	Rittenhouse, David	Savage	2748
James	Staughton, William	Edwin	880
James	Staughton, William	Smith, G. G.	2906
R.	Torrey, Jesse, Jr.	Goodman & Piggot	1155
C. W.	Warren, Joseph	Edwin	701
	Warren, Joseph	Gimbrede	1095
R.	Washington, George	Edwin	903
C. W.	Washington, George	Paradise	2411

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PEALE, C. W.	Washington, George	Peale	2427-29
	Washington, George	Scott	2863
	Washington, George	Trenchard	3276
C. W.	Wayne, Anthony	Edwin	701, 909
C. W.	Williams, Otho H.	Longacre	2122
	Wilson, Alexander	Edwin	914
C. W.	Witherspoon, John	Longacre	2127
C. W.	Witherspoon, John	Pelton	2535
R.	Wood, Juliana W.	Edwin	918
	More, Hannah	Pelton	2510
PECKERSGILL	Dexter, Lord Timothy	Paradise	2396
PEELE, J. T.	Brockwell, Charles	Pelham	2460
PELHAM	Byles, Mather	Pelham	2461
	Cutler, Timothy	Pelham	2465
	Hollis, Thomas	Pelham	2466
	Hooper, William	Pelham	2468
	Mather, Cotton	Pelham	2469
	Moorhead, John	Pelham	2470
	Appleton, Jesse	Chorley	383
	Massachusetts General Hospital	Bowen	230
	Nahant Hotel, Mass.	Annin & Smith	111
	Rollin, Charles	Kelly	1619
PENNIMAN	Rollin, Charles	Neagle	2311
	Webb, Thomas S.	Annin & Smith	103
	Winthrop, John	Chorley	389
	Phillips, T.	Gimbrede	1077
	Cristiani, Stephen	Maverick	2300
PERCIVAL	Manchester, Duke of	Leney	1809
	Peters, William	Leney	1834
	Petre, Lord	Leney	1835
	Resurrection of a Pious Family	Clarke	417
	Resurrection of a Pious Family	Hill	1359
PERSICO	Byron, Lord	Ellis	966
	Bryon, Lord	Durand	564
	Byron, Lord	Gimbrede	1042
	Byron, Lord	Kelly	1598
	Byron, Lord	Pelton	2483
PETERS	Saurin, James	Durand	646
	Saurin, James	Longacre	2086
PICART	Faneuil Hall	Hill	1402
PICBONT	Columbian War	Tiebout	3239
PIDALT	Elliott, E.	Prud'homme	2571
	Hamline, L. L.	Prud'homme	2577
PINE, J.	Hedding, Elijah	Prud'homme	2579
	Hopkinson, Francis	Longacre	2002-3
	Hopkinson, Francis	Longacre-Nesmith	2317
	Peck, George	Prud'homme	2599
	Read, George	Longacre	2078
	Sandford, P. P.	Prud'homme	2606
	Stone, Thomas	Ellis	973
	Waugh, Beverly	Prud'homme	2617
	Michael Angelo	Tiebout	3162
	Deane, Stephen	Goodman & Pigget	1130
PIONNO	Manncouthshire, England	Birch	154
PLANTOU	Schmer	Birch	158

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
PORTER	Massachusetts Bay	Strickland	3072
	Mouina	Strickland	3073
	Stilts	Strickland	3074
	Taawattaa	Strickland	3075
	War Canoe	Strickland	3077
PRATT	Payson, Edward	Kelly	1616
	Pierce, Ben.	Smith, G. G.	2903
	Yale College	Joeelyn	1562
RAEBURN	Blair, Hugh	Kelly	1594-95
	Scott, Sir Walter	Dodson	500
	Scott, Sir Walter	Maverick-Durand	648
	Scott, Sir Walter	Kelly	1622
RAFFET	Robespierre, M.	Prud'homme	2603
	Roland, Madam	Prud'homme	2604
RAMBERG	Abington, Mrs.	Leney	1705
	Farren, Miss	Leney	1753
	Henderson, Mr.	Leney	1774
RAMSAY	Mead, Richard	Jones	1522
RAPHAEL	Virgin Mary	Pekenino	2459
READING	Drayton, William Henry	Wright	3410
REED	Buell, Samuel	Reed	2647
REINAGLE	Elgin Botanic Garden	Leney	1884
	Fort Ticonderoga	Fairman	992
	Laight, Col., Camp of	Kneass-Young	1667
	Macdonough Farmhouse	Childs	367
	Macdonough's Victory	Tanner	3134
	Merion Meeting House, Pa.	Steel	3030
	Philadelphia, Unitarian Church	Childs	378
REYNOLDS, Sir Joshua	Chambers, Sir William	Murray	2283
	Ferguson, Adam	Tucker	3305
	Gibbon, Edward	Durand	590
	Gibbon, Edward	Lawson	1681
	Gibbon, Edward	Pelton	2491
	Goldsmith, Oliver	Hoogland	1422
	Goldsmith, Oliver	Leney	1762
	Goldsmith, Oliver	Longacre	1990
	Goldsmith, Oliver	Neagle	2304
	Goldsmith, Oliver	Pelton	2492
	Hume, David	Longacre	2007
	Johnson, Samuel	Kelly	1609
	Muscipula	Savage	2762
	Robertson, William	Tanner	3099
	Robinson, Mrs.	Birch	153
RICHARDSON	Siddons, Sarah Kemble	Longacre	2090
	Sterne, Laurence	Longacre	2097
	Steele, Sir Richard	Leney	1857
RIDER	State Guards, Pa.	Nesmith	2325
	Washington, Capitol	Lawson	1699
RITCHIE	McCrie, Thomas	Tucker	3309
ROBERTS	Crawford, Mrs.	Leney	1737
	Davenport, Mrs.	Leney	1743
	Hartley, Mrs.	Leney	1773
	Hull, Mr.	Leney	1786
	Middleton, Mr.	Leney	1817
ROBERTSON, Alex.	Berthier, Canada	Maverick	2236
	Arch. Fireman's Certificate	Maverick	2257
	Arch. Genius of Penmanship	Maverick	2241
	Walter Hamilton, Alexander	Graham	1163

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ROBERTSON, Arch.	Hamilton, Alexander	Prud'homme	2576
	Hamilton, Alexander	Rollinson	2709
	Hamilton, Alexander	Tanner	3092
	Hudson River	Graham	1172
	Jackson, James	Maverick	2210
	Mason, John M.	Graham	1167
	Truxton, Thomas	Tiebout	3193
	Washington, George	Field	1004
	Washington, George	Rollinson	2719
	Washington, George	Tisdale	3257
ROBINSON	Washington, Martha	Longacre	2111
	Gloucester, John	Tanner-Jones	1514-3091
	Sergeant, John	Kelly	1623
	Drake, J. Rodman	Kelly	1600
RODGERS	Da Ponte, Lorenzo	Pekenino	2452
	Judson, Ann H.	Cone	421
ROGERS	Judson, Ann H.	Dodson	493
	Cowper, William	Maverick	2198
	Hamilton, Lady	Gimbrede	1053
	Paine, Thomas	Wright	3412
ROMNEY	Paley, William	Longacre	2063
	Pope, Alexander	Danforth	450
ROUBILLIAC	Descent from Cross	Lenev	1912
RUBENS	Reed, Nelson	Smith, W. D.	2962
RUCKLE	Newton, John	Jocelyn	1548
RUSSELL	Newton, John	Lenev	1823
	Wolfe, Charles	Willard	3395
RYDER	United States Capitol, 1814	Lawson	1699
SANDERS	Byron, Lord	Ellis	967
SANSON	Sherburne, Nantucket	Tanner	3139
SARGENT	Lincoln, Benjamin	Smith, J. R.	2924
	Parthenon, The	Tucker	3323
SAVAGE, E.	Adams, John	Savage	2744
	"Constellation" and "L'Insurgent"	Savage	2757-58
	Columbus, Christopher	Edwin	731
	Declaration of Independence	Savage	2759
	Jefferson, Thomas	Savage	2746
	Knox, Henry	Savage	2747
	Liberty as Goddess of Youth	Savage	2761
	Paine, Robert Treat	Longacre	2062
	Rittenhouse, David	Jarvis	1481
	Rush, Benjamin	Savage	2749
	Russell, Nathaniel	Savage	2750
	Washington, George	Hamlin	1236, 1238-41
	Washington, George	Rollinson	2718
	Washington, George	Savage	2752-53
	Washington, George	Scoles	2809
	Washington, George	Seymour	2878
	Washington, George	Tanner	3105
	Washington Family	Savage	2754
	Wayne, Anthony	Savage	2756
SCHEFFER	Lafayette, Marquis de	Annin & Smith	95-96
	Lafayette, Marquis de	Danforth	448
	Lafayette, Marquis de	Fairman-Childs	348
SCHETKY	Edinburgh	Drayton	543
	St. Leonard's Cottage	Drayton	549
SCHOLZ-RAFT	Sault Ste. Marie	Rawdon	2639

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SCHROEDER	Harmon, Daniel W.	Leney	1772
	Richmond, Chas., Duke of	Leney	1842
SCHULTZ	Ohio River, Map of	Maverick	2252
SCHWANFELDER	Sharp, John	Hoogland	1433
SCORODORUMOFF	Paul I, Russia	Leney	1829
SCOTT	Spencer, Thomas	Haines	1215
SEVERN	Hunt, James H. Leigh	Prud'homme	2582
SEXTON	Averill, Chester	Prud'homme	2557
SEYMOUR	New Orleans, Battle of	Steel	3031
	Oto Council	Lawson	1694
	Rocky Mountains	Kearny	1579
SHAFFER	Brunson, Alfred	Paradise	2390
SHARPLESS	Bard, John	Leney	1712
	Hamilton, Alexander	Anderson	53
SHAW	Bolling's Dam, Va.	Hill	1343
	Fayetteville	Hill	1343
	Hell-Gate, N. Y.	Hill	1343
	Jones' Falls, Md.	Hill	1343
	Lottery, Waite's	Humphrys	1474
	Lynnhaven Bay, Va.	Hill	1343
	Norfolk, Va.	Hill	1343
	North River, N. Y.	Hill	1343
	Oyster Cove, Va.	Hill	1343
	Passaic Falls, N. J.	Hill	1343
	Passaic River,	Hill	1343
	St. Anthony's Falls	Hill	1343
	Savannah, Burning of	Hill	1343
	Schuylkill Falls, Pa.	Hill	1343
	Spirit Creek, Ga.	Hill	1343
	Washington's Grave	Hill	1343
	West Point Monument	Hill	1343
	Wissahickon Creek	Hill	1343
	York Springs, Pa.	Hill	1355
SHUMWAY	Hubbard, Nehim	Jocelyn	1540
SIEURAC	Moore, Thomas	Ellis	971
SIMOND	Elgin Botanic Garden	Leney	1885
SLATER	Richmond, Legh	Longacre	2079
SMART	Swartz, C. F.	Pelton	2524
SMIBERT	Caner, Henry	Pelham	2462
	Colman, Benjamin	Pelham	2463
	Cooper, William	Pelham	2464
	Pepperrill, Sir Wm.	Pelham	2471
	Rogers, John	Kelly	1618
	Sewall, Joseph	Pelham	2473
	Shirley, Sir William	Pelham	2474
SMIRKE	McCrea, Jane	Annin	74
	Seven Ages, The	Leney	1907
SMITH, A. C.	Baptismal Scene	Tiebout	3237
	Brainerd, Thomas	Smith, J. R.	2918
J. R.	Brick Meeting House, Boston	Kidder	1643
J. R.	Garnett, Thomas	Leney	1758
J. R.	Jefferson, Thomas	Maverick	2212
	Keith, Isaac Stockton	Goodman & Piggot	1142
	Mount Carbon, Pa.	Smith, J. R.	2936
	National Hotel, Washington	Longacre	2153
	Noah, Mordecai M.	Gimbrede	1073
SODERMARK	Bremer, Fredrika	Prud'homme	2559

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
SPENCER	Finney, Charles G.	Paradise	2397
	Kent, James	Durand	605
ST. AUBIN	Alexander I, Russia	Edwin	696
ST. MEMIN	Lewis, Meriwether	Strickland	3050
STAIGG	Webster, Daniel	Dodson-Cheney	502
STANBURY	New York City, Broadway	Rawdon & Co.	2644
	Coffee House Slip	Danforth	459
STEWART, J.	Wheelock Eleazar	Reed	2657
OF			
STEWART	Strong, Nathan	Pelton	2522
STOTHARD	Boleyn, Anne	Kelly	1596
STREET	Tyson, Elisha	Cone	423
STRICKLAND	Ball, William	Kneass	1645
	"Constitution", "Levant" and "Cyane"	Strickland	3054
Wm.	Finley Chain Bridge	Tanner	3126
	Fort McHenry, Bombardment of Hamilton Monument	Kneass	1658
Geo.	Philadelphia, Pa.	Plocher	2546
	Academy of Fine Arts	Childs	351
Wm.	Almshouse, Spruce St.	Boyd	270
Geo.	Academy of Natural Sciences	Childs	352
Geo.	Bank of Pennsylvania	Tucker	3316
Geo.	Bank of United States	Childs	354
Wm.	Bank of United States	Kearny	1572
Wm.	Bank of United States	Kneass-Young	1659
Geo.	Bank of United States	Tucker	3317
Geo.	Christ Church	Childs	356
Geo.	Deaf and Dumb Asylum	Childs	358
Wm.	Franklin Library	Thackara	3150
Geo.	Girard's Bank	Childs	353
Wm.	Market St. Bridge	Plocher	2547
Wm.	Masonic Hall	Kneass	1663
Geo.	Pennsylvania Hospital	Childs	368-69
Wm.	Pennsylvania Hospital	Seymour	2881
Geo.	St. Stephen's Church	Childs	375
Geo.	State House	Childs	376
Geo.	University of Penna.	Steel	3035
Geo.	Washington Hall	Strickland	3065
Wm.	Quebec, Canada	Kneass	1664
	Queenstown, Canada	Strickland	3061
	Radnor Church	Tiebout	3226
Wm.	Upper Ferry Bridge, Pa.	Plocher	2547
	Valley Forge, Pa.	Tiebout	3233
	Woodlands, Pa.	Murray	2296
STRUETT	Campbell, Mr.	Wightman	3354
STUART, G.	Adams, John	Gimbrede	1031
	Adams, John	Longacre	1916-19
	Adams, John Quincy	Longacre	1920-22
	Ames, Fisher	Boyd	245
	Ames, Fisher	Edwin	702-4
	Ames, Fisher	Gimbrede	1033
	Ames, Fisher	Kelly	1593
	Ames, Fisher	Leney	1707
	Ames, Fisher	Prud'homme	2556
	Bainbridge, William	Edwin	708-9

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
STUART, G.	Barry, John	Edwin	711
	Barry, John	Longacre	1928
	Bowdoin, James	Smith, J. R.	2917
	Bowditch, Nathaniel	Pelton	2481
	Brooks, John	Durand	561
	Buckminster, Joseph S.	Edwin	719
	Dallas, Alexander J.	Goodman & Piggott	1129
	Dallas, Alexander J.	Leney	1741
	Decatur, Stephen	Edwin	748-49
	Decatur, Stephen	Gimbredé	1049
	Gansevoort, Peter	Prud'homme	2574
	Gates, Horatio	Tiebout	3171
	Holley, Horace	Kelly	1606
	Hull, Isaac	Edwin	780-82
	Hull, Isaac	Graham	1165
	Jay, John	Durand	601
	Jay, John	Leney	1789-90
	Jay, John	Maverick	2211
	Jay, John	Tiebout	3179
	Jefferson, Thomas	Edwin	789
	Jefferson, Thomas	Field	1001
	Jefferson, Thomas	Longacre	2021-23
	Jefferson, Thomas	Pelton	2504
	King, Rufus	Kelly	1610
	Knox, Henry	Prud'homme	2585
	Lawrence, James	Edwin	802
	Lawrence, James	Leney	1800
	Lawrence, James	Rollinson	2713
	Lee, Henry	Prud'homme	2588
	Lewis, William	Goodman & Piggott	1143
	Livingston, John H.	Jarvis	1480
	Livingston, Robert R.	Graham	1166
	McKean, Thomas	Edwin	814
	McKean, Thomas	Longacre	2043
	Madison, Dorothy T. P.	Edwin	819
	Madison, James	Edwin	817
	Madison, James	Jones	1520
	Madison, James	Leney	1807-8
	Mifflin, Thomas	Bridport	275
	Paine, Robert Treat, Jr.	Tisdale	3254
	Parsons, Theophilus	Leney	1828
	Phillips, William	Pelton	2516
	Pickering, Timothy	Piggott	2543
	Shippen, Edward	Edwin	873
	Shippen, William, Jr.	Haines	1214
	Smith, William	Edwin	877
	Smith, William	Savage	2751
	Strong, Caleb	Longacre	2098
	Washington, George	Chorley	388
	Washington, George	Durand	661-62
	Washington, George	Fairman	995
	Washington, George	Gimbredé	1097
	Washington, George	Goodman & Piggott	1156
	Washington, George	Harrison, C. P.	1282-83
	Washington, George	Jocelyn	1561
	Washington, George	Johnston	1497
	Washington, George	Kelly	1630-31

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
STUART, G.	Washington, George	Kennedy	1637
	Washington, George	Leney	1869
	Washington, George	Longacre	2106-10
	Washington, George	Maverick	2230-31
	Washington, George	Nesmith	2319-20
	Washington, George	Norman	2354
	Washington, George	Paradise	2412
	Washington, George	Peabody	2419
	Washington, George	Pekenino	2453
	Washington, George	Pelton	2527, 2531
	Washington, George	Prud'homme	2616
	Washington, George	Reed	2655-56
	Washington, George	Roberts	2701
	Washington, George	Savage	2755
	Washington, George	Scoles	2810-11
	Washington, George	Shallus	2894
	Washington, George	Smith, G. G.	2908
	Washington, George	Smith, J. R.	2934
	Washington, George	Smith, W. D.	2966
	Washington, George	Steel	3019
	Washington, George	Strickland	3052
	Washington, George	Tanner	3102, -04, 3106
	Washington, George	Tiebout	3194-95
	Washington, George	Tiller	3241, 3247
	Washington, George	Willard	3390-92
	Washington, George	Woodruff	3406-07
	Washington, George	Yeager	3428-29
	White, Rev. William	Edwin	911
	White, Rev. William	Tiebout	3199
	Washington Memorial	Hill	1360
STETSON	Adams, John Quincy	Durand	551
	Andrews, John	Edwin	706
SULLY, Thos.	Boudinot, Elias	Boyd	247
	Chapman, Nathaniel	Goodman & Piggott	1128
	Chapman, Nathaniel	Neagle	2303
	Cooke, George Frederick	Edwin	732
	Decatur, Stephen	Durand	579
	Decatur, Stephen	Prud'homme	2568
	Dorsey, John Syng	Goodman & Piggott	1132-34
	Henry, Patrick	Leney	1776
	Hosack, David	Durand	597
	Jackson, Andrew	Longacre	2012
	Macomb, Alexander	Longacre	2046
	Madison, James	Edwin	818
	Morris, Gouverneur	Longacre	2052
	Philadelphia, Pa.		
	Swedes' Church	Childs	377
	Physick, Philip Syng	Longacre	2069
	Pickens, Andrew	Longacre	2070
	Ross, James	Goodman & Piggott	1152
	Rush, Benjamin	Dodson	499
	Rush, Benjamin	Edwin	864-65
	Rush, Benjamin	Gobrecht	1114
	Rush, Benjamin	Leney	1844
	Rush, Benjamin	Longacre	2082
	Skinner, Thomas H.	Goodman & Piggott	1153
	Snyder, Simon	Edwin	878

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
SULLY, Thomas	Tompkins, Daniel D.	Jones	1527
	Vaughan, John	Steel	3017
	Warren, William	Edwin	890
	Washington Crossing the Delaware	Lang	1672
	White, Rev. William	Pekenino	2455
	Wilkes, Charles	Dodson	504
	Williams, Jonathan	Dodson	503
	Wolcott, Oliver	Durand	669
	Wood, William B.	Edwin	919
	Lake Erie, Battle of	Murray & Co.	2288-89
SUTLIFF	Beacon Hill Monument	Tanner	3119
SVININ	Alexander I, Russia	Edwin	697
	Moreau, Victor	Annin	76
TAYLOR	New York City, Plan of	Roberts	2702
TERRIGI	Napoleon Bonaparte	Humphreys	1470
THOMAS	Ulmus, New Species of	Doolittle	537
THOMPSON	Blair, John D.	Martin	2178
THOMSON	Griswold, Alexander V.	Longacre	1992
	Sargent, Thomas F.	Rollinson	2716
TILYARD	Mareschal, Ambrose	Longacre	2047
TISDALE	Brainard, J. G. G.	Longacre	1942
	Lexington Battle	Tiebout	3213
	Washington, George	Scoles	2812
	Charles V, Germany	Anderson	47
TITIAN	Francis I, France	Anderson	52
	Croton Aqueduct, Views on	Bennett	128-134
TOWER	Croton Aqueduct, Views on	Hill	1357
	Abercrombie, James	Edwin	691
TROT, B.	Clymer, George	Hooker	1441
	Clymer, George	Longacre	1962
	Gibson, James	Goodman & Piggot	1138
	Richards, James	Bridport	277
	Washington, George	Fairman	994
	Washington, George	Gobrecht	1115
	Washington, George	Longacre	2105
	Washington, George	Wright, C. C.	3415
	Bunker Hill Battle	Norman	2359
	Clinton, De Witt	Leney	1730
	Declaration of Independence	Durand	679
	Declaration of Independence	Prud'homme	2622-23
TRUMBULL, J.	Dwight, Timothy	Leney	1747
	Ellsworth, Oliver	Edwin	758
	Ellsworth, Oliver	Maverick	2201
	Hamilton, Alexander	Field	1000
	Morgan, Daniel	Prud'homme	2594
	Platt, Jonas	Durand	637
	Putnam, Israel	Gimbredé	1083
	Putnam, Israel	Humphrys	1472
	Schuyler, Philip	Kelly	1620
	Trumbull, John (Poet)	Durand-Maverick	657, 2229
	Trumbull, Jonathan	Pelton	2525
	Washington, George	Durand	659
	Washington, George	Tucker	3314
	Wayne, Anthony	Prud'homme	2618
	Williamson, Hugh	Durand	668
TUCKER	Moses and the Tablets	Kearny	1584

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
TETHILL	Cass, Lewis	Lewis	1913
TETHILL	Hill, George H.	Kelly	1805
UNDERWOOD	Oxford Light Infantry	Nesmith	2323
	Philadelphia Cadets	Nesmith	2324
VANDERLYN, J.	Ariadne	Durand	682
	Bard, Samuel	Main	2160
	Davie, Wm. Richardson	Longacre	1966
	Gerry, Elbridge	Longacre	1987-88
	Jackson, Andrew	Durand	600
	Monroe, James	Durand	622
	Monroe, James	Gimbredé	1066-67
	Monroe, James	Peabody	2418
VANDYCK	Charles I, England	Gimbredé	1044
VENTUE	Owen, John	Gimbredé	1074
VILLENEUVE	Leo XII	Steel	3011
VIVIEN	Fénelon	Clarke	398
	Fénelon	Pelton	2488
VOLOZAN	Sacred Harmony	Edwin	930
WALDO, S. L.	Gamble, Thomas	Longacre	1984
	Jackson, Andrew	Maverick	2208
	Old Pat	Durand	628
	Perry, Oliver H.	Edwin	844-45
	Pickering, Timothy	Gimbredé	1078
WALDO & JEWETT	Boudinot, Elias	Durand	559
	Boudinot, Elias	Paradise	2389
	Colden, Cadwallader D.	Durand	572
	Durand, Asher Brown	Pekenino	2439
	Livermore, Harriet	Longacre	2036
	McLeod, Alexander	Durand	610
	Mathews, J. McF.	Durand	617
	Milledoler, Philip	Durand	619
	Milnor, James	Durand	620
	Mitchell, Edward	Maverick	2219
	Phillips, W. W.	Smith, W. D.	2960
	Romeyn, J. B.	Durand	641
	Summerfield, John	Durand	654
	Taylor, James B.	Jocelyn	1557
	Trumbull, Col. John	Durand	656
WALKER	Cromwell, Oliver	Gimbredé	1048
WALL	Dempster, John	Paradise	2395
	Fort Ticonderoga	Maverick	2256
	Hudson, near Fishkill	Steel	3038
	New York City, View of	Maverick	2249
	Troy, N. Y.	Smith, J. R.	2938
WALTER	Philadelphia, Girard College	Steel	3026
WATSON	Schuylkill River, Pa.	Childs	373
WEAVER	Mitchell, Mr.	Scoles	2796
WEINDEL	Unknown Man	Longacre	2141
WEIR, Robt. W.	Beck, Theodoric R.	Prud'homme	2558
	Fort Putnam	Durand	676
	Red Jacket	Danforth	452
	Sands, Robert C.	Durand	645
	Scott, Winfield	Prud'homme	2607
	Washington, George	Durand	663
WELLS	Philadelphia, State House	Neagle	2315
WENTWORTH	Leavitt, Jonathan	Jocelyn	1544
WENTMULLER	Bayard, James A.	Goodman & Piggot	1127

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
WEST, B.	Bouquet, Col., and Indians	Revere	2683
W. E.	Byron, Lord	Longacre	1947
W. E.	Byron, Lord	Smith, W. D.	2947
B.	Elisha and the Shumanites	Longacre	2156
B.	Fulton, Robert	Leney	1755-56
B.	Middleton, Arthur	Longacre	2051
	New Orleans, Battle of	Yeager	3433
I. E.	New York City		
	College of Physicians	Leney	1891
W. E.	Olin, Stephen	Prud'homme	2596
B.	Penn's Treaty	Moore	2277
B.	Penn's Treaty	Smith, G. G.	2912
B.	West, Benjamin, Jr.,	Tiebout	3198
B.	West, Raphael	Tiebout	3198
WEST-EMMET	Fulton, Robert	Leney	1757
WESTALL	Byron, Lord	Longacre	1948
WESTMACOTT	Abercrombie Monument	Tanner	3116
WESTOBY	Murray, Lindley	Durand	624
WHEELER	Jackson, Andrew	Edwin	784
	Jackson, Andrew	Gimbrede	1055-57
WHITE	Connecticut River	Childs	357
	Ramsay, David	Gimbrede	1084
WIGHTMAN	Unknown Man	Prud'homme	2620
WILCOX	New York City, City Hall	Prud'homme	2624
WILDMAN	Codman, John	Pelton	2448
WILLARD	McNeil, John	Pelton	2508
WILLIAMS, W.	Adams, John	Houston	1453
	Bainbridge, William	Smith, J. R.	2916
H.	Colby, John	Williams	3363
	Duff, John	Edwin-Boyd	751
H.	Eustis, William	Annin & Smith	91
H.	Heath, William	Smith, J. R.	2922
H.	Hull, Isaac	Smith, J. R.	2923
	Ingalls, William	Lavigne	1675
H.	Parish, E.	Smith, J. R.	2926
Chas. V.	Percival, Spencer	Kneass	1653
H.	Phillips, John	Lavigne	1676
H.	Rogers, John	Smith, J. R.	2929
H.	Sedgwick, Theodore	Smith, J. R.	2930
H.	Smith, Elias	Williams	3364
H.	Thomas, Isaiah	Smith, J. R.	2932
H.	Thomson, Samuel	Williams	3365
WILSON	Franklin, Benjamin	Longacre	1981
	Niagara Falls, N. Y.	Cooke	435-36
	Watson, Elkanah	Paradise	2413
WILSON	George IV, England	Hoogland	1421
WIVELL	Backus, Azel	Longacre	1926
WOOD, J.	Barney, Joshua	Childs	340
	Biddle, James	Gimbrede	1037-38
	Brown, Jacob	Gimbrede	1041
	Burke, Mr.	Steel	3002
	Chauncey, Isaac	Edwin	727
	Cooper, Thomas Apthorpe	Edwin	736
	Daggett, David	Jocelyn	1533
	Dale, Richard	Dodson	485
	Dale, Richard	Edwin	743-744
	Dwight, Timothy	Leney	1746

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
WOOD, J.	Fennell, James	Boyd	251
	Griffin, E. D.	Leney	1766
	Harrison, William H.	Jones	1516
	Inglis, James	Throop	3156
	Jackson, Andrew	Childs	347
	Jackson, Andrew	Fairman & Childs	989
	Jackson, Andrew	Harrison	1287
	Jackson, Andrew	Longacre	2015
	Jackson, Andrew	Maverick	2209
	Jackson, Andrew	Steel	3009
	Jackson, Andrew	Willard	3375
	James, Thomas C.	Neagle	2305
	Johnson, Richard M.	Harrison	1280
	Johnson, Richard M.	Neagle	2307
	King, Rufus	Leney	1798
	McFarland, Francis F.	Edwin	813
	Madison, Dorothy T. D.	Prud'homme	2591
	Marshall, John	Kearny	1570
	Murray, Alexander	Edwin	833
	Murray, Alexander	Willard	3382
	New York City, View of	Rollinson	2723
	Payne, Master	Leney	1830
	Porter, David	Edwin	853
	Porter, David	Prud'homme	2601
	Staughton, William	Bowen	217
	Stewart, Charles	Goodman	1122
	Washington, Bushrod	Neagle	2312
	Wilson, James P.	Boyd	269
	Winder, William H.	Cone	426
WOOLASTON	Grove, Henry	Leney	1767
	Henley, John	Leney	1775
WOOLLEY	Snyder, Simon	Tiebout	3190
WRIGHT	Clinton, George	Tiebout	3167
	Washington, George	Manly	2171
	Washington, George	Murray	2286
	Washington, George	Rollinson	2717
	Washington, George	Scoles	2808
	Washington, George	Todd	3271
	Washington, George	Wright, J.	3418
YEAGER	Philadelphia, Arch St.Theatre	Yeager	3430
YOUNG	Gano, Stephen	Hamlin	1231-32
	Knight, Nehemiah R.	Sanford	2739
ZOUST	Shakspeare, William	Edwin	869-70
ZUCCARO	Mary, Queen of Scots	Leney	1813

FIELDING'S LIST

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
A. J.	New York, Plan (about 1795)	Maverick	1047
ABBOTT, H.	St. Peter's and the Vatican	Neagle	1112
ABERNETHIE	Masonic Certificate	Abernethie	1
AGATE	Chief of Eta	Paradise	1179
ALLAN	Rob Roy (title-page)	Annin & Smith	79
	Waverly Novels (Scott)		
	title-pages	Annin & Smith	80
ALSTON	Moonlight	Ellis	448
AMES,	Blatchford, Samuel	Smith, W. D.	1465
	Clarke, Beulah Allen	Maverick	1024
E.	Clinton, De Witt	Balch	92
ANDERSON, J.	Boston, Faneuil Hall Market	Bowen	169
A.	Canker Worms	Anderson	49
	Henry and Anne	Tiebout	1596
J.	New York, Belvedere House	Scoles	1340
ANDREWS	Boston, State House and Common	Bowen	183
ARMSTRONG	"Israel said it is enough"	Longacre	1005
ASPIN	Temple of Heliopolis	Haines	539
	Temple of Heliopolis	Campbell	235
ATKINSON	Petersburg	Boyd	214
BAKER, J.	Bunker's Hill, Battle of	Baker	83
	Christ, Resurrection of	Baker	88
	Departure, The	Baker	87
	Lexington, Battle of	Baker	84
BARBER, A. W.	Miniature of the World in the 19th Century	Barber	116
	New Haven, Conn. (plan)	Barber	113
	New Haven, Conn. (plan)	Barber	115
	New Haven, Conn. (plan)	Barber	114
BARRALET	Certificate, Catch Club of Philadelphia	Seymour	1398
	Certificate, Philadelphia Society	Harrison	575
	Columbus, Landing of	Humphrys	735
	Country Cider Mill	Tiebout	1619
	Emmett Memorial	Seymour	1426
	Frolic and Wasp	Seymour	1429
	Guerriere and Constitution	Tanner	1545
	Hamilton Memorial	Tiebout	1595
	Milton, John (dictating Paradise Lost)	Edwin	421
	Natural Bridge, Va.	Lawson	933
	Philadelphia Acad. Fine Arts (Ticket)	Harrison	580
	United States and Macedonian	Seymour	1430
BARTLETT, W.	Antioch	Prud'homme	1231

Artist	Subject	Engraver	Number
BASSANO	Wise Men, The	Plocher	1220
BEDWELL	South Mountain Pass	Thackara	1570
BELIAN	Britannia	Bowen	192
BELIAN & LYMAN	Patterson Falls	Leney	385
BELL	Anatomical Plates	Anderson	33
BENJAMIN	Church, Elevation of	Wightman	1737
BENNETT, W. J.	Baltimore, Md.	Bennett	124
	Boston, View of	Bennett	125
	Doubtful Shilling, The	Bennett	131
	New York Bay, A Brisk Gale	Bennett	141
	New York, Fulton St. Market	Bennett	143
	Niagara Falls Rapids	Bennett	145
	Niagara Falls from Table Rock	Bennett	144
	Solitude	Bennett	149
	Troy	Bennett	152
	West Point	Bennett	153
RIELOW	Scoliophis Atlanticus (serpent)	Annin	68
BILLINGS	Boston, American House	Smith	1447
BIRCH, T.	Breck, Samuel, residence	Steel	1496
	Certificate, Societas Clisophica Kneass		873
	Delaplaine's Repository, 1815	Lawson	920
Wm.	New York	Seymour	1427
T.	Philadelphia, 2nd and Race		
	Sta.	Seymour	1433
	Philadelphia, Schuylkill, Beck's		
	Shot Tower	Unsigned	1895
	Rail Shooting	Kearny	813
	Taquendama, Falls of	Kearny	817
	Whale	Hill	663
BLOEMART	Elijah, Translation of	Hoogland	713
	St. Paul	Seymour	1420
BOADEN	Unwelcome Guest	Ellis	465
BOGLE	Chase, Philander	Prud'homme	1228
BONINGTON	Lute, The	Pelton	1215
BOSTON MAG.	Animal Flowers	Norman	1148
	Balloon, Ascent of	Norman	1145
	Balloon, Descent of	Norman	1146
	Balloon, Air	Norman	1154
	Faithful Shepard	Norman	1156
	Glass House, A	Norman	1151
	Nightingale Monument	Norman	1149
	Switzerland, Liberty of	Norman	1147
BOUCHETTE	Chambly, Fort	Bennett	1278
	Nicolet, Village of	Bennett	146
BOWEN	Boston, House of Industry	Bowen	170
	Boston, Insane Hospital	Bowen	171
	Boston, Johnson Hall	Bowen	172
	Boston Theatre	Bowen	186
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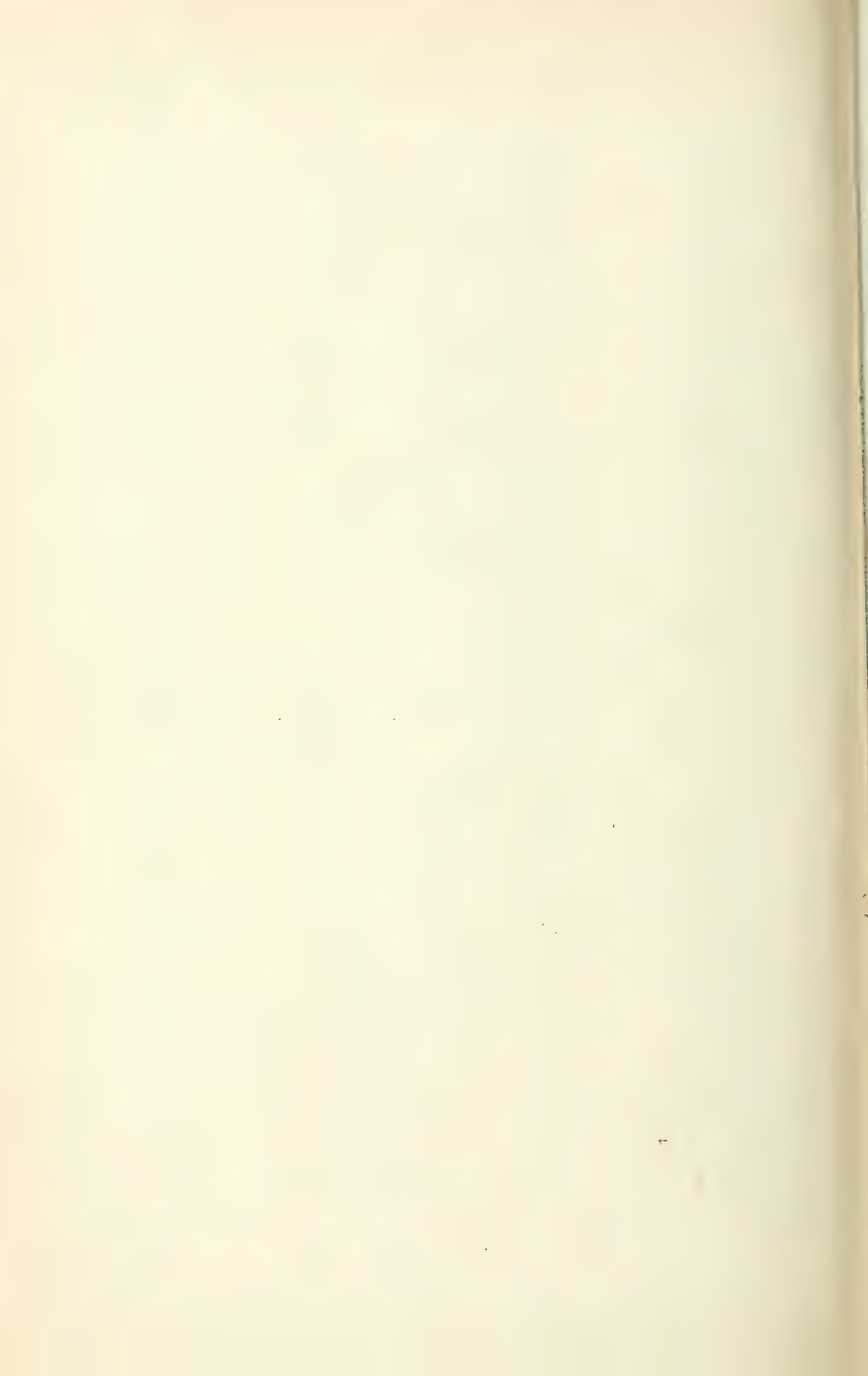
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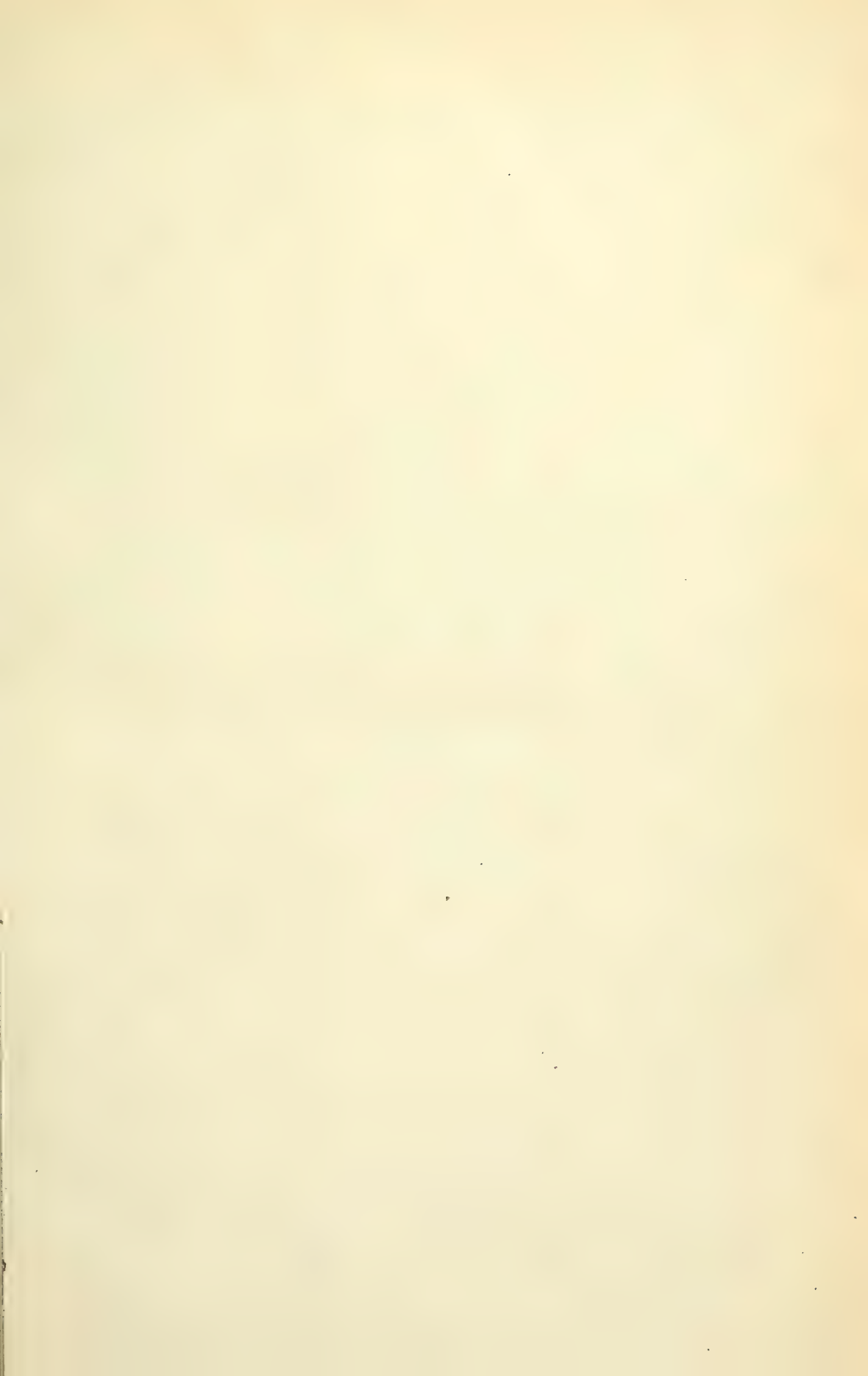
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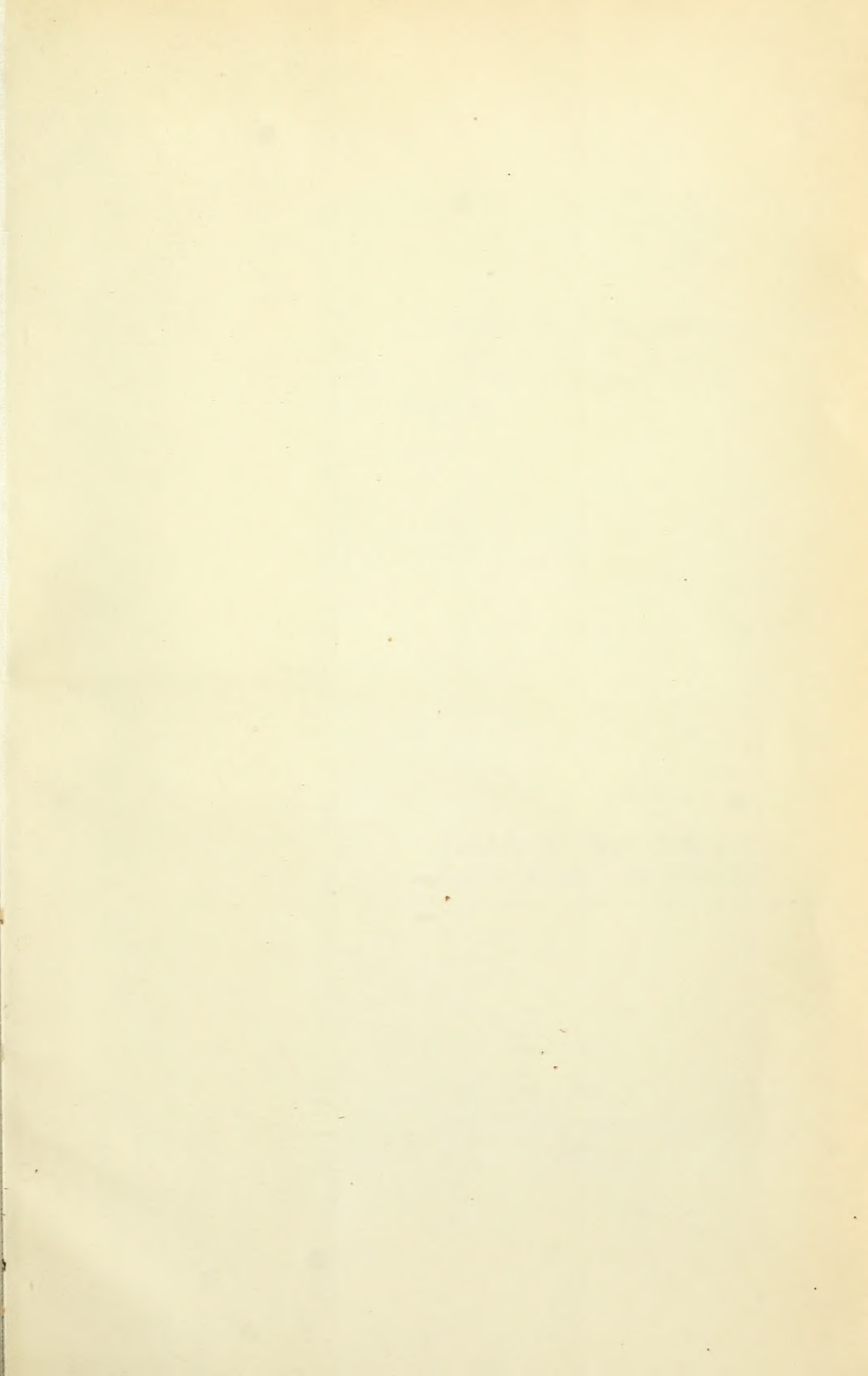
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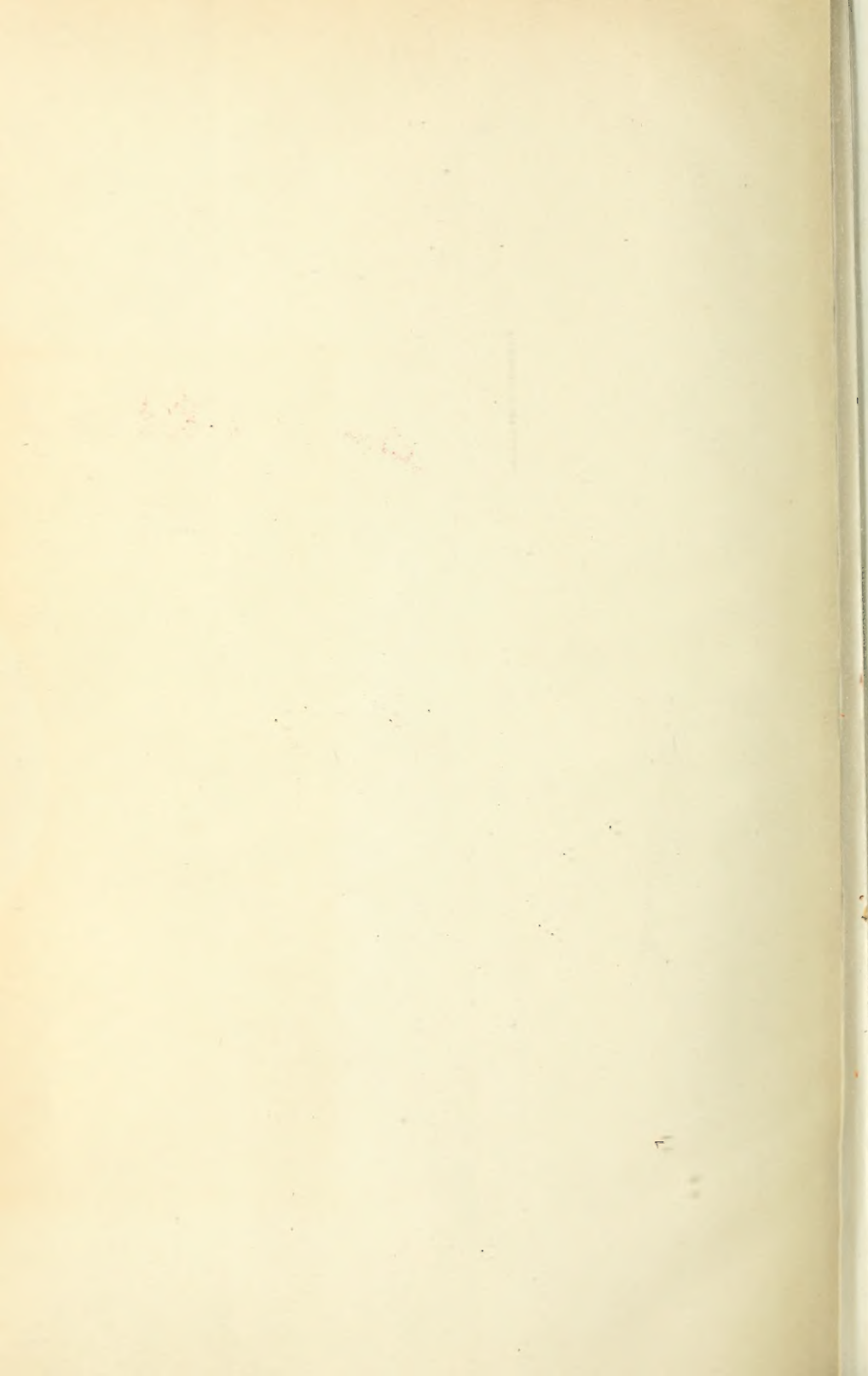
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